

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXII.

January 1901.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contended with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

CALCUTTA :
PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY
THE CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET.
MESSRS. THACKER, SPINK & CO., GOVERNMENT PLACE, N.
AND TO BE HAD OF ALL RESPECTABLE BOOK-SELLERS IN CALCUTTA.
MADRAS: MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & CO.
LONDON: MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co., Ltd.
PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, W. C.
All Rights Reserved

Uttara Pradesh Public Library
Acqn. No. 9865 Date.....3.9.76

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.
No. CCXXIII.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
ART. I.—FINLAND AND RUSSIA 	1
„ II.—GREEK WANDERINGS 	15
„ III.—A RETURNED EMPTY 	29
„ IV.—RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS AND CHARITIES OF BENGAL ZEMINDARS	50
„ V.—OLD HAILEYBURY 	78
„ VI.—MILITARY WEAPONS OF THE HINDUS 	90
„ VII.—THE BENGAL TICHBOURNE CASE 	103
„ VIII.—TRAVANCORE AND ITS LAND TENURES 	125
„ IX.—A UNIQUE TRIAL 	136
„ X.—ART EDUCATION IN INDIA 	146
„ XI.—SRI TIBUMALA SEVARI 	153
„ XII.—THE DOCTRINES OF JAINISM 	161
„ XIII.—SHAKESPEARE AND ORIENTAL LITERA- TURE 	166
THE QUARTER 	182

CRITICAL NOTICES:—

1.—GENERAL LITERATURE :—

1.—Pioneering on the Congo. By the Rev. W. Holman Bentley. 2 Vols. (Religious Tract Society, 1900)

Acknowledgments



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 223—JANUARY 1901.

ART. I.—FINLAND AND RUSSIA.

FOR many years the status of the Scandinavian countries as independent nations has not been free from peril. Since Denmark was compelled to cede both Schleswig and Holsteins to the former Germanic confederation, and the young German has permanently annexed the Danish-speaking population of the former duchy, Denmark's integrity is compromised, and her independence endangered. In Norway serious apprehensions are felt lest Russia should encroach on the northern provinces, and it is anticipated that at no very distant date the attempt will be made by that empire to obtain possession of a harbour in Finmarken. Sweden looks with anxiety towards her eastern frontier, and foresees the time when there will be no barrier of a friendly people between herself and her ancient foe.

The Grand-Duchy of Finland is thoroughly Scandinavian through its religion, its civilization and its freedom. For more than five hundred years, it was knit to Sweden by the tie of affection, and by pride in a common fatherland, though the great majority of its inhabitants derive from another race. It shared in the glories and reverses of Sweden, adopted her institutions, as well as the Swedish language;—indeed at the present time that tongue is still spoken by its most cultivated inhabitants, and is the medium of the Finnish poets whose fame has passed beyond the limits of their native land.

During a long residence in Norway the writer of these lines has remarked the extreme sympathy of which the Fins are the object, and the indignation with which Russian aggression on Finnish liberty is resented. In his intercourse with Swedes and Fins he has noticed the despairing tone of the former whenever Finnish affairs were mentioned, and the stifled exasperation of the latter, whose grief is beyond words: the shadow of an alien rule already darkens their home!

But a short while ago the Fins were united to their Russian rulers by a tie that was only less strong than that which once

bound them to the Swedish nation. They loved and honoured Alexander I, respected Nicholas I, and almost worshipped Alexander II, who not only confirmed but increased their freedom.

Under his wise rule Russia ceased to be a foe and became an associate. But these cordial sentiments have vanished ; and the measures of Nicholas II have so harrassed a faithful people, that it would need the complete reversal of his present policy, and the lapse of years before the chasm that has opened between their rulers and themselves could be closed.

Since the assassination of Alexander II, the storm has been gathering that now menaces Finland with destruction, the Panslavonian party has become extremely powerful, and to retain their hold on the Russian people, the two last emperors have humoured that party's movement, and followed its lead : it was an antidote to Nihilism, and a force favorable to themselves, provided they would serve a Panslavonian policy.

But almost at the gates of St. Petersburg there flourished a young and vigorous people, which although it obeyed the Czar, differed so completely as regards its culture, its institutions, and the whole tendency of its civilization from its Russian neighbours ; far from showing any inclination to be pleased with the Slavs, its Finnish characteristics have become more pronounced. It grows more and more an obstacle to Panslavonian ambition, and it is a source of irritation that Finland is in the enjoyment of a freedom to which Holy Russia cannot aspire, while Finnish civilization contrasts so favorably with Russian. Finally the military authorities taking their cue from the Panslavist's pretend that it is necessary to amalgamate the military forces of the whole empire, and that in consequence the Finnish army should be completely incorporated in the Russian. Such a measure would be a great step towards the goal of Panslavonian ambition.

Throughout the reign of Alexander III there was an indirect attack against the freedom of Finland. A long polemic was carried on between Russian jurists who denied the existence of its autonomy* and Finnish jurists who defended it. The Finnish people were subjected to vexatory measures and were full of misgivings. But when Nicholas II succeeded his father, they looked forward with confidence to a brighter future, the famous peace-manifesto aroused the liveliest hope ; but his councillors were even then preparing with his approval a deadly blow against their liberty.

A passion for uniformity prevailed in Russia, democracy

* Finland has been well defined as a " non sovereign autonomy with a constitutional monarchical government in an inseperable union with the Russian Empire."

was at a discount ; the contagion of freedom was dreaded, and the existence of a free people in the vicinity of St. Petersburg an offence. All the dominions of the Czar should be consolidated into an homogeneous empire, that should prove an effective barrier against the levelling spirit of the West. The immense destiny of Russia was not to be checked by a little democratic people. The fusion of all the military forces of the empire would serve to render Finland Russian, and at the same time strengthen the army : such was the thought of Russian statesmen ; but in reality the position of Russia from a moral point of view has been compromised owing to the policy she has latterly pursued in Finland ; while she will derive little or no advantage from a military one : the addition of a few discontented soldiers will scarcely augment the strength of her armies.

If we would understand the present crisis we must glance at the brief but interesting annals of Finland. It was originally peopled by Laps, who were driven northwards by Finnish tribes of the same race as themselves ;—they were of Turanian origin. About the same time as the great migration of Teutas and Slavs the Fins or rather Finnish tribes removed from the districts adjacent to the Ural and to the Altai mountains ; and settled gradually on the banks of Lakes Onega and Ladoga, and near the Gulf of Finland *. We learn most about those primitive settlers from the Kalavala,† a famous collection of ancient Finnish song—collected in modern times, that chiefly relate to prehistoric ages. They abound in magic, lay great stress on the power of song, and show also an unusual appreciation of idyllic nature. They contain an account of the gods and heroes of the Finnish race—which last are apparently less heroic than those of Norse tradition. Many of the myths testify to the close relations between Fins and Swedes, and to judge from local names, some Swedish colonists took up their abode on the Finnish coast before the earliest record.‡

About the year 1157 St. Erik, King of Sweden, led a crusade to Finland, in order to convert its inhabitants to Christianity, but it was not until a century later, that the conquest of that country was really effected. The Swedes subsequently disputed with the Russians for its possession. The great majority of the Fins dwelling in the territory now called Finland were converted to the faith of the Latin Church, while the numerous Fins in Northern Russia were converts of the Greek Church through

* M. G. Schybergson : *Finland's Historia Helsingfors*, 1889.

† The Kalvala has been described by Professor Max Müller as possessing merits not dissimilar from the *Iliad*.

‡ Schybergson.

Russians whose side they took against the Swedes and their Roman Catholic kinsmen. The most ruthless wars were waged, in which the semi-republic of Novgorod took a leading part and endeavoured to reduce Finland to subjection. When Russia was conquered by Tartars in the thirteenth century, she was forced for a time to abandon her worst aggressions against the former country, a great part of which she had claimed as her territory. Hence it is partly owing to the Tartars, that Scandinavian civilisation prevailed in Finland.

Its inhabitants acquired equal political rights with the Swedes in the fourteenth century, and in the year 1362 took part in the election of a common king. It was then considered an integral part of Sweden; it enjoyed the same constitution, and serfage was abolished. The Fins, however, preserved their own language, though Swedish became the official tongue.

When Russia threw off the Tartar yoke, she was in a position to attack Finland with large forces, and the latter was again in danger of a Russian conquest, but Russia grew weak through internal strife, and its weakness was Sweden's opportunity. At the peace of Stolbova in 1617 that empire was completely excluded from the shores of the Baltic.

In the thirty-years war Finnish soldiers were the most renowned of Gustavus Adolphus. Some terrible famines at the close of the seventeenth century and the long war* between Charles XII and Peter the Great together with his allies brought it to the verge of complete ruin. A fourth of the inhabitants, that were estimated to be 400,000 in number, was extirpated or carried into captivity. The sufferings were incredible at the period called 'The Great Disorder's Time' from the year 1714 until 1721. By the peace of Nyshad at the latter date Sweden was compelled to cede to Russia an important district in Finland. Twenty years afterwards Sweden declared war against Russia, was defeated and obliged to yield another slice of Finnish territory. During the course of hostilities there happened a remarkable event, that was the precursor of the union of Finland with the ancient enemy. The Empress Elizabeth issued, in 1742, a proclamation to the Finnish people in which she declared her wish to make Finland an independent frontier state—a 'buffer' state in fact. It was from that date that certain Fins began to perceive that the struggle in which their country was involved was hopeless; that the growing preponderance of Russia rendered it impossible for Sweden to defend Finland with success; and that its most advantageous course was to come to an understanding with its Eastern neighbour: especially as it had nothing to expect

* "The Great Northern War" [*Den Stora Nordiska Krig*] in Swedish *Den stora uprörelsen Tidcasacdest*.

from the thoughtless policy of Swedish factions. It was, however, a very small minority that contemplated a separation from the mother-country.

When Gustavus III by means of his famous *coup d'état* saved his kingdom from the rule of a corrupt and impotent oligarchy, he made many enemies, especially among the nobility, of which class several members strove to reduce the monarchy to its former helpless condition. Discontented Swedo-Finnish nobles endeavoured to found a national party for Finland, whose independence it became their object to secure;—if it were necessary through a union with Russia. Sprengporten, an ambitious Finnish officer of a Swedish family, who had been the abetter of the *coup d'état*, was the soul of this new pseudo-national party. His ambition had not been satisfied by the king, whom he betrayed.* He organized the Anjalaalana whose ostensible object was to reduce the royal power, though it was secretly made use of in order to promote the independence of Finland. It was composed chiefly of former Finnish officers, of Swedish origin or birth, who had a grievance against the king. Sprengporten himself finally abandoned the Swedish service and entered the Russian. At St. Petersburg he was the Councillor of the Russian Empress, Catherine II, who entreated to acquire Finland. He was, however, a man of real talent; and it is in part owing to his efforts that Finland was subsequently able to preserve her ancient institutions, but he was no friend of a democracy; and had even advocated the introduction of serfage in Finland.

When Gustavus III attacked (in 1788) Russia from Finnish territory, the officers of his army mutinied and entered into negotiations with Russia in order to terminate hostilities. They pleaded in their defence that the king had infringed the constitution by declaring war without the Diet's consent, but in reality they desired the restoration of the former oligarchy. Some of them indeed intrigued with Sprengporten and the Empress of Russia with a view to the establishment of a separate Finnish state. But the mass of the Finnish people as well as of the Swedish remained faithful to their king, who with the help of their patriotism was able to repress the mutiny and preserve Finland.

At the beginning of the next century, when Gustavus IV refused to co-operate with Alexander I and Napoleon against England, Finland was invaded, (in 1808) by a Russian army. Owing to the betrayal of Socaberg, an almost impregnable fortress and the arsenal of the country, together with the incapacity of the commander of the Swedo-Finnish army, the

* C. J. Odhner : Sweden's Political History under King Gustavus III's Government : Stockholm, 1896.

war was unfavourable to the latter, though it gained heroic victories over a more numerous foe. It was this campaign that Runeberg, the great poet both of Sweden and Finland, has sung in his most pathetic strains.*

While fortune at first was so favorable to the Russian arms, in compliance with the dominant party at the Court of St. Petersburg, that required Finland to be simply annexed and incorporated in the Russian empire, a declaration was forwarded to the rest of the European powers, in which Finland was mentioned as a "province conquered by force of arms;" but when the issue of the campaign seemed uncertain, Alexander, listening to the advice of Sprengporten, published the manifesto of June 5-17† in the same year (1808) in which he declared it was his firm intention to retain the Fins "among the peoples that obey the Russian sceptre, and with them form a kingdom,"‡ but it was at the same time promised them in this document that "Finland's ancient constitutions§ and privileges *should be forcibly preserved sacred*;" and a prospect of the meeting of the Diet in the near future was held out. Following the injunctions of the Emperor, a deputation was elected in Finland and sent to St. Petersburg, when it was decided that the Diet should be summoned after the due election of its members on March 22nd of the following year (1809)—perhaps the most momentous date in the annals of Finland. In the decree of the Diet convocation the Emperor called himself for the first time "Grand Duke" and the designation 'province' of the first declaration was replaced by "Grand Duchy,"—an important modification revealing the intention of Alexander I to establish the autonomy of that country.

The 'constitutions' to which the manifesto referred had been enjoyed in common by both Finland and Sweden from mediæval times. They had been modified by the 'Form of Government' of 1772 and the 'Act of Unity and Security' of 1809, when the monarchy recovered and increased the ancient prerogatives. Though parliamentary privileges were curtailed by these acts, both countries still remained in the possession of constitutional liberties, which among matters

* Runeberg was a Fin, who among other great poems wrote "Tales of Ensign Staal" recounting the vicissitudes of that campaign.

† Nyholm; "Finland's Position in the Russian Empire."—(Copenhagen, 1900.)

‡ Rike (Swedish) corresponds to the German *Reich* kingdom and refers to the whole Empire of Russia.

§ The word 'constitutions' to which Russian jurists have denied the same import as 'constitution' in the singular number is used in this manifesto and similar documents as synonymous with 'constitutional laws': Nyholm.

required the consent of the Diet in matters connected with the enrolment of troops;—it is this restriction, ignored by the present Emperor, that has been the immediate occasion of the present crisis.

On March 15-27 Alexander I signed with his own hand the famous 'Act of Assurance' that has been called Finland's Magna Charta. It was as follows: "We, Alexander I, by God's Grace, Emperor and Autocrat of the whole of Russia, etc., etc., Grand Duke of Finland, etc., etc., declare: that since by the dispensation of providence, we have taken possession of the Grand Duchy of Finland, it is herewith our will to strengthen and confirm the country, religion and *constitutional laws* together with the rights and privileges to which each estate in particular of the said Grand Duchy and all its inhabitants in common, high and low, have hitherto enjoyed according to the *constitution*; it is promised* to maintain all its privileges fixed and undisturbed in their full force. For further security we have signed this Act of Assurance with our own hand: Given at Borgha, March 15-27, 1809."

On the next day Alexander opened the Diet in person. It was mediæval in character,—as indeed it is still the case, and consisted of the delegates of four estates: there were seventy-eight nobles, eight members of the clergy, nineteen burghers, and thirty peasants. On the next day the Emperor addressed the members who were presented to him: "I have promised," he said in the course of his speech, "to preserve your *constitution* and your constitutional laws." On the morrow there was held the most important meeting of the session: in the ancient cathedral of Borgha, the Emperor, who sat on a throne decorated with the arms of Finland (a gold lion holding a sword), received the oath of fidelity of the members, while at the same time allegiance was solemnly sworn by the latter to the country's fundamental laws and constitution, "as they are received and valid at the present time" This constitution, save for a few modifications with the consent of the Diet, has remained to our days virtually the same since the Russian annexation.

The 'Act of Assurance' was read and approved; the Emperor addressed the members in a few hearty words; and finally an herald advanced before the throne and proclaimed amid the salute of cannon: "Long live Alexander I, Emperor of all Russia, Grand Duke of Finland!"

The Diet continued its labours during four months and was closed by the Emperor in person. On dismissing it he addressed the members in an often cited speech; referring to the Finnish people in general he pronounced these momen-

* In the Swedish document '*lofandes*.'

tous words : " 'This brave and loyal people will bless Providence that has established the present order of affairs. *Placed henceforth in the rank of nations*, under the empire of its own laws, it will only recollect its past domination to cultivate friendly relations when they are re-established by peace."

Yet within the last two decades there have been distinguished Russian jurists, who have boldly asserted, that the Finnish constitution can be revoked at the good pleasure of the Russian Emperor, since Finland's autonomy is not guaranteed by international law. They maintain that as the peace of Frederikshamn, (September 17th, 1809), when Sweden ceded Finland to Russia, was not concluded until two months after the date when Alexander I closed the Diet of Borgha (July 19th, 1809), it was therefore the sole valid international agreement, and must be considered as conclusive for the mutual relations between Finland and Russia.

There are two articles in that treaty that concern us here : In the first (Article IV) it is stated that : " This district (Finland) with all its inhabitants market-towns, harbours, fortresses, villages, and islands with their accessories, their privileges, rights and revenues, should for the future with full right of ownership belong to the Russian Empire and be included in it ; the second (Article VII) runs thus : " Since H. M. the Emperor has *already* given the most undoubted proofs of the indulgence and justice with which he has decided to govern the inhabitants of the land, which he has newly acquired, while he has nobly and of his own free will conceded them the free exercise of their religion, their rights of ownership, and their privileges, H. M. the King of Swiden perceives that he is exonerated from what had otherwise been a sacred duty,—from the necessary reservation in this respect in favour of his former subjects."

It is to these two articles that Russian jurists appeal when they assert, that the autonomy of Finland was not guaranteed by treaty, as no clause was expressly inserted to safeguard it, and that Finland's constitution can be revoked at the good pleasure of a Russian emperor, in the same way that it was conferred. But the fact that Article VI declares that Finland's future relation to Russia had been '*already*' determined, must refer to another and previous date, and that could be none other than the date of the Diet of Borgha, when the Emperor solemnly pledged his imperial word to maintain the constitution and the privileges of Finland ; and it was only after his repeated promise to maintain them, that the oath of fidelity was taken to his person as Grand Duke of Finland. Thus at the time of the Treaty of Frederikshamn the constitution that Alexander I had proclaimed "*sacred*" "*already*" protected the rights and liberties of the Fins ; these therefore can-

not be called in question without at the same time infringing the solemn pledge of the Czar, whose word is law in Russia. If it be broken, the Fins would, *de jure*, be released from their oath of allegiance to the successors of Alexander I who have all renewed his pledge on their occasion to the throne of the Grand Duchy ; for it was a mutual pact that *legally* decided the relations between the Czar and his Finnish subjects, and not the force of arms. The treaty of Frederikshamn recognised clearly a *fait accompli* enjoying a permanent legal validity, which it was altogether superfluous to guarantee.

The other objections raised by the Russian jurists to the Finnish constitution are so puerile as not to merit a refutation : —‘that Alexander was ignorant of Finnish affairs,’ ‘that he prejudiced the interests of the Russian empire by signing it, that he was hoodwinked by Finnish advisers,’ etc., etc.*

The prerogatives of the crown in Finland are already so extensive that they can scarcely be increased without annulling representative institutions. The sovereign had a greater control over public affairs than in any other constitutional states. In his quality of Russian Emperor he represents Finland absolutely as a part of his Russian dominions in its relations with foreign powers, declares war and concludes peace at his good pleasure, has the supreme command of Finnish troops, and garrisons Finnish fortresses with Russian regiments ; in his quality of Imperial Grand Duke of Finland, he appoints the Governor-General, and the Marshal of the nobility, determines the duration of the Diet that he convokes, proposes projects of laws, decrees their alteration or abolition, (except they are constitutional laws) appoints civil and military officials, determines the Custom House Tariff and innumerable other matters. Very important functions are besides entrusted to the Senate of Finland, a body consisting of twenty members appointed directly by the Crown, and exercising in many cases an absolute authority. The Governor-General has the press under his control, commands both the Finnish troops and Russian regiments in Finnish garrisons ; and he proposes to the Emperor the choice of the Governors of provinces, of the presidents of the law courts, and of the senators.

Hence the authority of the Diet must necessarily be very limited. The vote has only a determining force where the constitutional laws of the duchy are concerned,—but it has not the right to take the initiation even with regard to them. These constitutional laws relate to military conscription, the im-

* Recent investigations have demonstrated that Alexander I was perfectly well posted in Finnish affairs, and that his concessions to Finland served to secure St. Petersburg, when Napoleon invaded Russia in 1812. (Compare Schybergson, Nyholm, etc.)

position of new taxes, the use of the Swedish language at the same time as the Russian in transactions with the Imperial Government at St. Petersburg. They determine that the nationality of the Secretary of State for Finnish affairs at St. Petersburg should be Finish,* and they establish the right of Finnish subjects "to publish their views on all matters appertaining to human knowledge without any previous hindrance of public authorities" together with some minor matters. Yet the Diet's authority has been lately overridden in each of these privileges with the exception of the right of consent to new taxes, and there only remains to abolish this right to abolish at the same time the state of Finland.

Alexander I did not persevere in his liberal policy towards Finland. From an enlightened friend of liberty he became—outwardly at least—reactionary in his views and the soul of the Holy-Alliance. Yet, though he refused to summon another Diet, he did not infringe the Finnish constitution. No clearly constitutional law was introduced, altered or annulled, and the Government was entirely carried on through the administrations and officials; the same was the case during the reign of Nicholas I.

But with the accession of Alexander II in 1855, a new policy was inaugurated in Finland. For the first time, after the lapse of more than fifty years the Diet was convoked. The Emperor opened it in person at Helsingfors, that had replaced Aabo as the capital of the country. In his speech from the throne, after referring to the *monarchical constitutional principle* "that accords with the customs of the Finnish people," he announced his intention of increasing the Diet's power of imposing taxes, and of restoring to that body the right of motion (a right that the common Diet of both Finland and Sweden had lost during the reign of Gustavus III). It was chiefly due to Alexander II's concessions to the needs of the Finnish nationality that Finland heartily acquiesced in its union with Russia.

After his cruel murder, his successor, Alexander III, gradually allowed the Panslavonian party to gain the upper hand; and the latter left nothing undone with a view to the complete absorption of the Grand Duchy by the Russian empire.

Within the last two decades blow after blow has been struck against the very existence of Finland as an autonomy. The first direct attack against the authority of the Diet, that now met in accordance with a decree of Alexander I at fixed intervals—of four, previously three years, was the revocation of an important penal law (in 1889) after the Emperor had already signed it. Next came the annexion of the public services of Finland—of

*An official of Russian nationality has been lately appointed to that post in defiance of the constitution.

the post office, the customs and the mint, to the Russian administrations. And, finally, while the peace manifesto of Nicholas II raised the hopes of all Finnish patriots, the Governor-General of Finland, *Bobrikoff*, laid before the Diet a radical measure—not apparently for their approval, but simply for their consideration. This measure quadrupled the Finnish army and made a complete change in its organization. It was immediately impeached and indignantly rejected by the members of the estates.

As a result of its rejection the ‘Imperial Manifesto,’ and ‘The Fundamental Statute’ or ‘Determination of the Constitutional Law’ were issued both on the same date (February 10th, 1899). In the ‘Imperial Manifesto’ it was declared that though the Emperor maintained in force the procedure that regulated laws exclusively relating to Finland, he reserved for himself the power to make decisions, which concerned the general legislation of the empire. The ‘Determination of the Constitutional Law’ was a still more dangerous encroachment on the constitution. According to the terms of the latter “no general or constitutional law can be changed or abolished without the consent of the Diet.” Yet ‘the Determination’ enacts that it is only requisite to demand the opinion of the Diet about laws concerning the whole empire, and about those which are valid within the Grand Duchy alone, but, which at the same time relate to the common interests of the empire. Consequently as the necessity of the Diet’s consent is expressly excluded, laws involving the very existence of Finland can come into force, after a few formalities, at the good pleasure of the Emperor alone. As no limitation is made in ‘the Determination’ of those laws which might be made to apply to the common empire, or concern imperial legislation, the Finnish Diet is thus reduced to the level of a county council; and the Emperor has established himself *de facto*, if not *de jure*, Autocrat as well as Grand Duke of Finland.

The Senate very reluctantly agreed to publish the ‘Manifesto,’ but none the less unanimously protested and forwarded their protest to their imperial master. It was immediately refused by the latter. So a deputation that was composed of the Marshal of the Nobility, and of the president of the remaining three estates of Finland proceeded to St. Petersburg with a similar protest. The Emperor refused to receive them also, but informed them through the Secretary of State that “it had moved him deeply that it could be supposed he could break his word.” They were further enjoined to return to their work, and to inform the estates, that “he took it upon himself to decide in each case of dispute whether the affair in question was of the kind to come within the sphere of imperial legislation, and to be treated by the highest legislative authority.”

This repeated refusal excited the greatest agitation throughout Finland. Almost involuntarily the thought was conceived of an address from the people to their Grand Duke. Within ten-days in the heart of winter, in a vast and thinly-peopled land, a monster petition was signed by 520,000 people scattered between the Gulf of Finland and the Arctic Ocean, and was carried to St. Petersburg by 500 respected citizens. It was almost pathetic in form; after referring to the ancient constitution of the country, that had been confirmed by successive Russian monarchs, it continues. . . . "We could not think that it is your Imperial Majesty's intention to attack the lawful order and internal repose of Finland. . . . On the contrary we refuse to the bottom of our hearts to doubt the immutability of the imperial word, because it is precisely our present gracious monarch, who has proclaimed before all men, that might shall yield to right. . . ."

But this deputation met with the same fate as the preceding one, and must return home without an audience. Subsequently it may be recollected that a European deputation, which included distinguished jurists, was also denied that honour.

The Diet continued its labours during these events, and passed a radical measure of military reform that generously met the Russian demands but refused to allow Finland soldiers to serve beyond the Finnish frontiers in time of peace.* They also appealed to the Emperor against the claim that a special law relating to conscription could be determined without the Diet's consent. . . . "They considered it their duty to hold fast to the laws and rights that in 1809 were solemnly assured to the Finnish people for preservation unaltered."

Within the present year Finland has been both menaced and oppressed. In his speech from the throne when the Diet was convoked for its ordinary session the Emperor through the mouthpiece of General Bobrikoff declared that "the opinions that are not connected with the matter in question, or that to all subjects which have a general interest for the empire, must not be made a subject for discussion in the Diet. Opinions of that kind have been advanced in that last Diet, and induced an afflicting and ungrounded agitation with the people. *A repetition of such conduct will excite the doubt whether the institutions of the estates is compatible with present circumstances.*"

The newspapers are now subject to *censure* before they are

* In Bobrikoff's scheme of military reform, there was a clause, which compelled Finnish soldiers to serve in Russia, and in Russian regiments. Of all measures, this was the most obnoxious in Finland; it was feared that Finnish recruits would suffer greatly through their contact with Russians, who are so inferior to the Fins as regards morality, culture and civilization.

published. By a Ukase of July 9th the various public departments of the Grand-Duchy are ordered to use the Russian language exclusively in their transactions ; the Senate is commanded to employ that language in its correspondence with the Governor-General ; and instructions have been issued for its use in subordinate Government offices.* It is forbidden to frank Finnish letters with Finnish postage stamps, and even the little unofficial badge, that had been devised by Finnish patriots, in which the words "Suomi"† and 'Finland' are inscribed on a black back-ground has been prohibited. Passes have been granted in great numbers by the Russian Government to Russian traders or hawkers with a view to propagate their language and their institutions. It would seem, that they are enjoined, to take up their abode among the Fins, to marry and multiply until they require Russian schools and churches. In the Baltic provinces, it is said, that a similar proceeding has taken place with no little success. It has been proved that Russian agents have striven to excite manifestations in Finland against the Imperial Government, so that the latter might be furnished with an excuse for armed repression.

Amid all these vexatious and aggressive acts the Fins have not allowed themselves to be goaded into violence. They are a brave and tenacious, but at the same time a somewhat phlegmatic people, slow to act. They are acquainted with grief ; patient and long suffering. For centuries, indeed, their country was the battle ground of ambitious princes, ravaged by Russian troops, and extorted by Swedish tax gatherers. They remained faithful to Sweden when they were the victims of the foolish policy of its government, and their fidelity can be relied upon by their Imperial Grand Dukes as it was by their Swedish kings ; the former need only observe this solemn fact to be free from all uncasiness with regard to their Finnish subjects,—though invasion and civil war desolated the rest of the Empire.

The Fins will now have an opportunity of displaying their best qualities in the service of their country. The encroachment on their freedom has already served to rally the whole nation, and to efface the last vestiges of a political strife that raged for many years, when the partisans of the Finnish language (Fennomaniacs), contended with those of the Swedish, (Swedomaniacs), and when there was a tendency to depress the influence of the Swedish races that had hitherto preponderated in Finland, in favour of the revival of a Finnish nationality.‡

* Only 8,000 people, out of a population of 2,700,000 learn Russian as their mother tongue.—*The Times*, August 3rd, 1900.

† 'Suomi' i. the Finnish word for Finland.

‡ There are not more than 400,000 people who employ the Swedish

The people are well aware that their best chance lies in a passive resistance, and they will await the course of events. They hope that Russia may be involved in foreign complication, till she is induced by her own interest to change her present policy in Finland.

It is not impossible that the Czar, who does not appear to be without nobility of character, may see the folly of his ways, and return to the wisdom of his ancestors. In the event of his demise, it would not be at all improbable that his successor followed the example of those monarchs, the greatest foe of democracy and the ardent champion of autocracy. Pobiedonostseff, who is at the same time Procurator of the Holy Synod, could well be replaced by another Councillor more inclined to a liberal policy,—in a country where Speranski, the enlightened minister of Alexander, induced, it is said, that monarch to confirm the ancient constitution of Finland.

But should, indeed, as it appears not without probability, the existence of the Finnish people, as a separate nationality, be brought to an untimely end, the virtual independence of both Sweden and Norway will become insecure; there would be no longer a friendly autonomy, intensely Scandinavian in many of its characteristics, to serve as a barrier against the intrusion of Russian influence and propoganda. Europe would have real grounds for apprehension lest the semicivilization of the East should replace Western progress in vast districts. After absorbing the Fins Russia would probably absorb kindred tribes, which lead a nomad life partly in Russian partly in Scandenavian territory; there is indeed another circumstance that may serve Russian ambition,—the railway that is now under construction from Finland through Sweden to the shores of the North Sea at Ofoten, and that in the future will carry a considerable portion of the vast produce of Siberia, and that will probably pass in part under Russian control. The prospect of a Russian naval station—which has already become a Topic for discussion, in that sea, could not be regarded by English statesmen with indifference. The present crisis therefore is of the last importance for the world,—it involves besides an attack on constitutional liberty as a system. *Finis Fennoniæ* would be even more fatal to freedom than the once famous "*Finis Poloniæ*."

ARTHUR S. HOLMES.

language habitually, and it is probable that there are still fewer inhabitants of a clearly Swedish origin; the Swedish language was for a long period the sole sub-official one and many Fins abandoned the use of their own tongue.

052
CAL
VOL. 112
PR. 1

ART. II.—GREEK WANDERINGS.

OLYMPIA.

"The celebrated plain of Olympia is at present a long and even corn-field, containing only a few and imperfect vestiges of its former sumptuous ornaments. . . . An excavation would probably here bring to light some of the finest sculptures of antiquity." Dodwell, 1805.

A LONG sweep of bay, a low coast-line, a small and battered break-water, a fringe of white houses above an insignificant quay, and—most unexpected as a greeting from this bright land—a dull and cloudy morning. Inland one discerns the irregular outline of low hills with a background of higher summits, and, far away over the jutting headland, which forms the bay of Katákolon, a mountain mass which must be Zante.

We land about 9 A.M. The quay is lined by a row of long-shore loafers, whose slovenly garb and appearance is not calculated to give a favourable first impression of the Hellenes of to-day; but these are Greeks of the town, curious idlers, the riff-raff of a fourth-rate seaport, very different from the peasantry up-country. A little train is waiting in a toy station alongside the quay. This is the 'special' for Pyrgos and Olympia, and probably the whole of the rolling stock of the Katákolon-Pyrgos line.

The carriages are of that convenient type, which is equipped at either end with a small gangway, and a railing on which you lean and watch the gliding scenery, pleasantly in the open air. All the way to Pyrgos—it is but ten miles—the country is given over to the culture of currants, each bush planted in a little valley of its own amid hillocks of dug-out earth. Very dry the countryside looks; and no wonder, since it is reported that there has been no rain for six months.

At Pyrgos we have to walk some three or four hundred yards from the terminus of the little ten-mile branch from Katákolon to the station of the Patras-Pyrgos railway, from which it is 13 miles to Olympia. Here another 'special' soon picks us up, and, winding in among the low hills of Elis, brings us to Olympia by II. Roughly we have been following the line of the Alpheus, though we have not actually seen the river, but only its bordering hills: a couple of miles from the finish we had twisted round through these and turned into the valley of the Cladeus, a tributary which falls into the Alpheus from the north.

A road leads straight forward from the station, continuing the direction of the railway line, and about a quarter of a

mile along this are two houses, one on either side of the road ; a little further on a much larger house on higher ground, and across the road to the left a big building, plain, orange-coloured, with some pretension to the classical style, which one divines to be the Museum. We are, indeed, already at the very portals of Olympia ; the smaller houses are the two lesser hotels, Hotel Olympia, and Hotel Archaia Olympia, while the larger building on the right is the Grand Hotel, now the property of the Railway Company, arrogating to itself the claim to be "the largest and best hotel in the Peloponnesus," a claim which wanderings in the Peloponnesse will duly discount.

From the front of the Grand Hotel we soon look down across a dip directly on to the excavated site of Olympia, a grey chaos of scattered stones and pillar-stumps in a rich setting of green fields and sylvan hill scenery. The way down to the little bridge over the Cladeus, which links the hotels to the Olympian plain, passes by the Museum. A few minutes later we have seen with our eyes the Hermes of Praxiteles, the only original work by his hand that has come down to us, almost the only separate piece of statuary in existence (as distinct from architectural sculptures) that can be assigned with certainty to one of the great Greek masters.

This above all other things at Olympia is the supreme goal of the traveller's desire, more even than the mighty wreck of the temple of Zeus, or the splendid relics of that temple's pediments, more than the ancient foundations of the Heraeum, where the Hermes stood in its first beauty, more than the noble Victory of Pæonius, or the Olympic Stadium itself. And rightly so. Great as is the fame of the Hermes and familiar even as are its form and outline from photograph and model, the reality when one passes into the inner room of the Museum at the end of the great hall, where Praxiteles' master-piece has been set up for safe-keeping, outruns expectation and, leaving no room for any other consciousness, subdues the mind to admiration and awe.

The Hermes was found buried in the deep layer of soil and crumbled walls covering the site of the Heraeum in the plain below the hill on which the Museum now stands. It happens that the traveller Pausanias in giving a list of the art treasures to be found in this temple of Hera, the oldest probably of all Greek temples of which remains survive, hits off neatly in a few words a broad description of the statue actually found on the platform of the Heraeum and now in the Museum at Olympia. 'And in after time' he says 'other offerings also were dedicated in the Heraeum, among them a marble Hermes with the infant Dionysos in his arms, the work of Praxiteles.'

It cannot reasonably be doubted that the statue before our eyes is that seen by Pausanias in the second century A. D. when he came to Olympia: the proof of authenticity gains cogency from its very indirectness, from the incidental character of Pausanias's note. No one who visits the Museum at Olympia need doubt that he looks on the true work of Praxiteles. Yet, indeed, he who beholds the beauty of the living marble will scarcely need external proofs. "Hermes is represented standing with the infant Dionysos on his left arm, and the weight of the body resting on the right foot. His form is the perfection of manly grace and vigour; the features of his oval face, under the curly hair that encircles his brow, are refined, strong, and beautiful; their expression is tender and slightly pensive. The profile is of the straight Greek type with 'the bar of Michael Angelo' over the eyebrows." (Frazer, Pausanias, Vol. III, p. 597.)

The most unreserved praise has been lavished on the Hermes by the most competent judges who have seen it, alike for sheer beauty and for the mastery it displays of the technical details of the sculptor's craft. The traveller who follows in their steps is little likely to think the most eloquent of these praises exaggerated. We are in presence of an absolutely perfect work of art. The eyes sate themselves with loveliness. "No representations," says Mr. Frazer, "give an adequate idea of the beauty of the original. Engravings of it are often no better than caricatures. . . . Looking at the original, it seems impossible to conceive that Praxiteles or any man ever attained to a greater mastery over stone than is exhibited in this astonishing work." The secret of the Hermes is indeed the secret of all perfection and incommunicable. It can neither be copied, nor described: it must be seen.

And surely it is worth the journey to see it. No disappointment need be feared. The Hermes is unique, incomparable, exquisite. To see it is to join the enthusiastic chorus of admiration. Were there nothing else to see at Olympia, nay, if there were nothing else in all Hellas, the lover of the beautiful would still be compelled to voyage from the ends of the earth to see the Hermes of Praxiteles.

But there is much more at Olympia itself, not to speak of all Greece: much in the Museum, in the plain below still more, more even to bewilderment. From the Hermes we go straight to the Stadium. For if the Hermes is the supreme work of art to be seen at Olympia, the race-course, hard by the sacred Altis, is the centre and source of all that made Olympia wonderful. Here took place the foot-races, most time-honoured of the contests that formed the Olympic Game—except for that first grim race ordained by Oenomaos (out of

which tradition said the games originated), in which the stakes were the hand of his daughter Hippodamia, and the life of her suitor Pelops. Here was gathered once in four years that unique assembly so characteristic of ancient Hellas, so unlike anything to be found in our day.

To reach the race-course from the Museum we descend to the small wooden structure which bridges the deep brown cutting through which the Cladeus flows and traverse the whole breadth of the excavations, passing first between the Gymnasium and Palaestra. We notice in the latter the grooves in the stone-floor of the wrestling ground—the grooves were to give the wrestlers better foothold, but we wonder if the stony edges were equally suitable for a fall. We enter the Altis* not far from the Heraeum, on the platform of which the stumps of several pillars still stand some six or seven feet high, and continue straight along by the ruined treasures at the base of Kronos hill, till we reach a long passage, formerly a covered way, lying somewhat lower than the general level of the Altis. Of this passage a small portion of the arched roof still remains, but only a few feet. The sides are curiously pitted with great disfiguring rents, where marauding hands have torn out the iron rivets which held the stones together. The arch shows that this passage belongs to Roman, not Hellenic times; is no part, therefore, (as, indeed, much else to be found in the plan of the ruins) of the Olympia that the imagination is busied with, the Olympia that schooled free and federated Hellas, the Olympia of the Hellas that faced and drove back the Persian, the Hellas of Herodotus and Pindar and Aristophanes and Plato. As soon as we are through this passage, we are standing at one end of the Olympic Stadium. So much is certain and satisfying: the rest is doubt and disappointment. We are on the ground of all the human and historical interest that belongs to the name: this much is beyond question; but the Stadium has not been completely excavated (as is not now happily the case with the Stadium at Delphi): there has only been a cross section cut at either end to determine its length and breadth, so that for a complete reconstruction of its appearance one has to fall back on the imagination. All that we actually see is a field under cultivation, a trifle more level than the fields adjoining, but otherwise (except for the cross sections which one does not see at a little distance) indistinguishable from the rest of the plain outside the excavations. Whether any tiers of seats might be found beneath is still open to speculation. There is at all events no visible sign of such as one stands on the site

* Altis (Ἀλτῖς) is merely a perverted form of Alsos (ἄλσος) grove v. Paus. V, 10.

of the Olympic Stadium to-day. Splendid as have been the achievements of German archæologists in the plain of Olympia they have not made quite a clean job of it; a good deal even now remains to do. In this respect the French at Delphi, to judge by the thoroughness and finish of their work on the site from which Castri has so wonderfully vanished, have already bettered their instructors.

Looking to the position of the Stadium relative to Kronos hill one does not very readily see how the natural slope of the ground could have been effectively used to seat spectators at the Games. Close to the side of the Stadium there is no perceptible rise, and the actual slope of the ridge trends away back from the race-course instead of running parallel to it. Kronos itself does, indeed, dominate the Altis, but, besides being quite steep, almost precipitous, it is too far off for a really good view of the running.

Next after the Stadium and outside the Museum interest centres in the Temple of Zeus; and a stately temple it must have been, rivalling in grandeur the Parthenon itself. Not to the ravages of time, nor the wasteful destructiveness of war, nor the antagonism of creeds, do we owe the worst wrecking of the glories of the Olympian plain, but to the violence of nature. It was two terrible earthquakes in the sixth century A. D. that laid these mighty columns low. The evidence is before our eyes, as we stand on the temple platform. On either side, inclined at an angle as the shock of the earthquake heaved them, lie the gigantic columns, the ponderous drums alongside each other in rows, like huge beads on a string, detached, but preserving even now distinctly the columnar form. We see that the columns fell outward to either side of the stylobate, but more freely on the south than on the north. From the angles at which they lie the seismologist could probably calculate the direction of the waves that shook them down. These things are left, the massive platform and the shattered ruins of gigantic pillars and in the Museum hard by are the fragments of the pediment sculptures and several of the metopes; but of the temple as a building, of its shrine and inner divisions only such indications remain as to serve the scientific reason for its imaginative reconstruction. We have here after all but the foundations of a temple and fragments of its decorative sculptures. Perhaps it is wonderful that even so much survives considering the vicissitudes of fortune that have befallen the plain between the Alpheus and the Cladeus, and the fact that in 1805 Leake found the site turned into a quarry by some Turks, who were building themselves palaces at Lala, a Mussulman stronghold some ten miles off in the hills. Is it quite past hoping that some day the

scattered drums will again be set one above another, and stately columns once more rear their mighty forms from the pavement of the Temple of Zeus?

To the eastern front we find a number of pedestals which remind us how the space before the temple (as indeed the whole enclosure of the Altis) was once crowded with splendid statuary: conspicuous among these is the massive three-cornered base on which once rested the Victory of Pæonius. The Victory herself is in the Museum, wonderfully preserved for modern eyes to see. For this and for the Hermes we have sufficient cause for gratitude. But the greatest glory of the Olympic temple, the masterpiece which drew the ancients to Olympia, as the Hermes draws us now, and which, perhaps, excelled in splendour of execution the Hermes of Praxiteles, as the Hermes excels the works of lesser sculptors is irreparably lost. This was the chryselephantine statue of Zeus, the master work of Phidias, described with loving minuteness by Pausanias, the statue which if we may accept the verdict of antiquity, was the supreme achievement of Greek genius in the representation of the divine; of which Dio Chrysostom wrote in the first century A. D. "Methinks that if one who is heavy laden in mind, who has drained the cup of misfortune and sorrow in life, and whom sweet sleep visits no more, were to stand before this image, he would forget all the griefs and troubles that are incident to the life of man."* The loss is all the more to be deplored, in that no copies of the Zeus of Phidias have come down to us and its form can only be insecurely conjectured from descriptions and coins.

The great altar of Zeus was in the open space to the left of the temple (as one looks E.) and about half way between the N.-E. corner of the Temple of Zeus and the S.-E. corner of the Heraeum. It stood two and twenty feet high when Pausanias saw it, and its upper part was built out of the ashes of sacrifice, which accumulated year by year. The only trace of it now remaining is a green oval hollow in the ground.

The Heraeum, or Temple of Hera, the other memorable temple platform at Olympia is to the N.-W. of the Temple of Zeus, near the entrance to the Altis from the bridge and close under Kronos hill. It has special interest as being the oldest Greek temple yet discovered, being assigned on high authority to the tenth or eleventh century B. C., and being quite certainly not later than the eighth; and as the place where the Hermes of Praxiteles anciently stood and where it was actually found in May 1877. It has several remarkable features. The platform is unusually long relatively to its breadth. While the lower part of the walls was of stone, the

* Dio Chrys. Or. XII. See Frazer's Pausanias, Vol. III, p. 531.

upper was built of unburnt bricks. This has a very special interest in connection with the Hermes. The bricks, being merely sun-dried, crumbled and turned back into clay. In this clay the Hermes was found embedded and it is doubtless to the softness of this bed and to its protective nature that the excellent preservation of the statue is due. It is, of course, from the presence of the bed of clay that the use of brick for the walls is primarily inferred. The walls of the shrine were supported on the inside by buttresses four on either side: there were also eight internal columns and the buttresses met these columns alternately. The most curious feature of all is that no two pillars of the peristyle are exactly alike. They differ in size, in the number of flutings, in their ornamentation, even in their mode of structure, for one or two are monolithic. This remarkable variation makes it probable that the pillars of the Temple of Hera were all originally of wood; that as these wooden pillars decayed in course of time, they were replaced one by one by pillars of stone. As the new pillars were put up singly and severally at widely different times, they varied with the caprice of the architect or the fashion of the day. In support of this conjecture we have, moreover, the distinct statement of Pausanias that one of two pillars of the back-chamber was in his time of oak. All this fits in with the assumption of the great age of the temple; for it is an accepted theory that the use of stone pillars in architecture is a development from the use of the trunks of trees, just as the Gothic arch is said to have been suggested by the meeting branches of two trees in an avenue.

The clouds had been gathering through the morning of Saturday, April 1st, and soon after we reached the Stadium a sharp shower fell. The seven feet or so of covered way served opportunely the purpose of partial shelter till it was over. As we return to the hotel for lunch after further explorations, we just escape a heavier down-pour. The rain was, however, very welcome, for it made the afternoon much pleasanter. The morning had been oppressive.

After lunch we first returned to the Museum. The sculptures from the gables of the Temple of Zeus are of extraordinary interest. Though they have by no means escaped mutilation, enough is left to enable the spectator to form fairly adequate conclusions as to the effectiveness of the groups as they originally appeared on the pediments of the temple: far more remains, for instance, than of the corresponding sculptures from the Parthenon among the Elgin Marbles. Moreover the central hall of the Museum, where they are placed, is so proportioned that its length corresponds to the breadth of the temple and the members of each group

can therefore be arranged in the relative positions, which they originally occupied.* There is still, however, the drawback that they are level with the eye, instead of at an elevation of about 70 feet, as designed, and this further disadvantage that the limited space of the hall does not admit of the spectator's standing far enough back to get at a glance the effect of the group as a single whole. The group from the western gable, representing the Fight between the Centaurs and Lapiths is far the more impressive. The several lively images of conflict, each consisting of two or three figures engaged in desperate struggle are extraordinarily vigorous and they combine to form a powerful and effective whole. Especially striking, even repulsive in its strong realism is the group of the 'biting Centaur': a Lapith has caught the Centaur round the neck; the Centaur has fixed his teeth in his assailant's forearm and holds the arm fast with both his hands to prevent its being withdrawn: the savagery of the biting beast, the agony of the man bitten, the stress of the physical struggle of hand against hand are given with life-like intensity.

The eastern sculptures, representing Oenomaos and Pelops preparing to start in the chariot race are comparatively tame and have a somewhat stiff effect. The two groups are in strong contrast, the one all life, energy, conflict, the other all statuesque repose. Yet there is a certain broad likeness in style and execution, so much so that the balance of expert opinion is tending to reject the authority of Pausanias and ascribe both sets to the same artist or at all events to the same school. Pausanias distinctly assigns the Western group to Alcamenes, a pupil of Phidias, and the Eastern to Pæonius, whom we know to be the sculptor of the Victory. It seems rather a strong measure to set aside the plain statement of an authority so generally trustworthy as Pausanias, who had better opportunities than we have to ascertain the facts; and it is only barely credible that it should have been forgotten at Olympia in Pausanias' time, what artists had executed the sculptures on the chief temple there. Happily the lay visitor may be content merely to admire, without entering deeply into the controversies of archæologists. He will probably, however, be prepared to agree that there is a broad likeness in the two sets of sculptures. Both shew a certain bold vigour and largeness of conception without attaining to any great refinement of beauty. Their interest is immense, both on account of the subjects they represent and from their connection with the prostrate Temple of Zeus. They do not, it must be admitted, attain to the highest standard of artistic skill. Mr. Frazer

* The figures as now grouped are not all quite correctly placed. See Frazer, Vol. III, p. 516.

even questions if there is a single figure in either group that deserves to be called beautiful.

There are good plaster restorations of these sculptures in the centre of the hall, which give useful aid towards picturing the original effect of the groups, when perfect. For, though more has been recovered than could once have reasonably been hoped for, we are after all looking only on the wrecks of great works. The figures are sorely mangled and battered: a trunk without a head, a head without distinguishable features, here a bit of an arm, there a few fragments of marble barely recognizable—the framework and suggestion only of magnificent groups of sculpture. The Metopes, representing the Labours of Hercules, though they do not so masterfully claim the attention, have more artistic merit, and reward study with a revelation of more refined beauties. They exhibit the famous "Labours" with uncommon spirit. The most striking and best preserved groups are 'Hercules and Atlas,' 'Hercules dragging Cerberus from Hades' and the cleansing of the Augean stables. The energy with which the hero wields his broom in the last-mentioned is, in a generation prone to feeble half-measures, extremely edifying. The Victory of Pæonius is very beautiful. In this case, again, there is no doubt we have a genuine work. Pausanias tells us that a Victory of Pæonius was here at Olympia, and here is a Victory on a pedestal which still bears the name of Pæonius. The inscription on the pedestal runs: "The Messenians and Naupactians dedicated this statue to Olympian Zeus as a tithe from the spoils of their enemies." And below in smaller letters "The work of Pæonius of Mende, who also was successful in the competition for the pinnacle on the temple." It stood originally to the right front of the Temple of Zeus on the lofty triangular pedestal already noticed, the lower half of which remains in its place, while on the upper the Victory still rises within the great hall of the Museum. We find here, as in the Hermes, the mysterious touch of genius, if not in quite the same transcendent degree. The Victory so surpasses in the indefinable quality of beauty the sculptures of the Eastern pediment that it is difficult to believe them by the same hand. The splendid grace of the Victory cannot be hidden, though the lovely image is sadly mutilated—the head, the wings, the floating draperies. Indeed one hardly grasps at the first glance the full scope of Pæonius' design, as appears on comparison with a skilful restoration set up below: the wings are wholly gone and the folds of graceful drapery bellying out sail-like between them. Yet the figure, even in its present mutilated state, is a miracle of artistic creation, the perfect embodiment of the motion of descending flight. As we look at it, before our very eyes, a transfigured body floats and sinks.

There is much more, garnered from the marble-sown plain, in the Museum built at Olympia by the patriotic munificence of M. Syngros (and therefore yclept the Συγγροειον, Syn-greion), far too much for part of one short day, which does not even suffice for the things of supreme importance ; much of great interest even in the small side-rooms, if one can find time to glance through them :—exquisite drapery here and there, stored amid a jumble of odd fragments, here a head and bust of great beauty, there a graceful recumbent figure, draped statues and torsos that would claim careful study, if they were not thrust out of view by the greater and more perfect relics that claim all our time : some pleasing statuary also of Roman times. One wants days instead of hours at Olympia. Among the curiosities of these side galleries are a stone mass 112 lbs. in weight, intended to be hurled with one hand it is said—a difficult feat judging by its clumsy shape and make ; a gable end from the Treasury of the Megarians sculptured with the battle of the gods and giants, the acroterion or pinnacle of the Heræum in terra-cotta. As for the 30,000 bronzes said to have been shovelled out of the 20 feet of soil beneath which the Olympian plain lay buried so many hundred years, they are fortunately, seeing the limits of the capabilities of eye and brain, not in evidence.

There is happily, we find no rigid exactitude in closing the Museum doors at 4 P.M. By the complaisance of the door-keeper we linger some little while longer, coming forth at last to a serene evening. All is peace, stillness, solitude. The meadows of the Cladeus look fresher for the showers of the morning. The outlines of the environing hills are softened in the mellow light. The sides and pointed summit of Kronos hill are beautifully green. The air is clear and clean ; rolling masses of cloud and the deep blue of space are magnificently alternated in the skies. It is a scene of rare beauty and tranquility, soothing the mind to sober reflectiveness, delighting the eye purely as a prospect of physical beauty, nature at her loveliest, apart from the thrilling associations with which the little plain between the Alpheus and the Cladeus teems. The eternal charm of nature abides in spite of the vicissitudes of human fortune. The proud columns are fallen and shattered, the stately temples levelled with the ground, but river and hill, the rich woodland scenery of Elis, its wealth of waters and the varied outlines of its hills, delight us as they delighted Pausanias 1700 years ago, winning from him one of the very few references he makes to the physical aspect of the countries through which he plodded diligently, note-book in hand.

The excavations occupy only a small space in the little plain below with its border of low hills. Beyond spreads a varied panorama of hill and valley, with great rocky ridges meeting

the sky in the far distance. The Alpheus winds pleasantly through the gap to the front and right, bounding the Olympic Plain on the S.—no very ample river in spite of Pausanias eulogy. The Cladeus is almost at our feet, now quite an inconsiderable streamlet, hidden in its deep cutting of red earth, though credited with most of the work of burying Olympia under 20 feet of alluvium—no small service by the way to archæology. But looking to the position of the plain at the confluence of the river and its energetic tributary, and having regard to the way in which the valley is shut in by the engirding hills, the riddle of the loss and recovery of Olympia is fairly easy to read. One hundred and fifty years ago Olympia was little more than a tradition; layers of earth and sand covered the site since laid bare by excavation, and made of it an (approximately) uniform plain. In 1766 when Chandler (an Oxford divine and Fellow of Magdalen, sent out by the Dilettanti Society) came here, he did, indeed, “find the walls of the cell of a very large temple, standing many feet high and well-built, the stones all uninjured”* but apparently nothing else. In 1805, when Leake visited the scene even this was gone: all the visible remains were some pieces of fluted Doric columns white marble and “a single fragment of a Doric shaft of porous of enormous size.” “At present,” he says, “the vale of Olympia in the part adjacent to the hills is level and carpeted with a fine turf, supplying winter pasture to sheep. Near the Alpheus the land, annually fertilized by the inundations of winter, affords a good soil for the growth of maize” (Leake *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 7, 8). He explains that “one of the agas of Lala had been lately engaged in excavating the site of the temple of Jupiter for the purpose of carrying away its foundations, the building itself with the exception of a few fragments having been entirely removed” (*ib.*, p. 106). Hence the complete disappearance of the walls seen by Chandler. Then in 1829 came the French ‘*Expedition de Morée*,’ which worked for six weeks on the site of the Temple of Zeus and inaugurated the great work of excavation. “They cleared a great part of the stylobate, obtained an exact measurement of it, discovered the lowest portions of thirteen columns, and would probably have found more, if they had completed their excavation: they brought to light also, some remains of the metopes of the pronaos and posticum” (in particular the fine group of Hercules and the Cretan Bull, now in the Louvre) “and had the satisfaction of observing that they are in exact conformity with the description of Pausanias” (Leake *Pelop.*, pp. 12, 13). So things remained for another fifty years, till in 1875 through the inspiration of the dead Winckelmann, the enlightened liberality of the Crown

* Chandler travels in Greece, ch. lxxvi, p. 332.

Prince of Prussia (afterwards the Emperor Frederick) and the devoted zeal of a band of German archæologists, the grand work was taken in hand which has resulted in restoring to us the ground plan of Olympia, as it may be traced out to-day. The excavating continued from 1875 to 1881, nearly £40,000 was expended ; and even so the work is incomplete.

Yet what a ruin after all is here. As we look down upon the excavations from this vantage-ground, what a wilderness of stone and rock and brown earth and grassy verdure it all is ! Without the key which enables us to piece together this Chinese puzzle of cross-walls and fragments it might well seem a hopeless chaos. The whole area is strewn with disorderly masses of masonry ; here and there a low line of wall crops out, crossed and confused by others like it. Not a single whole column standing that can be seen from here—scarcely half a dozen in all this excavated space :—only a forest of stumps seldom five feet high. What a dismal wreck, if imagination can conjure up for a moment the picture of Olympia in its splendour, whether in the palmy days when the current of Greek life ran free and strong, or in the more magnificent, but less interesting period, when Hellenic freedom was underpropped and overshadowed by the irresistible might of Rome ; when the Altis was thronged with priests and worshippers, and every day half a hundred altars smoked with sacrifice. How much more dismal, if we call up the still more brilliant scene, when every fifth year the Games, were celebrated with the utmost magnificence, when pilgrims and sightseers crowded hither from every place that owned the Hellenic name, when gorgeous processions wound from the Temple to the Stadium and from the Stadium to the Temple ; when dense throngs watched the contests in the race-course and the wrestling ground, and the hill reechoed the eager shouts that cheered on the competitors and hailed the victor.

All this has vanished as a dream, leaving no trace but a few inimitable fragments of marble, and these complicated foundations of strange stone, which proves, if you look into it, an agglomeration of tiny shells. And yet there is not a wall or fragment which has not been identified and named with plausibility : such is the painstaking accuracy of Pausanias and the pious diligence of German archæologists ! Of the buildings so carefully enumerated by the old traveller and writer there is not one but has been recognized and located. The list is a long one. There are altogether five important buildings (not to speak of a dozen treasures) within the bounding walls of the Altis, and at least six large buildings without, the Leonidæum in particular vast in extent.

Among them is a Byzantine Church on Hellenic foundations,

and the foundations are conjectured to be those of the Workshop of Phidias, where the great image of Zeus was wrought. The Bouleuterion or Council Hall with its three-fold structure and its two apsidal endings is also very remarkable.

Not the least memorable feature of this transformation and recovery is the prophetic insight by which these grand results were anticipated, the resolute faith in which the lovers of the beautiful have been impelled to so arduous an undertaking. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, one of the founders of the philosophy of the beautiful, author of the 'History of Ancient Art,' was one of the first to direct attention to the subject. He expressly urged the attempt to explore the site thoroughly, "I feel assured," he said that there is a harvest to be reaped in Elis which will surpass every hope, and that a thorough exploration of that district will throw a flood of light upon the history of art." We may read with curious interest, too, Leake's speculation in 1835, founded largely on his own investigations on the site. "There is every reason to believe," he says in his *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 99, "that in the course of the last fifteen centuries all the south-eastern extremity of the Altis has been destroyed by the river, and consequently that all the remains of buildings and monuments in that part of the Sacred Grove have been buried beneath the new alluvial soil, or carried into the river." He explains that "the waters of the Cladeus and of the Cronian ridges have been slowly, but constantly, raising all that part of the upper level, which has remained unmoved by the river; as becomes instantly manifest on viewing the foundations of the temple of Jupiter, the pavement of which is now some feet below the natural surface." He even anticipates with sagacious accuracy the actual manner in which the treasures now in the Museum have been recovered. In speaking of the general destruction of works of art with the triumph of Christianity, he points out how "the monuments of Olympia could hardly have escaped," and adds "some of them, however, may have been thrown down and involved in the ruins of buildings, and may have escaped notice, protected by the depopulation of Peloponnesus and the secluded position of Olympia, until the peculiar liability of this place to natural changes may have caused some of the remaining works of sculpture to be buried under the surface of the soil; and these may still remain together with many monuments valuable to archæology" (*ib.*, p. 105).

After another hour among the ruins it seemed good to us to climb Kronos hill and see the sunset. This should, by no means be omitted by the traveller, whose quest is of memorable experiences. The hill is of no great height, 405 feet above sea level, and a few minutes take you to the top. There is a

narrow path winding up from the road running by the Cladeus northward, but it is easy enough to go straight up behind the treasuries, if one picks one's way a little heedfully among the bushes. The view from the summit will abundantly repay the effort.

We watched the sun go down, then made our way back to the hotel, and having an early start in view for the morrow, were early to bed. As for 'the largest and best hotel in the Peloponnesus'—it was well enough, and certainly large; but we fared better at about half the cost at several places during the rest of our pilgrimage. The 'Syntagma' at Tripolitza was decidedly better all round: for our bedroom at the Grand Hotel, Olympia was but poorly furnished and the 'cuisine' indifferent. There were only three other guests (Greeks) besides our two selves, at dinner: possibly the cook might do better with the incentive of greater numbers.

It had been a great day! But great as the day had been, we lay down that night after a few simple preparations for the morrow with a leaping up of the heart and an eager expectation of morning light. For before the sun was fairly above the horizon we meant to be up and over the Alpheus and footing it for the mountains. And to walk in the early morning under Greek skies with pilgrim staff and knapsack, self-dependent and untrammelled, free of cares and conventions, and with no other baggage than what one carries on one's back, breathing the live air and drinking the morning freshness, is worth all the excavations and museums in Europe.

H. R. J.

ART. III.—RETURNED EMPTY.
(Continued from October 1900, No. 222.)

CHAPTER V.

1887.

ALIKE in public affairs and in the trifling events with which these notes are chiefly concerned the year 1887 was marked by less anxiety and less gloom than the twelve months by which it had been preceded. The separation between Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal Unionists became quite final, unless an exception be made of Sir G. Trevelyan who endeavoured for some time to discover a *modus vivendi*. Mr. Parnell threw the weight of a compact following of some ninety members into the scale of the opposition ; but the cause of the Government was warmly espoused by the *Times* newspaper, that journal having published a letter purporting to contain an expression of the Irish leader's approval in regard to the murder of Cavendish and Bourke in Dublin, for which the proprietors were eventually fain to compound by a payment of £5,000.

The great event of the year was the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Her Majesty's accession, of which some notice will be found under the date of June 21st. The writer passed his time between London, Oxford, and the Channel Islands ; preparing a book* and some contributions to the *Dictionary of National Biography* published by Smith and Elder under the able editorship of Mr. Leslie Stephen.

Thursday, January 8th.—Read *La France Juive* by M. Drumont.† The book is not without force, exhibiting both research and courage. Unfortunately it is weakened by exaggeration and by obvious omissions. It has been said that every nation has the Jews that it deserves ; and perhaps the merits of France have not been the greatest in this matter. But when, going beyond the frontier, he treats Spinoza as a mere spectacle-maker the unfairness is palpable ; and he makes no mention of the Mendelssohns or Herschels, which is absurd.

Thursday, 20th.—Oxford.—Debate at the Union on the Irish

* This was an edition of Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, finally brought out in 1894. During the year I also wrote some satires, under the title of "Juvenal in Piccadilly."

† M. Edouard Drumont began the Anti-Semitic Crusade which, taken up by some of the French Clergy and their disciples, reached formidable dimensions in 1899, coming to a head in the acrimonies inspired by the Dreyfus case.

Government question: none of the undergraduate speakers very effective, on either side. Mr. T. P. O'Connor made a plausible speech; and having the two-fold advantage of parliamentary practice and the special suspension of the time-limit, gave his views in an address that was ready, clever, and well-delivered. I do not suppose that very many of the audience were in sympathy with him, but they listened and applauded with the generosity of youth.

Sunday, 23rd.—Dined with Rogers at Worcester: a pleasant party. Spent the end of the evening at his house, under a shower of facts, figures, and anecdotes.

Wednesday, 26th.—A long walk with Nettleship.* He talked of Matthew Browne and Chaucer; very entertaining and instructive.

Monday, 31st.—Thorold Rogers, in spite of strong peculiarities, impresses himself on one as an important personality, wise and honest. Have been informed and stimulated of late both by his conversation and by his writings. His *Work and Wages* contains original first-hand knowledge; but one notices omissions, *e.g.* Nothing is said of commanditarian partnership, which many persons accept as a solution of questions between employer and operative. Nor can I see any sufficient reference to the great addition to the currency, after the Spanish discoveries in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which must have been a main cause why prices rose faster than wages; and affected—what he notices—the prosperity which had prevailed among the working classes in the period immediately preceding. He goes, indeed, so far as to say that low prices *must* raise wages.

February, Wednesday 2nd.—Sad case of a youth who has just taken his degree, and now committed to the Assizes on a charge of stealing books from the Union Library. What a blow for his parents!

April (Jersey), Thursday 21st.—A strange experience at 3-10 A.M. I woke with a feeling as if I had been struck on the nape of the neck. On going for an early walk learned that a shock of earthquake had been felt in the Island; and some neighbours assert that their house had reeled and rocked. So the great creature whose parasites we are must have had a spasm.

May (London), Monday, 9th.—To London: trouble with publishers: my projected edition of *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* does not find much favour.

Wednesday, 11th.—Advised at India Office to migrate to Cambridge; given to understand that none of the Indian

* Richard Lewis N. succeeded T. H. Green at Balliol, and perished on Mt. Blanc in 1892. An accomplished and very charming man.

noblemen would ever be sent to Oxford. Saw some good paintings at Grosvenor Gallery in charge of my old friend Beck, who has some good water colours of his own. The Academy a very fair show, especially in the way of portraits by Watts, Millais, Onless, and Herkomer. Onless especially clever with the human eye; Millais the man whose work calls to you from the wall: you cannot pass his pictures without looking at them long.

Saturday, 14th.—At the National Gallery, where I relished the Dutch pictures more than I used to do, and the Turner's less. Is that a deterioration of one's own taste, or can it be that Turner's tints are fading? I once thought that his atmospheric effects illuminated the room: to-day they looked chalky.

(Oxford), *Thursday, 19th.*—Farewell to M., who advised me against settling family here; saying it was only "a Club, to be visited as a change."

Left at noon, halting at Winchester. Went over the vast and ponderous Cathedral of Perpendicular architecture on Norman nucleus: *soi disant* tomb of Red King, probably the monument of a Bishop.

On return to the station met Lord Lytton, who did not seem well: our conversation cut short by train in which I departed for Ryde where I passed a few pleasant days as guest of my old schoolfellow, Gen. N.

(London), *June, Wednesday 8th.*—Train crowded with people going to Ascot. How sheep-like we are! Very small percentage of these crowds could tell you *why* they go.

(Oxford), *Saturday 11th.*—Voted for H. Godfray, of Exeter, as President of the Union: a courteous and resolute young student, who will make his mark hereafter.* In the evening to a large room in Holywell to hear a lecture on Political Economy by Cottar Morison: the undergraduates called it "The Cottar's Saturday night."

Sunday, 12th.—A pleasant afternoon with some interesting company in M.'s garden, the brightness of summer shining on the bloom of spring. One was reminded of Omar Khayyāni's parties six hundred years ago. Certainly it is hard to imagine an Oxford Don calling on us to stay him with flagons; or saying, in so many words—

"Ah Comrades! strengthen me with cups of wine
Until my sallow cheeks like ruby shine;
And wash me in it after I am dead,
And stitch my shroud with tendrils of the vine."

* He became Registrar (Greffiers) of the Royal Court of Jersey, and his premature death cut short a most promising career.

Also there must have been, in the Persian programme, an element of disreputability from which we were free to-day: yellow maidens odorous of garlic and cocoa-nut oil. But though men differ, from time to time, in the details of their enjoyment, the general principle will be always much the same—*weib wein, und gesang*: such is the theme, with whatever variations.

Tuesday, 14th.—After luncheon went to Convocation to receive honorary degree of M. A.: was kept in the *Apodyterium* while the "grace" was being passed: then three macebearers came out and ushered one into the hall in academicals. Here the public Orator (Dr. Meiry) came and took charge, presenting one to the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Bellamy of S. John's) in a Latin speech: on conclusion of which the Vice-Chancellor said, "Domine! accipio te in gradum magistis artium honoris causâ"; then M. came up in his humorous way, handing one the speech which—he said—one would certainly write to him for in the evening if he did not prevent the correspondence. The Vice-Chancellor shook hands as did also many M. A. friends who were there.

Afterwards to the Warden's Garden-party at Wadham; the place looked lovely. Division at night in the Union, and "Address" lost. The voting evidently influenced by the speeches.

Wednesday, 15th.—Began some reviewing for *Academy* and *Eng. Historical Review*.

Thursday, 16th.—Dined with S. at Corpus: the evening was hot and instead of Common Room we sate in the Fellow's garden. It used to be the fashion to speak of the Oxford dons as drones: in any case they knew how to make pleasant hives for themselves. Where else could such graceful life be led as in these mediæval harbours of repose?

Friday, 17th.—Dined at Wadham, meeting the Rev.—who had been an undergraduate with me 44 years ago. Youth lingers in his manner and his smile, but he gave a sad account of the present state of a rural Parish. He holds a College living of which the income has fallen from £750 to £150 per annum. Farmers could still pay tithe if they would; but according to him they simply *will not*. A very startling condition of affairs if generally true: if not it is the alternative of agricultural ruin, which is even worse. I remember in my youth one of the arguments against the proposed repela of the Corn Laws that it would be fatal to home agriculture. It is quite possible that with the immense increase of English population taxes on food could not be maintained; but the result may be to render the British Islands a mere hive of manufacturing produce, quite dependent on imported food,

and deprived of the peasantry who formed our good old armies of Waterloo and Blenheim times. Something of the same kind led to the decline of the Roman Empire. *Abrit omen!*

Sunday, 19th.—To S. Mary's: sermon by Dr. Stubbs, a fine head and eloquent tongue. Lunch with Prof. Rhys,* and afternoon at M.'s. Dined with Firth† at Balliol, and heard the concert in the Hall—one of Jowett's institutions, I believe. Some interesting talk with Mr. G. Putnam, the American publisher.

(London), *Tuesday, 21st.*—A great crowd at the Athenæum (said to be 800 ladies and gentlemen) to witness the procession to and from the Abbey, in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's accession: I had a ticket for the exterior gallery but gave it up to a lady and stood over the portico with Sir Tho. Wade (formerly Ambassador in China). We had a fine view of the cortège; the guard of Princes, headed by the noble figure of the Crown Prince of Prussia in cuirass and silver helmet: great heat, and people occasionally carried off in Police-ambulances. Rev. C. W. came over from the Abbey for the purpose of seeing me and obtaining lunch; which—in spite of my ticket—the rules of the Club prevented me from offering. Droll effect of Oxford dons in scarlet Doctor's robes, perched on the top of a four-wheeler. Dined with Morison at Hampstead, and met pleasant company.

The day has been the climax of an era; and it was a privilege to have seen the gracious Lady (whom I remember as a girl), borne along the crowded and decorated streets escorted by over threescore royal personages—some her own offspring; acknowledging with smiles and bows the greetings of her subjects from all the ends of the earth.‡

[The next few days were passed in the Isle of Wight in a beautiful house and grounds, where the sea washed the brink of the lawn. I noted a curious parallel to the case of Sandwich at the little old village of Brading, now high and dry, which is credibly recorded to have furnished four ships for the repulse of the Spanish Armada three hundred years ago. At Carisbrooke found the Custodian of the Castle living in a part of the old building with his daughter—a very fine girl

* John Rhys: famous Celtic scholar, now Prince of Jesus (1900).

† Charles H. Firth; late scholar of Balliol and a high authority on the Cromwellian period.

Dr. Stubbs is of course known as the Bishop of Oxford, and sometime Prof. of Modern History (Regius).

‡ There was, as is well-known, a sort of repetition of the scene ten years later; without, indeed, the noble Prussian son-in-law removed in the interim by a lingering death. But the presence of Colonial and Indian representatives distinguished this from the original Jubilee.

who gave our party tea. She said they expected to be turned out in September, when she had hopes of employment as a Barmaid. It seemed a rather sad downcome for the Major's daughter.]

Wednesday, 29th.—A visit from Gen. Abbott.* He has lived a life of the most romantic adventure and devoted public service. He bore a part in making history on more than one occasion, and had been deliberately mutilated in his right hand while in captivity among the Afghans: it was strange to see this ventable hero living alone at Ryde, a gentle sweet-voiced little old man, not without a touch of something like poetry. He expressed a great jealousy of Russian progress in Central Asia, and thinks that we have let her approach too near our frontier. Like most of his class he was unable to say how the process might have been arrested.

July, Friday, 1st—By Mail-steamers from Southampton to Jersey. Reached Guernsey at 9 A.M. Conversing on deck with the Captain and a French gentleman, was asked by the former to continue the conversation whilst he, the Captain, attended to some point of duty elsewhere. The Frenchman was tall and handsome, and we had a long talk on things in general. When asked, what he thought of the rumoured alliance between France and Russia he answered, frankly, that it would depend on what projects the two governments had in common; adding reflectively:—"Chaque nation a ses intérêts." On my making the obvious reply—"Ils ne sont pas desintéressés, M. M. les Russes" he replied—"Mon Dieu! ils seraient bien bêtes and 'ils l'étaient." I then asked, what he thought of the prospects of monarchy in France, on which subject he proved less open. By way of starting him I suggested that it must be a difficult thing for the House of Orleans to administer to the succession of the Cte de Chamford; to run up—so I expressed it—the White Flag with one hand while waving the Tricolour in the other. By this time we were entering the harbour of G. Helier, round which were ranged a row of people, all shouting—"Vive le Roi!" To which my companion responded by waving his hat; and then for the first time dawned upon me the appalling truth that I had been airing opinions on French politics for the behoof of the Count of Paris.

Saturday, 2nd.—To Noirmont, where I accompanied the Seigneur to pay our respects to Philippe VII, who was encamped in the Hotel at the gate of the Manor-grounds. We

* Made K. C. B. in 1894—in his 87th year; and died two years after. Sir James rode from Herat to Khiva in 1833; and wrote an account of the ride, which was published by W. H. Allen & Co. (3'd edition, 2 vols., 1884.)

found the Due de la T., a middle-aged nobleman with the true courtier manner: very *empresé*, but not paying you the smallest attention in reality. He led the way to the royal presence, and we found his Majesty looking very well after a night's rest and the good valetising that rich people can command. He received us with dignified courtesy; very gracious to my companion about his beautiful grounds, and civil to myself. I offered apologies for the indiscretions of the previous day, but he was good enough to assure me that he had heard me with much interest. At parting he shook our hands, and clicking his heels together after the manner of a German officer, said in excellent English—"You have my best wishes;" but his accent, in speaking our language, was not good or pleasant; and he gave us generally the impression of a fatigued man, not much in earnest about himself. A number of *gentilshommes Bretons* had come to see him; antiquated fossils of a vanishing type; and his time, during his short stay, will be much filled up with their reception: the Republic not being one penny the worse!

Monday, 4th.—To the theatre to see Miss Geneviève Ward in "Forget-me not:" her rendering of the heroine is an inspiration; the house thin but sympathetic.

Tuesday, 15th.—At the theatre again: *The Queen's Favourite*, an adaptation of Scribe's *Verre d'Eau*, and perhaps less convincing than the piece of yesterday. A French play with the immorality removed is like a watch, whose mainspring has broken and a village workman has tried to substitute catgut for the steel. It will not go.

Wednesday, 6th.—Miss W. accompanied us to a race-meeting which proved a fraud. There were no races; only some booths with fat women and strong women, and a poor pretence of merry-making and geniality.

Thursday, 7th.—Miss W. called, suffering a little from a nasty accident which might have had serious results. She brought sad accounts of Mr.——whose adventures offer a melancholy instance of what may come of selfish "patronage" and meddling with the family lives of artists. He seems quite done for in purse and in person.

Friday, 8th.—Theatre again: crowded and appreciative. Our gifted friend in the best of spirits; and when she is so who can be more fascinating?

Sunday, 31st.—Walking by moonlight in my garden was reminded of Faust and the famous aspiration towards the passing moment. Seldom indeed can man say what was to be his ultimate prayer. H. G. came for a smoke and the moment had flown by.

August, Tuesday, 2nd.—Working at Warren Hastings, for the

D. N. B., read Burke's turgid speeches at the impeachment. He made cumbrous mirth over the coincidences of the arrest and commitment) of Nuncomar just when the Babu was accusing Hastings; the orator was publicly censured for this and the charge broke down. But if the Governor-General's friends knew that unfinished proceedings were hanging over Nuncomar's head there would be nothing wrong in acting on the knowledge. Nuncomar's adversaries had long since laid their train, but were perhaps encouraged to fire it only when they found him at deadly feud with the chief of the State. The great question lay elsewhere; *viz.*, was the charge properly heard, and determined according to law? Burke's mind was excitable perhaps (as Lord Teignmouth said) morbid; but we should remember that his ardour first made our nation realise what India was like and what a responsibility was incurred in taking charge of those remote and miserable millions. Conquest may be right or may be wrong; but a curse would be entailed by conquest that owned no duty. Successful men who have risen to arbitrary power are not always as modest or sympathetic as they might be; and there can be nothing better for them than to be reminded from time to time that they cannot escape from parliamentary control. For doing that the main credit is due to Burke.

Monday, 15th.—Something, I forget what, suggested a train of thought on the different destinies of men and the other animals. These seem but little cared for, and often illustrate the smallest happiness of the smallest number. Beasts and birds of prey starve when they grow old, the creatures necessary for their food live in constant alarm and on precarious subsistence. Man alone seems to have the benefit of incorporation and moral law: yet he makes trouble for himself, bewails his lot and sinks his hopes in pessimism.

(September), *Wednesday, 7th.*—R. E. F. and his wife came over from Brittany. He is the "Hardress Thomas" whose Indian story, *The touchstone of peril*, has been lately much admired. It is a graphic picture of Upper India, and shows unusual knowledge of native character.*

Answered an advertisement from "a London Publisher desirous of obtaining able translations into English verse of the lighter French poetry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."

Friday, 9th.—Heard of the death of a college-contemporary and brother-officer A. L. M. P. from cerebral paralysis. He was 'one of the strongest looking man I ever saw, and a

* Mr. Forrest afterwards produced a little story entitled "the bond of blood" (T. Fisher Unwin, 1896.) which was highly commended in an article on Indian fiction in the *Edin. Rev.* for October 1899.

brilliant swordsman. The Hon'ble W. Murray Fraser, who was with him in Pohohale's unlucky action under the walls of Agra (5th July 1857), told me that with a handful of mounted volunteers he saw P. encounter 800 of the enemy's cavalry, fighting hand-to-hand like a Paladin. In the same action another brother-officer was shot through the lungs: he is still alive.*

Thursday, 22nd.—Arrangements concluded about the translations of French poetry as mentioned on 7th. The first series is "Les Baisers" of the musketeer-poet C. J. Dorat: they are pretty trifles, founded on the "Basia" of Johannes Secundus, and illustrated by charming vignettes by Longneil, from the drawings of Eissen and Masillier,—which the Publisher, old Vizetelly—appears to have discovered at a Paris broker's. They were thought to have been destroyed; and a collection in the possession of a wealthy collector, had been valued at one hundred guineas.†

The later afternoon was calm and bright, after the sinking of an easterly wind. Watched the last gleam of summer and its lingering roses while the cries of the children at play sounded in the shrubbery; and again one remembered Goethe's "stay, thou art so fair."

Wednesday, 28th—My little Tale published in Guernsey—"Saint George's Cross."‡

(October), *Monday, 3rd.*—Read "The Martyrdom of Man" by Winwood Reade. A gloomy book, not likely to succeed; but, as mere literature, a master-piece. I know no English writer who has more ably condensed a vast historical record without becoming dry or dull.

Thursday, 13th.—P.—an Irish neighbour—lent me T. P.'s book on the Parnellite movement. The modern Home-Rulers are a great improvement on any former "Nationalist" champions, and apparently quite beyond the reach of governmental corruption. But the question after all arises—what is a Nation? It is hard to see how a portion of the population of Ireland can be a nation any more than the Britons in France or the Basques in Spain. Surely, blood, numerical importance, creed, customs, language, and institutions, are all essential to the making of a nation; and where these—so far as they once existed—are being daily obliterated or absorbed, the nationality must fade and disappear. The Poles made a nation once; and, perhaps, consider themselves a nation still; but what of Corsica or the Isle of Man?

* Sir Richard Oldfield, alive in 1900.

† They may, now be picked up (with my translation) at the booksellers for 7 6. Several other series appeared later.

‡ An episode of Charles the Second's visit to the Ch. Islands. Published by Messrs. Fred. Clarke, of S. Peter Port.

Thursday, 20th.—Called upon an old lady who seemed to be a complete type of the transition, now going on in the educated strata of our Society. So strong in orthodoxy as to deny the title of "Christian" to Dr. Martineau, Mrs. H. is quite dissatisfied with the old evidential basis of belief; and, while clinging to the hope of Heaven, has lost all dread of the other place.

Wednesday, 26th.—Sent "Juvenal in Piccadilly" to Yizenelly.* A visit from my gunner son† A returned from a long visit to friends in England. In complimenting her on the improvement in her appearance said, I was sure her hosts must have appreciated her "staying power."

November *Tuesday, 8th.*—Off to England in lovely weather.

Wednesday, 9th.—With Alf, to Tool's theatre and saw that very clever play, "Dandy Dick." Mr. John Wood, as the sporting widow, was convincing, and John Clayton made exactly the sort of rather aristocratic Dear that one meets in the Coffee-room of the Athenæum.

Friday, 11th.—Called on Vereschagin‡, at the Grosvenor Gallery. Stopping before his (fancy) picture of British Artillerymen, blowing Sepoys from the mouths of guns, he said "That is what you shall always do in India." On my saying that, I hoped, Never again, he drew his heels together, made a bow to M., who was looking shocked, and said "your pardon; you shall do." All the Russians I have ever talked with on the subject, have similar ideas, and think we hold India by mere force and terror. I hope not.

Sunday, 13th.—At Oxford. Sermon at S. Mary's, by Hatch,§ clever, learned, and eloquent. Afternoon at M.'s Tabagie, and, dinner at Wadham.

(London,) *Wednesday, 16th.*—Wandered down to Queens Gale Hall, in a fog that rendered every thing invisible. Recitation by Lenville || Dined with Gen. N.

Thursday, 17th.—To Messrs. M. to be photographed, *by invitation*; a strange method of advertisement when it comes down to such obscure people is oneself. N. and A. accompanied me at night to a French play at the Royalty; how much better they act than our people! The Marquis was to have supped with us at the Hotel continental, where he failed to find us, though we were all there. [How such a

* A little, volume of satire, which fell extremely flat.

† Now (1900) Lt. Col. R. A. and D. S. O.

‡ M. B. Vershagin, the great Russian painter, whom we had known from the time of his visit to Agra.

§ Edwin H. D. D. Professor of Classical literature in Canada; and, later, of Ecce. History at Oxford. Bampton Lecturer in 1880; a learned and earnest opponent of all forms of High Church claims.

|| Marquis de Leuville, an extraordinary character.

thing could happen ? It would be deemed extravagant on the stage : it was literally true, but never explained.]

Saturday, 19th.—Back to Jersey after seeing Alf. 'off for India.

(*Jersey*), *Friday, December 2nd.*—A lovely day. Played billiards at the Victoria Club with an officer who had been under Sir Robert Sale at Jallalabad in 1842 as a Corporal in the 13th. How incredulous he would have been if a fortune-teller had announced that he would be living in Jersey as a Colonel nearly half a century later !

This was the last item of any general interest for that year. It may be permitted to add that, besides the work already noted, I had engaged to prepare a course of lectures on Indian History for the Oxford University Extension. These gave pleasant employment, and were ultimately adapted for Indian educational purposes in a manual published some years later.* As a course, however, for Extension Lecture-purposes they failed to draw. And here let me observe, once for all, that India and her history have no attraction for the British public unless treated by pens that—as Stella said of Swift—could give glory to a Broomstick : of whom, in regard to Indian History, there have been perhaps three ; Edmund Burke, Lord Macaulay, and—in our own day—Sir William Hunter.†

CHAPTER VI.

1888. •

Few events of public importance came under notice during the year ; attention was chiefly occupied with the proceedings attending the charge against Mr. C. S. Parnell, of complicity in the crimes of the Irish Invincibles, brought by the *Times*. These were heard before a special Court, the hearing not being concluded until late in the succeeding year. The writer passed most of the time in the Channel Islands ; but had towards the end of last year become engaged in examination work which took him over to London several times in the course of 1888.

Elsewhere the most interesting events occurred in connection with the showy General Boulanger, a very different sort of adventurer from Parnell—if "adventurer" be the right word. Dismissed from the French army in March, Boulanger turned to politics, and was elected a Deputy in two departments. Then came his duel with the Prime-Minister, M. Floquet, in which the soldier got worsted and wounded ; an omen, as it afterwards turned out.

* *The Making of India* ; Indian Press, Allahabad, 1896.

† Sir Alfred Lyall, K. C. B., would have made a good fourth if he had chosen to enter the field. Sir W. Hunter (1840-1900) was possessed of vast information and a fascinating style.

The conservative Government continued in power under the now familiar premiership of Lord Salisbury, Mr. Gladstone adhering to his association with the Irish "Nationalists" which had cost him his place.

March (Jersey), Thursday, 8th.—Read an article on Herbert Spencer by Mr. Lilly, in the *Fortnightly Review*. It is able but written with his peculiar manner, what perhaps one might call unctuous malice; he objects to S.'s ethics because—as he puts it—they are brought down to be mere matters of self-interest and fear of the Constable. But surely that is hardly fair. Mr. L. never shows us where we are to look for the Categorical Imperative that would seem to be the only alternative to the utilitarian basis: what is *his* standard of right and wrong? He might surely be met by the Socratic method; as thus—

"*Socrates.*—Do you believe that, on the whole the virtuous are happy?"

Lilly.—I cannot doubt it. In keeping of His Statutes there is great reward.

S.—And do you admit the right of society to protect itself by directing attention to this advantage and attaching penalties to injurious conduct?

L.—I must also admit this: if one man has a right of self-defence how much the whole.

S.—And, that being so, those who aim at pleasure by forbidden ways will in the end fail?

L.—So it seems."

And so Socrates would go on to show that the best motive of conduct would be in the satisfaction of one's wisest instincts. Of course the difficulty of reconciling the propriety of forming good habits with the laws of heredity and determinism postulated in Spencer's system is not removed. It is in ethics an ultimate, perhaps an insoluble problem. But there are other such.

Monday, 12th —Looked over a new edition of the old "Pickwick Papers," and felt some surprise at the great effect once produced by the book: which indeed I can, myself, remember faintly. It seems now a rather crude medley of fisty-cuffs, horse-play, and strong liquor. Every one gets drunk, over and over again—even the middle-aged hero himself, who is evidently a favourite of the author's and a model of virtue. Even the *Observation* is not as minute or accurate as would now be required; the Cockney dialect, for instance, is quite incorrectly rendered; and the incidents have hardly anything in common with possibility. Yet there is the fact: the book made the author's fortune and reproduced in a costly form, after the lapse of half a century. It must be something in the warm sympathetic nature of the young author; his high

spirits, and his incalculable whim. It may seem in cold-blood, too much like a slightly defeated Humphrey Clinker; but it possesses qualities not to be found in any of Smollett's works; and is a pleasant wholesome antidote to despondency and pessimism. Poor humanity must, after all, sometimes be content to find relief in nonsense much below the level of *Pickwick*.

Amongst minor technicalities in this Dicken's first long fiction, it may be observed that the nomenclature of the characters exhibits little of the extravagance that is found in his later works. Instead of the long farcical names, such as Tulkington, Tollingtower, Peerybingle, etc., we have simple ones, like Winkle, Wardle, Trundle, and Jingle—the last only bordering on burlesque. The humour has a sort of innocent slyness that is not without charm; as when Sam Weller, condoling with old Tony on the death of his wife, reminds him that there is a Providence that rules these things. "Werry true," said his father; "if not what would become of the undertakers?" The rare touches of pathos are not forced; and there occur occasional passages of delightful description; such as that of the walk from Rochester to Cobham on a summer morning. Altogether, the book was real refreshment to a public whose literary provender consisted for the most part of imitations of Scott or brazen inventions like "Gilbert Gurney," varied by society novels of the "silver-fork" school. The life of the lower middle classes was not a very noble one; but its revelation was *new*.

Saturday, 24th.—Went to London on examination-work, and saw old friends: received by Colonel Baillie at Queenborough Terrace.*

Monday, 26th.—Viva-voce work for Indian C. S. All the Candidates University men; two London, one Dublin, the rest from Oxford and Cambridge.

Saturday, 31st.—Took A. to Niagara, a beautiful panorama of the famous falls: thence to a *matinée* at the Savoy Theatre, where we enjoyed Gilbert and Sullivan's new operetta "The Pirates of Penzance." The rest of the day we spent at the studios; some powerful work by a young artist named Solomon.†

April, Tuesday 3rd.—Cold weather, with N.-E. wind and snow. Worked hard at the candidates' papers.

Friday, 5th.—Met M. Arnold at Athenaeum; he spoke kindly of my paper on Omar Khāyyām in *Macmillan's Magazine*

* Colonel John Baillie; antiquarian and aquarellist of no ordinary merit. He died before the end of the year.

† Mr. S. J. Solomon, A. R. A., a pupil of Cabanel.

and urged me to bring out a complete version, *in prose*.* That is one of his doctrines; even if you are a poet yourself you cannot make a sound version of poetry in metre. But, surely, it is the office of a translator to convey something of the effect of his original. What of Coleridge's *Wallenstein* or Woosley's *Odyssey*? Are they not permanent possessions of the English reader? Even Pope's *Iliad*, though (as Bentley said) you must not call it "Homer;" but it is a classic of our literature all the same.

Monday, 16th.—At Athenaeum, walked away with Lyall† and Stephen.‡ The latter, as we left, said: "I do not much care for the club: it is getting too full of ghosts." I know what he meant: if it takes a man sixteen years of waiting before his name comes up for ballot, he is bound to be well stricken in years at his election. And then the old Mower soon comes in, with his inevitable scythe. Dined with O'C.§ I made him a present of a beautiful edition of Gray's Poems, with Bentley's illustrations that had belonged to my ancestor Galfridus Mann, brother of Sir Horace the Ambassador, and correspondent of H. Walpole.

Friday, 20th.—To the Haymarket: a ridiculous play called "The Pompadour," true neither to history nor yet to nature. My countrymen are so easily pleased!

Sunday, 22nd.—Back to Jersey with A. ●

May, Saturday, 12th.—An old social *crux*. Being at the Club to-day was told by an American visitor something to the discredit of an absent friend. Of course I could deny it, having heard him tell the story of himself in a very different way. But the question is, ought I to repeat the matter to him, or will it be more friendly to avoid mischief-making? It seems unfriendly to repeat to him what must give him pain, and may do more harm than good? I think that silence seems best, and shall not stir further in the case.

Friday, 18th.—Exquisite afternoon: gusts and gleams on the offing: the view of the sea from my Library-window with a lovely foreground of green leaves and pink blossoms. Heard of Sir Temple's arrival in the Island. ||

* Mr. Arnold, a great critic, a true poet, and useful public servant; died suddenly, at Liverpool, ten days later. When I had the conversation with him here noted, he looked a fine man in the prime of life in spite of his sixty-five years.

† Sir Alfred Lyall, already mentioned.

‡ Sir J. F. Stephen, Bart. (1829-1894), formerly a Member of the Viceroy's Council in India, afterwards Judge of the High Court of Justice in England.

§ Surgeon-General D.O'Callaghan, a distinguished Medical Officer (V. Ch. II).

|| Right Hon'ble Sir R. Temple, Bart. schoolfellow and brother-officer of

Monday, 21st.—Temple called and I gave him information and a letter of introduction to Sir Edgar Macculloch.*

In the evening an Extension Lecture on the Tudors: a distinguished local audience. The Lecturer, Mr. Long, has a good voice and manner; the treatment much relished by all who spoke to me of it.

Tuesday, 22nd.—Red the *Life of Reynell Taylor*, once a famous frontier-officer. These Punjab Puritans were a phenomenon—an anachronism one may say—but wonderful creatures. Swordsmen, administrators, fanatics if you will, but able to sway men of other creeds: with a Bible in one hand and a revolver in the other, ruling the stony wilderness and winning the love of admiring barbarians. As evangelists they effected nothing; but they upheld their country's honour and secured peace on the border. They remind one of Mr. Greathcart, in *Bunyan*: who slew giants and drove away lions, but did not fill up the Valley of Humiliation or lift the shadows of death. But, *on croit le qu'on trouve vrai, noncequ'on désire.*

Thursday, 24th.—A fine day for the Birthday Parade.

Thursday, 31st.—A visit from a pleasant Kentucky couple, the man an old Confederate Officer, and fine specimen of the Southern aristocracy; tall, handsome, and courteous. The Colonel's adventures must have been marvellous. While in command of a regiment attacking a Yankee battery his horse was struck by a round shot which broke the saddle-tree and grievously wounded the gallant rider. He was reported dead but taken into hospital in California, where he recovered, to find his estate confiscated and himself without a Fatherland. He has a Chateau at Tours—presumably his wife's property: and they are now summering in Jersey. They seem contented and cheerful, with gracious quiet ways.

June, Saturday, 2nd.—To Catholic Church with flowers: then to call on Mme. de Cacqueray, who was out: the Marquis received us, seeming much dejected about French political prospects. In the evening the Americans came; and the Colonel gave us a good notion of what the better sort of Tory may have been in England *temp. Ann.*

Sunday, 3rd.—Captain T., R. N. called, and invited me to go to Guernsey in his ship on Wednesday.

Monday, 4th.—A talk with Colonel Grover, U. S. A., who gave some advice about lecturing in America. Wrote to the Redpath Bureau, Boston, Maws.

Wednesday, 6th.—Captain T. took me on board in his gig.

the writer: formerly Governor of Bombay, afterwards (1885-92) M. P. for Everham: author of several historical works, and an able landscape painter.

* Then Bailiff of Guernsey: jurist and antiquarian; d. 189?

about 2-30 at Gouray harbour. We manœuvred and did gun-drill till 5 P.M. and the skipper showed how Jersey might be reduced by one French war-vessel with modern guns. Got to Guernsey in time for dinner at General S.—'s. After dinner the General took me to his Club and introduced me to Captain L., the local Antiquary.

Thursday, 7th.—Called on Sir E. Macculloch who made an appointment for the morrow.

Friday, 8th.—Sir Edgar took me to Castle Cornet, and guided me over the singular old building which held out so long, under Dorothea Osborn's father, during the Civil War. After lunch the same kind companion took me to Captain L.'s interesting Museum; where, among palæolithic and neolithic remains, we saw, an undoubted viking sword, confirmatory of the belief that the old Norse rovers made the Island a *place d'armer* for their operations against Neustria.

Sunday, 10th.—To Southampton and Oxford. Dined at Wadham, finishing the evening at Jesus Common-Room, where was Dr. Ethé the Persian scholar; also Prof. Sayce, with whom an interesting talk about Chaldaeans and Jews.

Monday, 11th.—A garden-party given by Prof. Rhys. M. just returned from Tiflis; Mr. Nutt and Prof. Sayce: could not linger, having to attend Extension-meeting at Christchurch. And an earnest meeting it was, with an attempt to assimilate the Cambridge lines and protect Lecturers from being swamped by paper-work. Dinner followed, at which I sat by Mr. Mackinder.* We had much pleasant talk and broke up before midnight.

Friday, 15th.—Cold wet day. Lunch at Athenaeum, then to keep appointment with Sir R. Temple at the House of Commons. In the evening to G. Bride's, where there was a pleasant party at the Vicarage. † Basil Champarys, the architect; Edward Clodd, ‡ Prebendary H. Jones whom I had not met since we read with the same Tutor in Suffolk; and the host's two handsome and clever sons. Pleasant evening.

Sunday, 17th.—Back to Jersey.

Friday, 22nd.—Lovely day, first warmth of summer. Called on the Confederate Colonel and found a roomful of New-York millionaires. It seemed strange to be with people who literally did not know what to do with their money. I know, as a fact, that millions of pounds sterling were represented in the room. Their bearing simple; nothing of "Sir Gorgeons Midas."

* Halford John, M. Reader in Geography; since Principal of Reading.

† Vicar, Rev. E. C. Hawkins, father of the famous writer "Antony Hope."

‡ Mr Clodd is a popular exponent of Darwin's system and a charming writer on folk-lore.

(London), *July, Monday, 23rd.*—Crossed to S. Hampton in a small boat and rough weather.

Wednesday, 25th.—Irish Exhibition: very poor. In the evening to Criterion; dinner of Author's Society. Bryce in the chair; very courteous and effective.* The ladies a rather dowdy lot—with brilliant exceptions: men interesting. Sate next to Mr. Baker, 'discoverer of Bohemia.'† Introduced to Mr. W. Besant‡ and to Mr. George Meredith, with whom some interesting talk. The speeches generally good.*

Sunday, 29th. A pleasant day at Blackheath: Greenwich Park in great beauty, and the view over the Palace, as ever, charming. This is by far the finest landscape below London, almost a rival to Richmond. We are using the "Senior" United Service Club while the Athenaeum is in the painter's hands. [They call the one the "mental" and the other the "regimental."] The latter has some interesting portraits; and Clarkson Stanfield's "Battle of Trafalgar" on the staircase is a magnificent work: the waves seem to move. Like the Hospital it is a noble monument of a noble service.

(August). *Sunday, 5th.*—Back to Jersey.

Tuesday, 7th.—This afternoon, while getting ready to attend a lawn-party at Government House, we received news that our boy in Canada had died suddenly. He was just making ready to come back to us. The day was splendid; but is there not a sense of cruelty when Nature smiles and the shadow lies on us all the darker?

Wednesday, 15th.—Violent tempest, rain and lightning. Reviewed Busted's book for *The Academy*.§ The work shows research and urbanity; giving many useful lights as to Warren Hastings, Philip Francis, and the Black Hole. A little welding of the chapters ought to make a complete and most valuable monograph which might be entitled "Calcutta in the days of Hastings." An Index is much needed.

Thursday, 16th.—A walk with the Confederate Colonel whose reminiscences were very good. He said he heard of the death of the Prince Consort and of the appointment of Ulysaes Grant to command the Federals at the same moment. The comment was, "We were sorry for the Queen's misfortune even in the midst of our own; but we soon forgot it in thinking we should not be in trouble long if *that* was the sort of General the Yan-

* Right Hon'ble James, B., F. R. S., etc., M. P. Author of many valuable works on historical and legal subjects.

† James B., F. R. G. S., etc., a well-known traveller and journalist.

‡ Now Sir Walter: well-known novelist, and founder of Author's Society.

§ "Echoes from old Calcutta:" By H. E. Busteed, M. D., C. I. E. (2nd edition): Calcutta and London, 1888.

kees were going to employ against us." They soon learned their error.

Saturday, 25th.—Fine weather has returned. Walking by the sea in the beautiful fields of this most lovely island one was reminded of the "pathetic fallacy" expressed in Scott's famous passage—"Call it not vain." Poor Henry Sherer, who might have made himself a name had he cared to, took the other side with skill and energy :—E. G.

"Senseless to mortal woe
The streams complaining flow ;
No Poet's death the forest's sigh deplores ;
And ocean-waves, whose tone
Might seem creation's moan,
Beat passionless on dull unheeding shores."

But it is all, perhaps, equally morbid. We should not merely submit to the inevitable, we should embrace it with arms of love.

September, Monday, 3rd.—Began recording Indian experiences : unavoidable egotism.*

Friday.—Field meeting of *Société Fersiaise*. We walked over Trinity parish, once co-extensive with a Manor of the Carterets ; being joined by the Lieutenant-Governor and some more local antiquaries. In one place were evident traces of ancient fortification. At Rozel—the Lemprière Manor—we came upon another encampment ; but there seemed no means of determining whether either was of Roman times. For my own part—pending measurements and ground-plan, which I ventured to suggest—it seemed to me very likely that the Rozel camp, being on the hill immediately above the little harbour, was originally made by the Vikings : who would want to guard their ships ; and to have a place wherein to secure their persons and their plunder before returning to their transports. Whether for the homeward voyage or for a descent upon the coasts of *Nenstrîa* now called Normandy after them—it would be needful to have such a station ; and this bay, with its crowning heights, would be very suitable. I believe some mention of these islands has been found in the old Norse poetry ; the Viking sword discovered in Guernsey is a proof of the presence of the Rovers.

We had a charming excursion, through leafy lanes and woods, and over green and breezy downs.

Tuesday, 18th.—A pessimist view being expressed by a member of the domestic circle was met by the obvious caution ; "there is but little black in life and still less white : all we can expect is different shades of grey."

* Afterwards made into a book ("A servant of John Company") published by Messrs. Thacker : London, 1897.

Friday, 21st.—A friendly letter from Professor Norton, of Cambridge Mass,* dissuading me from undertaking a lecturing tour in America. Also one from Mrs. Lynn Linton overstating the case against Dorat, the Musketeer-poet whose verses I have been trying to translate. He did not engage to do anything very great, to be sure ; but what he engaged to do he did well enough. The "Mois de Mai" seems better than anything of the kind in English 18th century work ; unless it is to be compared with Pope's "Rape of the Lock—" and the description of the pyrotechnics at the marriage of Marie Antoinette shows both observation and skill.

Tuesday, 25th.—An old Indian friend, home on leave ; he gave a bad account of the country. He seemed to think that a gulf was widening between the natives and the members of the governing class ; and the prospects of Anglo-Indians appear much impaired by the depreciation of the Rupee. He thought that, if many of them got to look upon themselves as permanently exiled, a grave political danger might be created Which may the Powers avert !

Friday, 28th.—My "Reminiscences" make pleasant occupation : whether they will please English readers I know not—one friend—whose experiences and powers are alike for greater than mine—has had his lying by him for years, under a similar doubt.† Nevertheless, there must be in every intelligent man's career something unique : and I can answer for myself that I read such books as Shore's and Sleeman's eagerly, when I was beginning life as an Indian Official.‡ The element of egotism is, doubtless, ineradicable—almost essential—yet these writers have a way of generalising their egotism so as to render it applicable to the feelings and experiences of others. *Le moi est haïssable*, said Pascal ; but Thackeray—a far saner man—has written a word in its favour.

October, Monday, 22nd—Finished article on Russia and England for *Macmillan's Magazine*. Rather surprising to see how heavy is the historic balance against one's own nation upon the whole account. The selfish old oligarchic system is quite dead in England now ; whether the new democratic régime will inspire the same respectful animosity is, as yet, a doubt.

* Professor Charles Elliot Norton, editor of Lowell's Letters : he had visited Muttra when I was there in 1850.

† Mr. J. W. Shever, C. S. I., who has since published a valuable instalment of his Recollections under the title of "Daily life during the Indian Mutiny :—" London, 1898.

‡ Shore, Hon. F. J. "Notes on Indian affairs," 2 vols, 1837 Sleeman, Lieutenant Colonel W. H. "Rambles and Recollections," 2 vols, 1844. (Mr. Shore died young. Colonel Sleeman became Resident at the Court of Lucknow ; and died a K. C. B. in 1850. His great work was the suppression of the Thugs, or garotters, of Hindustan.

The old one must have left rankling memories : the situation reminds one of the relations of Rome and Persia in the days of Julian.

November.—Wild wet weather during the month, varied by a certain amount of pleasant sunshine. Worked a good deal for "Dictionary of National Biography." Also wrote some Magazine-papers. The 24th was so warm that we were able to sit without fires and with open windows. On the 27th read a paper on the *Jacquerie* before the Lieutenant-Governor and a distinguished local audience. It is very curious to compare that abortive movement with the social risings of the period in England ; especially to observe that the rise of our Parliament was almost simultaneous with the decline of the French '*Etats.*' For the *Tiers* in the days of Marcel must have appeared to be in the ascendant in the eyes of contemporaries, while our House of Commons consisted of urban delegates coming before the King and Council like so many humble suitors.*

December.—Weather continued mild. I finished the life of Warren Hastings for the N. B. Dictionary, endeavouring to be impartial. The estimate of Macaulay was inspired by his admiration for Burke ; James Will also took a similar line. Now, we seem to be going into the other extreme, of seeing nothing to blame : which is abroad. Erskine's position is the fairest : Hastings often did wrong, but the wrong was the outcome of the prevailing policy, not of his own character. It was perhaps right that he was not made a Peer ; it was certainly right that the E. I. Company should give him a handsome pension.

Monday, 10th.—Crossed over to Southampton : Examination to be held in London for Indian Civil Service.

Saturday, 15th.—Finished *vivâ-voce* by 12-30. The young men of the usual type ; well-informed and in good mental condition. I would not join the common cry against the competitive system : it is obvious that a young man who outstrips his contemporaries must have "grit" and other good gifts ; and, as a means of selection, it is the only alternative to patronage—as Lord Grenville pointed out in 1813. As a preparation for high office it seems less commendable ; and would never, perhaps, produce a Warren Hastings or a Wellington. But the greatest objection is that it degrades Literature to the level of an industry, and greatly impedes the swoop of genius. When Southey was telling the Quakeress of his hard work she asked him "When dost thee think ?" The young man who has

* This paper was ultimately published in the *Westminster Review* obviously, it was not till the Knights of the Shire joined the borough-Members that the Commons became powerful. No such movement ever occurred in France up to the last meeting of the States General in 1789.

passed his school time in getting up answers to test-papers has no time for the cultivation of observation and reflection : and he very probably ends by loathing the sight of a book as much as the grocer's boys are understood to hate figs.

In the afternoon called on Mr. Lynn Linton in her pretty flat at Queen Ann's Gate, where she seems very cheerful, with a pleasant young lady to look after her comfort. I find she is dead against the "New Woman." Sate a while with friends in the small smoke-room at the Savile : dined at the Vicarage, S. Bride's.

Thursday, 20th —At Savile Club, meeting W. Besant, Walter Pollock, and other pleasant men, guests of Mr. Middleton Wake. A very delightful rendezvous, originally in Savile Row (whence the name). Present house once the residence of Lady Rosebery before her marriage. The Club seems in some respects a *succursale* of the Athenæum ; men using it while waiting for ballet at the latter. But there are many old members, who are content to remain where they are : besides some who belong to both ; and Mr. Herbert Spencer who likes a place where he can play billiards on Sunday. The commissariat is the weak point.* The front windows have a charming outlook over the Green Park, almost like a country-house.

Sunday, 23rd.—Back to Jersey : all well.

[We had a very quiet Home-Christmas ; and the year ended in peace. R. M. sate with me in my study on New Year's Eve, entertaining but bitter : representing the University in colours almost as dark as if he were Thorold Rogers in person.† The year has not been very bright ; but all have their cares : of trouble we may perhaps say what the dying Schiller said of Death, that "it cannot be an evil, seeing that it is universal."]

* All written 12 years ago be it noted.

† Rogers was after all successful in obtaining the Chair of Political Economy in the year under review. He did not hold it long ; being removed by death less than two years later.

ART. IV.—RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS AND CHARITIES OF BENGAL ZEMINDARS.

III.

I shall deal in this article with the endowments and charities of the Zemindars of Bihar and Orissa mainly. But before doing it I must notice some of the splendid charities and endowments of the Moorshedabad district.

This district was once the richest and most prosperous in Bengal. Moorshedabad itself was, during the supremacy of Moslem rule in Bengal, its capital city and abounded in trade. It is still the abode of many titular Rajas and Nawabs, the most distinguished nobleman of Bengal, the Nawab Bahadur of Moorshedabad is still living there in a picturesque palace which was built years ago by the order of Government after the style of architecture of the Calcutta Government House. The charity of the Nawab Bahadur is famous throughout this country. He spends yearly for the purpose of relieving the poor Rs 15,000 in various ways, and in religious festivals Rs. 8,000 every year. The Nizamut School is doing a good deal of service to the people of the place, and is kept up with great credit at a yearly expenditure of about Rs. 6,000. But the grandest work which has been done by the family of the Nawab is the Imambarah, and the performance of the religious ceremonies in connection therewith takes place every year in a most lavish scale. This edifice was built in the year 1874 at a cost of six lakhs of rupees by the late Nawab Nazim Syed Munsur Ali Khan Bahadur, father of the present Nawab Bahadur of Moorshedabad. It is situated just in front of the Palace and is as big and picturesque as the Palace itself. The Mohurrum ceremony is here performed with a pomp and grandeur worthy of the representatives of the old Moslem rulers of Bengal. Every evening during the Mohurrum a small procession consisting of the leading Shia Mahomedans of the place is formed and passes by the strand amidst a beautiful candle-light illumination and strains of sweet music played by the Nawab's band. But the most impressive sight takes place on the 8th day, when the *Tazea* is carried amongst bannets and flags made of the richest Cashmere shawls and golden *punjas* (palm), horses and elephants richly caparisoned leading the van. It is a long and solemn procession and worth seeing. On the tenth day there is a repetition of this procession excepting that a troop of horses with arrows round their body are added to it and form the object of general attraction. The entire Nizamut family and a very large assemblage of

people join this procession. From the back of the elephants a continual stream of copper coin is poured on the heads of the crowds of poor, who are also sumptuously fed on the taboot reaching the Kerbella. There is another festival called the *burra* festival, which is observed by the Shia Mahomedans of Moorshedabad—the family of the Nawab Bahadur taking an active part in its observation. It consists of a festive flotilla of boats made of plantain trees and full of lights of all shades and colours being cast adrift into the river Bhagirathi. The sight is a most dazzling and charming one, the river for miles presenting the appearance of being literally on fire. The occasion is made memorable by the rich offerings of food and other gifts to the poor. This festival is observed on the last Thursday of the month of Bhadra of each year, and the Nizamut spends a large amount of money in charities on this occasion. The Nawab Bahadur is very kind and considerate towards his tenants, and his latest act of philanthropy in this direction is the gift of several miles of land to the District Board for the construction of a public road in Midnapore for the benefit of his tenants. Among the members of the Nawab's family, Nawab Shams Jahan Begum Saheba, C.I.E., is distinguished for her religious devotion and piety. She has created an endowment worth about three lakhs of rupees for the performance of religious ceremonies and distribution of alms to the poor. The motowali of the mosque and manager of the endowed properties is Moulvi Mirza Ali Beg, of 7, Rowden Street, Calcutta. In addition to this, the Begum Saheba spends Rs. 50 every month in relieving the distressed.

There is another excellent religious endowment in this district. It is the Wakf Estate of the late Basant Ali Khan, who was an eunuch slave of the Nizamut. Possessed of a good deal of property in his life-time, he made a testamentary disposition of the same by his letters of June 24th and July 4th of 1833 to the Collector of Moorshedabad. In these letters he declares that he leaves the whole of his property in trust to Bohoo Begum and Bahar Ali Khan, who are directed to appropriate two-thirds to the support of the Quadum Sheriff, a certain Musjid, and an Imambarah situated in Begumgunge in the district of Moorshedabad, keeping up the former establishments of servants attached to those buildings, and also maintaining the other companions and old servants of the deceased. The Nawab Bahadur of Moorshedabad has lately laid claim to this property as heir and owner of it and made representations on this matter to Government. The opinion of the late Advocate-General Sir Charles Paul is to the effect that any such claim on his part at such a distant date, is barred by the law of limitations. There is, however,

very little doubt that there is no more fit person than the Nawab Bahadur to administer these charities. The annual receipts from these properties amount to Rs. 23,046. This estate, if well managed, will be productive of great good to the public of Moorshedabad. An interesting question as to how far a slave can hold property in this country was raised with reference to this Wakf Estate, as the Mahommedan law expressly debars such a person from holding any. Every thing which a slave has goes to his master on his demise. But a solution seems to have been found regarding this difficulty, for no slaves can exist in British territory and as soon they set their foot on British soil they are free that very moment. This Wakf Estate was for sometime under the direct supervision of the Local Agent under the Government of Bengal.

The name, however, which has shed a halo of glory all over the district and, in fact, all throughout the length and breadth of this country, for liberality and generosity, is that of the late Rani Surnomoyee, a lady who was regarded as the personification of charity in Bengal. She was the wife of Raja Kissen Nath Roy Bahadur of the Cossimbazar Raj family,—a family, which for its devotion and loyalty to the British Government, for its munificence and liberal-mindedness stands unsurpassed by any other aristocratic house of this country. He was a great patron of learning and was the life and soul of that movement which took steps to perpetuate the memory of that great apostle of English Education in Bengal, David Hare. For the statue of that great person, which stands midway between the Presidency College and the Hare School he subscribed the largest amount. His father, Raja Kumar Hari Nath, contributed the sum of Rs. 20,000 towards the establishment of the Hindu College. His ancestor, Krishna Kanta Nandi, well-known in this part of the country as Kanta Babu, saved the life of Warren Hastings, when the latter was put under confinement by Surajad Dowlah, by assisting him to fly away from the prison-house and keeping him concealed in his own house. For this act of loyalty to the British Government he was appointed Dewan, and wealth and honors were showered upon him and his son. Maharani Surnomoyee was the most illustrious representative of this distinguished house, and made herself conspicuous for her liberality from the beginning of her life. In the year 1871, on the 10th of August, the title of Maharani was conferred on her, and in January 1878 she was appointed a Member of the Imperial Order of the Crown of India along with other ladies of the highest rank of the English nobility. Mr. Peacock, late Commissioner of the Presidency Division, while investing the Insignia of that Exalted Order thus alluded to her public spirit and munificent charity :—

"I mention a few of those acts of benevolence and liberality which have procured for you this signal mark of Her Majesty the Empress' approbation. It would not be difficult for me to recount the doings of your long past years, which have with those that have followed, made your life one long act of charity. It will be sufficient for my purpose if I confine myself to the history of the last few years. Turning to these, I have found the following instances of your liberality, and I allude to these particularly because they serve to illustrate the wideness of its scope.

			Rs.
1871-72			
Chittagong Sailors' Home	...	...	3,000
Midnapur High School	...	...	1,000
Chandni Hospital, Calcutta	...	...	1,000
Bhoirab River Improvement, Jessore	...	...	1,000
Relief of Distress, Moorshedabad	...	...	1,000
1872-73.			
Bethune Female School	...	...	1,500
Bogra Institution	...	...	500
Native Hospital	...	...	8,000
Epidemic Fever Relief	...	...	1,500
Baharamganj Road	...	...	1,000
1873-74.			
Relief of Distress in Moorshedabad,	...	}	1,10,000
Dinajpore, Bogra, Pabna, &c	...		
1875-76.			
Berhampore College	...	...	10,000
Rajshahi Madrasa	...	...	5,000
Cuttack College	...	...	2,000
Garo Hills Dispensary	...	...	500
1875-76.			
Calcutta Female School	...	...	1,000
Rangpore High School	...	...	4,000
Aligarh College	...	...	1,000
Calcutta Zoological Gardens	...	...	14,000
Famine Association, Calcutta	...	...	8,000
Backergunj Cyclone Relief	...	...	3,000
1877-78.			
Warm clothing for poor	...	...	11,121
Jangipore Dispensary	...	...	500
Madras Famine Fund	...	...	10,000
Temple Native Asylum	...	...	1,000
Howrah Dispensary	...	...	500
Calcutta Oriental Seminary	...	...	3,000
Bankura and Nadya Fire Relief	...	...	1,000
District Charitable Society	...	...	500
McDonald Indian Association	...	...	1,000
Miss Feudal's Institution for fallen women	...	...	1,000

Such is a rather long but by no means an exhaustive list of your benefactions during the past few years. Considerable as the list is, aggregating above Rs. 2,00,000, it is largely exceeded by the small donations to schools, libraries, dispensaries, and to the relief of the poor and distressed during the same period, which amount to more than three lakhs of rupees, thus during the years, to which I have referred, you have contributed nearly five-and-a quarter lakhs of rupees, to works of charity and public utility which does not fall short of one-sixth of your entire income. Large, however, as this amount undoubtedly is, it is not so much the amount as the manner in which it has been given that makes it conspicuous. In this country we are accustomed to see a good deal of what I may call spasmodic money—giving where large sums are frequently given to purposes no doubt very good and very useful, but which are aided not so much because they are so as because the donors hope to bring their names before the public, or obtain some future reward. This has not been your case. You have not been content to wait till you were asked to give, but have taken steps to ensure worthy objects for assistance being brought to your notice, and have then given liberally, hoping for nothing in return. In a word your charity has been such as springs from a simple unostentatious desire to do good, where the left hand knoweth not what the right hand doeth; which is as admirable as, I fear, it is uncommon."

The above sentiments will be shared and endorsed to the fullest extent by the voice of public opinion throughout this country. Few people are aware to what extent Rani Surnomoyee encouraged female education in Bengal. She might, indeed, be called its pioneer. For the purpose of training women in the science of medicine, she gave a princely donation of one lakh and fifty thousand rupees into the hands of Government which formed the nucleus of the Surnomoyee Hospital. The Marquis of Lansdowne thus referred to the Maharani's magnanimous contribution in the annual general meeting of the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the women of India, held at the Calcutta Town Hall on 7th February 1889 :—

"It appears to me that we should concentrate our energies, and spend our resources as much as possible, upon the one main object which is before us,—I mean the training of our students, and upon those purposes which are immediately connected with it. Amongst these I would dwell particularly upon the need of providing suitable boarding-houses for the students. Without these it is difficult to see how young persons of the class whom we desire to recruit, and who should

be as carefully selected as possible, can go through their course of study under conditions suitable to a refined and highly-educated woman. I cannot refer to this branch of the question without dwelling upon the obligation of the Society to the Maharani Surnomoyee, to whose liberality the city of Calcutta owes a most admirable institution of this kind in the hands of Government."

The Berhampore water-works for which she subscribed two-and-a-half lakhs of rupees are the outcome solely of her munificence and liberality. Any one who has been to Berhampore knows full well how bad the drinking water of that place has so long been, how the river becomes difficult for navigation for want of water during the hot weather and how the putrid vegetation imparts a rank smell into the river water and makes it simply a thing of detestation. As the result of this, malarial fever and elephantiasis were the most common diseases in that part of Bengal. The introduction of water-works will open out a new era in the sanitation of the town and ultimately make it a desirable place of residence. She also expressed her wish to bear the maintenance charge of the water-works and for this purpose she supplemented her original gift with a subsequent one. That noble institution, the Berhampore College, which stands church-like with its picturesque surroundings and its Gothic style of architecture, was latterly maintained and taken sole charge of by her. She had to incur a yearly cost of Rs. 12,000 for it, and I am glad to say that her successor, Maharajah Manindra Chandra, has been keeping up all her noble acts of charity with commendable zeal and credit.

Her devotion to religion was unexampled. She performed all sorts of rites which an orthodox Hindu lady ought to do. But it is not in the superficial observance of them that she took part, but in the performance of those charitable acts which chiefly made such rites really and truly successful and productive of good. It has been computed that in these pious actions she spent annually a sum of no less than a lakh of rupees. When one has to calculate the 'mountain of rice,' containing thousands of maunds of it with a proportionate amount of other eatables, to be distributed every winter to Brahmins and beggars, the numberless shawls, broadcloths, blankets and metallic utensils to be similarly given away during every Durga Puja, and the numerous calls on her purse made by indigent authors and others of a more or less deserving class, the figure of one lakh of rupees per annum will not be a large amount to meet all these heavy demands. On the occasion of Kali Puja the entire Cossimbazar palace is illuminated, and all the rich and poor folks of the town are entertained to their heart's content. There is not a *tal* or school in this

country which she did not support, and there was not a movement for the amelioration of the condition of the people which she did not encourage by means of pecuniary help and wise counsel. The death of such a person was indeed a public calamity, and the Bengal Government publicly announced it to be so, and expressed its deep sorrow at the irreparable loss which the country had sustained. In her the poor of the country lost a true mother, and the helpless widow and orphan still bewail her loss, bedewing their cheeks with tears ! Oh, Surnomoyee, thou shouldst be living at this hour ! India hath need of thee ! Oh, rise another such ! To her successor Maharaja Manindra Nath her brilliant deeds speak forth like the voice of many waters. 'Go thou and do likewise !' Let him do it, and God will bless him and give him his grace, and the united voice of the people will applaud him and as loudly bless him too !

I close the account of the charities of Rani Surnomoyee by quoting the following from the *Calcutta Gazette* of 1897 :— "Foremost in all works of relief, as she had long been in every other charitable work, was Rani Surnomoyee, C.I.E. The Lieutenant-Governor expresses publicly the sense of deep loss which the Province has sustained in her death."

Rani Arnakali Debi is another specimen of a liberal landholder. She is famous in the district of Moorshedabad for her encouragement of indigenous Sanscrit schools. She has established the Victoria Sanscrit *Tol* in Berhampore at an annual cost of about Rs. 2,000. There is a splendid Library containing rare and valuable Sanscrit books and manuscripts attached to this institution, and having an endowment for the purpose of replenishing this stock yearly with additional Sanscrit works and publications of the present day. With her usual generosity, she keeps this Library open to the free access of the public. Her son, Raja Ashutosh Roy, is equally liberal. To the cause of the Dufferin Zennana Hospital Fund he has rendered invaluable service by giving the princely donation of one lakh of rupees. He has also given several scholarships and free-studentships to the boys of the Berhampore College.

The Gidhour Raj is remarkable for the construction and endowment of the Baidyanath temples. Baidyanath itself is a famous place both for pilgrimage as well as for recruitment of health of native gentlemen who resort there in large numbers in almost all seasons of the year. These temples of Baidyanath were built about 385 years ago, and are in a perfect state of preservation. The group of temples, 22 in number, are encircled by a high wall, enclosing an extensive court-yard, paved with chunar free-stone, which serves to keep the court-yard

clean. All the temples look extremely nice and beautiful in their original simplicity, and appear as if they were rough-hewn out of some big rocks. All of them, but three, are dedicated to Mahadeo; the remaining three are dedicated to his wife, Parbati. The pinnacles of the male and female temples are connected by silken cords, 40 or 50 yards in length, from which depend guadily-coloured cloths, wreaths, and garlands of flowers and tinsel, the whole symbolising the bond of holywedlock. The Hindu religion confers the highest importance and sanctity on marriage, and considers all conjugal connections as being sacred and sublime, free from the faintest trace of lust. The present Maharaja Bahadur of Gidhour, Ravaneshwar Prosad Singh, was born in 1859 and belongs like his predecessors to the Khetrya family of Lunar Sept. He is well-known for his benevolence and loyalty. During the last famine he contributed a sum of Rs. 15,000 to the Famine Relief Fund. Amongst his other acts of liberality he maintains an English High School and a Charitable Dispensary at Gidhour.

I now turn my attention to Bihar. Watered by the mighty Ganges, and interspersed here and there with hills and dales, from some of which have issued the most famous hot-water springs of this continent, the province of Bihar was from very early times considered the most favoured spot of Hindustan—the cradle of civilisation and religion. It was here at Rajgir beside its still hills and gurgling fountains, that Budha preached his doctrine of salvation, which rushed forth like the mighty waves of the ocean and filled half of this continent with his disciples—a doctrine by the instrumentality of which fallen Hindustan still claims kinship with Thibet, China and Japan.

That such a favoured spot of Hinduism should contain some of the most splendid religious endowments, created by our titular nobles and wealthy landholders, admits of very little doubt. In this respect the Tikari Raj affords the most remarkable example of liberality. Among the members of this illustrious family, the works of public charity created by Maharani Indrajit Koer shine out with the most brilliant lustre. It was in the construction of temples that she spent vast sums of money. The beautiful temple at Patna, which she built at a cost of one lakh of rupees, is situated on the banks of the Ganges and is endowed with grants of valuable lands for its maintenance. The best temple which was constructed by her is at Brindaban, made entirely of chunar stones and costing about three-and-a-half lakhs of rupees. It is definitely asserted that up to this time no lady has spent so much in the construction and maintenance of religious edifices and endowments

as Maharani Indrajit of Tikari in Bihar. During the great famine of 1857, she spent large sums in feeding and assisting the famine-stricken inhabitants of Tikari and its neighbourhood. Another member of the Tikari Raj, famous for his princely liberality, was Maharaja Ram Krishna. He expended a good deal of money in building temples at Ajodha and Fyzabad, which stand to this day as a symbol of his religious devotion to Hinduism. At Gya he constructed a Dharamsala as well as a temple. In all these he spent about two lakhs of rupees. In the construction and repairs of roads he was no less liberal. During the famine relief of 1874 he subscribed the sum of Rs. 10,000 towards its fund and expended about double that amount in relieving distress. It was a matter of deep regret that such a promising career, fraught with so much good to the public and the country, was cut off in the very prime of life. But he left a widow, Maharani Raj Rup Koer, on whom the mantle of her worthy husband fell with peculiar fitness. This lady spent several lakhs of rupees in the establishment of schools, libraries, and hospitals, and maintained them at a cost of nearly half a lakh of rupees every year. I subjoin here a list of her charities, wherein only those of special importance are mentioned :—

	Rs.
Entrance School, Tikari ...	35,000
Bailey Scholarship for above ...	5,000
Medals and prizes for same ...	6,000
Empress' Dispensary in Commemoration of the Assumption of Imperial Title by Her Majesty. }	30,000
Bankipore Industrial School in Commemoration of the Prince of Wales' visit with a grant of a rent-free bungalow for the same. }	10,000
Building for the Empress, Dispensary ...	8,816
Road between Fatehpore and Tikari ...	16,000
Calcutta Zoo ...	5,000
Calcutta Hindu Hostel ...	1,000

In addition to these works she subscribed yearly to a host of public institutions, *viz.* :—Tikari Public Library, Rs. 550 yearly; Gya Government School, Rs. 500 yearly; Tikari Patsala, Rs. 60 yearly; Society School, Rs. 120 yearly; Dharma Samaj Patsala, Rs. 100; Girls' School, Rs. 60 yearly; Abu Lawrence School, Rs. 48 yearly; Gya Hospital Rs. 48 yearly; Jamrud Hospital, Rs. 24 yearly; other schools, Rs. 100 yearly.

She maintained a Primary School in every *Mausa* of her big estate for the education of her tenantry. She kept charity houses in various parts of Bihar, and was continually engaged in giving alms in cash, clothing, and food to beggars, destitute persons and travellers. During the Kedar famine she spent about Rs. 13,000 for relieving the distressed.

These institutions and charities, established and maintained by her, attest her benevolence, and afford an example of enlightened liberality. Rajah Ran Bahadur Singh, father of the present Maharaj Kumar, gave a sum of Rs. 25,000 for the formation of a trust fund for the purpose of establishing a Lady Doctor at Gya. The present Maharaj Kumar of Tikari subscribed Rs. 7,500 towards the Transvaal War Fund for the relief of the sick and wounded soldiers in the African Campaign.

The Hatwa Raj occupies a very high place amongst the landed aristocracy of Bihar. It is one of the oldest houses of nobility, still extant in this country, and claims to have settled as Rajas in the district of Saran for 102 generations. In 1790 when the decennial settlement was in the anvil of the Company's Council, Lord Cornwallis, after enquiring into all the traditions and usages of the family, granted to the latter the estate of Fateh Sahi. In troublous times of famine in the year 1857-58 the Raj did eminent service to the British Government, keeping the country clear of rebels. The late Maharaja Sir Krishna Pertab Sahi Bahadur was the most generous and liberal-minded member of the family. He entirely supported three charitable dispensaries,—one in charge of an assistant surgeon and two others under native doctors. These are situated at Hatwa, Bhoi, and Gopalganj, respectively. To the credit of the present Maharani Saheba of Hatwa, it must be said that she has commenced the construction of a hospital at Hatwa to be called the Victoria Hospital Buildings, the estimated cost of which is Rs. 62,779, and the maintenance of which will entail a vast sum of money every year. It spends yearly a sum of Rs. 7,700, at present, for the up-keep of its charitable dispensaries and hospitals. It maintains quite a number of *tols* and village *patsalas* as well as an English School at Hatwa. The latter is supported at a cost of Rs. 7,500 yearly. The Hatwa estate supports 44 schools in all, of which 40 are primary. The first dispensary at Hatwa was opened by the Raj on the 2nd of December 1872. In that year there were 62 indoor and 5,420 outdoor patients. The number has rapidly increased since then and larger accommodation has been provided for patients which has entailed necessarily a much larger expense. The amount spent for the up-keep of this dispensary was about Rs. 5,000 in 1873.

During the famine of 1874, the Hatwa Raj met the heavy demands of that calamity within its vast and extensive estates by spending more than three lakhs of rupees in alleviating the distressed. On the Hatwa estate 80,000 persons, out of 400,000, required assistance for three-and-a-half months. The Raj showed a remarkable magnanimity by importing rice to the extent of 124,000 maunds. These were distributed either cooked or uncooked amongst the famine-stricken people. Sir Richard Temple, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was greatly struck at the extremely humane and generous manner, and the extensive scale in which the relief works were carried out by the Hatwa Raj. The late Maharaja spent large sums of money on permanent improvements, the entire amount expended being no less than two lakhs of rupees. These works consisted mainly of hundreds of masonry wells and thousands of kutchha wells, some three hundred tanks and embankments and numerous bridges. The new palace of the Raj is a beautiful edifice surrounded by ornamental gardens. The religious endowments are also on a good scale, the money spent yearly in the worship of Hindu gods and goddesses in the several temples dedicated to them comes up to Rs. 37,200. It maintains a poor-house where Rs. 12,000 is yearly spent for boarding and lodging of guests. The late Maharaja of Hatwa gave a princely donation of Rs. 50,000 to the Lady Dufferin Fund. The present Maharani Saheba of Hatwa evinced her deep and abiding loyalty to the throne of the Queen-Empress by subscribing the handsome sum of Rs. 10,000 to the Transvaal War Fund.

Among the landholders of the Patna district the name of the late Nawab Syed Lootf Ali Khan, C.I.E., stands foremost for munificence and liberality. The Bihar Engineering College owes its existence to his generosity. I cannot do better than give below a cutting from the papers which will explain the aim and scope of the College and the different phases of its existence, till it was opened the other day by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The Bihar College of Engineering.

"Sir John Woodburn and party reached Bankipore on Monday by road from Dinapore, and was the guest of the Commissioner. Yesterday His Honor opened the Bihar School of Engineering, which has been under construction since 1898 and which has cost a lakh-and-quarter."

Mr. Pedler, the Director of Public Instruction, received the Lieutenant-Governor and read an address on behalf of Mr. C. R. Wilson, Principal of the Patna College, who could not be present owing to illness. The following passages are taken from

the address—In 1875-76 when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales visited India, the nobility and gentry of Bihar subscribed the large sum of nearly three lakhs of rupees in honour of the occasion. Of this sum no less than one lakh was contributed by Nawab Lutf Ali Khan alone. It was determined that this money would be best devoted to promoting technical education; but for a time no definite steps were taken. In March, 1876, the Government of Bengal of its own initiative, took a most important step in the development of technical studies, by opening Survey Schools in the chief cities of Bengal, one of them being at Patna. Meanwhile a scheme was worked out for utilizing the Prince of Wales's Fund, and in 1892, after two or three previous failures, an Industrial School was opened, which, however, never fulfilled the expectations of its promoters. But it soon became clear that some greater and more powerful organisation would have to be devised. Mr. A. E. L. Ewbank, formerly Principal of Patna College, suggested that the required nucleus of a Technical School for Bihar would be furnished by the amalgamation of the Survey School with the Industrial School, and the year 1896 saw the birth of the Bihar School of Engineering. This school has had a short but eventful life. At the beginning of the present year, thirty-one students received Sub-Overseer certificates, and twenty-three Amin certificates. In July fifty-one students were admitted to the First Year Class, of whom all but sixteen are Beharis by race, and all but fourteen are students who have passed the standard of Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University. For the first time in the history of the school the Amin class is absolutely full, and numerous applications for admission have had to be refused. The Government stipulated that while Government would provide the requisite teaching and current expenses, the cost of building and permanent equipment was to be met from the Prince of Wales's Fund. The Board of Visitors, out of the invested capital of the school, has extended and equipped its workshops, and has erected this spacious new building for the theoretical teaching of the school. His Honor unlocked the Entrance gates with a silver key, and after declaring the school open he unveiled a portrait of Nawab Bahadur Looft Ali Khan in the Entrance hall."

During the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales the Nawab came forward with a donation of Rs. 10,000 for the purpose of giving the Prince a fitting reception in Patna. In all times of distress he always gave handsome donations for the purpose of relieving the distressed. It has been computed that the charities of the late Nawab Looft Ali will come up to not less than two-and-half lakhs of rupees. His

son, Syed Badshah Nawab, is also eminently liberal. His contribution to charities already amount to Rs. 50,000.

The Dumraon Raj is another instance of a liberal landholder in Bihar. The family claims descent from the renowned Khetrya King Vikramaditya of Malwa. Amongst the members of the family Maharaja Maheswar Baksh Singh made himself conspicuous by his loyalty and liberality. He took a leading part in the reception of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and was created a K.C.S.I. The Dumraon Raj spends yearly a sum of Rs. 7,800 for the maintenance of an English Entrance School, as well as several Primary Schools. It keeps a charitable dispensary for the benefit of the poorer classes of natives at a cost of Rs. 3,000 yearly. For the encouragement of Veterinary education it maintains a Hospital at an yearly expenditure of Rs. 1,000. The religious endowments of the Raj include several well-built temples and a Widow's Fund, costing in all a sum of Rs. 7,000 yearly. The Widow's Fund is a very useful endowment and is doing signal service towards the relief of helpless widows of Dumraon and its vicinity. There is a guest-house attached to the temples for providing lodging and boarding to destitute travellers and people. The late Maharaja Maheshwar Baksh Singh Bahadur, staunchly supported the British Government during the Nepaul War as well as during the troublous times of the Indian Mutiny. During the Orissa and Bihar famines, he depleted his treasury for succouring the helpless and starving people, and it is generally known that his contributions during those critical periods came up to several lakhs of rupees, exceeding in the estimation of some his available means at that time. For these conspicuous services Sir Richard Temple recommended his son to be honored with the title of Raja which the India Government did with the greatest pleasure. The successful administration of the Dumraon Raj is due not in a small measure to the ability and intelligence of its Dewan, the late Jai Prokash Lall, who was equally liberal-minded with his master, and contributed a sum of Rs. 25,000 for the construction of works of public utility in the district of Shahabad. The present Maharani Saheba of Dumraon gave a subscription of Rs. 10,000 towards the Transvaal War Fund.

The wife of Syed Reza Hossein Khan Bahadur of Patna is a very charitably-disposed lady and has made several good endowments for the benefit of her co-religionists. She has given away properties yielding an annual income of Rs. 1,150, as well as Rs. 10,000 to promote education amongst Behari boys and girls. Her husband has rendered his name famous by making a similar endowment to the amount of

Rs. 32,000, with a yearly income of Rs. 1,600 for the education of Mahommedan boys. As a promoter of female education amongst the Mahommedan community of Bihar, the name of his wife stands high in public estimation. He also gave large sums of money for the establishment of scholarships in the Patna College for the encouragement of learning Mahommedan students.

The Bettiah Raj is also remarkable for its spirit of generosity and liberality. The late Maharaja Rajendra Kishore Singh rendered good service to Government in the time of the Mutiny, and also during the great famine of 1866. Although he gave a nominal subscription of Rs. 5,000 to the Famine Relief Fund, he took upon himself the gigantic task of relieving the distress of his subdivision. It was in the Champaran subdivision that the full brunt of the famine was felt, and notwithstanding all his best endeavours to save the lives of more than 8 lacs of famine-stricken people, the total number of deaths came to 56,000. It is known to every one acquainted with the facts that but for his daily doles and charities for their relief the mortality would have been heavier. A somewhat noteworthy fact with respect to the Bettiah Raj is the sympathy which it showed towards the Roman Catholic Church and mission house which lie close to the palace. This church was founded in 1746 by a certion Father Joseph, from Garingand in Italy, who came to Bettiah on the invitation of the Maharaja, and was granted in perpetuity the whole of the extensive plot of land on which the Mission House and the Church stand free of cost. The Bettiah Raj has like other Rajes its religious endowments and *atilisalas*, its charitable dispensaries and schools, and spends lavishly for their maintenance. The Maharaja has established a Dharam Samaj and Sanskrit School at Motihari and has endowed it with an income of Rs. 1,200 yearly. Sanskrit is taught free in this school to such students as may be willing to prosecute their studies up to the Title Examination. The Maharaja of Bettiah's new Hospital for *purdanashin* ladies has been constructed on a very good plan. It consists of a row of separate rooms suited to the secluded habits of respectable women. A great mistake was made hitherto in several cases in Bengal by creating wards for women on the same pattern as wards for men. Speaking on this subject at a meeting of the supporters of the Dufferin Fund, Sir Charles Elliot spoke as follows :—

‘No women but the very poorest will be content to lie in beds six, eight or ten together in a single ward. We must provide separate quarters for them in which they can retain their privacy, and can be visited and attended to by their relatives,

and I am glad the Maharaja of Bettiah's Hospital is being constructed on this plan. In this way I hope that in a few years, possibly even before I leave this country, I may see a trained lady-doctor and a suitable Women's Branch Hospital in every district of Bengal.'

The Bettiah Dispensary was opened in 1864. The building fell during the heavy rains in September 1871, and a house was temporarily rented for carrying on the dispensary work until 1872 when a new building was erected. It is doing very good service to the local public.

The name of Raja Rajeshwar Prosad Sing of Soorjapoor must always remain in the memory of the present generation of Biharis as a greatly liberal landlord of the province. The Arrah water-works are mainly due to his munificence and exertion. He contributed no less than a lakh and-a-half of rupees towards the construction of the water-works, which have doubly enhanced the reputation of Arrah as a place of sanitation. The good water of the river Sone is carried by means of pipes to a raised platform, whence it flows down to the city supplying filtered water to all the numerous inhabitants of the place at hydrants situated on the side of all the public roads. It has often been said that the Raja has paid in charities more than his available means in many instances, and in fact has been generous to a fault. As far as his contribution, however, to the Arrah water-works is concerned, this is decidedly not the case. As the bed of the Sone consists entirely of sand, a good deal of difficulty arose in tapping it at a point from which an inexhaustible supply of river water could be had. He showed his liberality and public spirit by giving up free of cost to Government all the lands in his estate through which the Sone canal passed.

The Khagoul zemindars of Badulpura are noted for their charitable disposition. Babu Ram Anugraha Naryan established several religious and charitable institutions in the District of Patna, of which the grand Hindu temple at Badulpura, where hundreds of religious ascetics are daily fed is famous throughout this country. The Sunday Alms House, where a large number of poor men avail themselves of his charity, has also endeared his name to every heart. The Khagoul Serai is also well-known to every traveller, who has occasion to share the hospitality of this benevolent zemindar. A great friend of education, he has established a High Class English School at Khagoul with a free boarding house for students.

The Raja of Sheohor is another instance of a benevolent landholder. The family is a younger branch of the Raja of Bettiah. During the Mutiny of 1857 Raja Sheo Nandan Sing rendered valuable services, for which he received the thanks

of Government. He also constructed many important roads and other public works and opened relief works in the famine of 1886. All the temples in the village were erected at his expense, the aggregate cost being probably a lakh of rupees. He died in 1867 and was succeeded by the present Raja Bahadur, who has subsequently done good service in the famine of 1873-74, and again in 1890. The religious endowments of the Raj, which consists of the maintenance of scores of temples, are on a most lavish scale, all the religious ceremonies being performed by the Raj at great expense and with *eclat*.

Rai Chowdhury Rudra Prosad Bahadur of Nanpur, was an excellent specimen of a liberal landing proprietor. During the dark days of the Indian Mutiny he supplied elephants and provisions to the British army free of cost. As a memento of his liberality I may mention the hospital which he erected mainly at his own expense at Mozufferpore. He also endowed the Patna College with a valuable property. He founded several vernacular schools in his zemindari at Koiler and gave handsome donations to the Scientific Society at Mozufferpore. He constructed a large wooden bridge over the Lakhandebi river in Mozufferpore at a cost of Rs. 7,000. During the famines of 1861-66 and 74 he made liberal grants to his numerous ryots by giving them alms both morning and evening daily, advancing them seed grain and opening relief works for the construction of roads and channels throughout his vast estate. In this way he incurred an expenditure of close upon half-a-lakh of rupees. His son, Mahadeo Prosad, is equally liberal like his father and gave a donation of Rs. 27,000 for replacing the wooden bridge at Lakhundebe river at Sitagnari which his late father had built with a masonry structure. This gentleman also maintains with great credit his late father's *Dharamsala* at Nanpore which has been in existence since 1850.

The late Rai Surja Narain Sing Bahadur of Bhagulpore was also a zemindar of charitable disposition and large-heartedness. Before his death he left instructions for the purpose of endowing a chair in the Presidency College on Physical Science. The amount, which he bequeathed for this purpose is a lakh of rupees. He used to maintain an English school at his own native village, and has endowed it with sufficient funds for its support. He also kept a boarding house for the benefit of poor students, and has always been prominent in all acts of charity and in all sorts of public movements. His name, however, will always be held in remembrance on account of his endowment for researches in Physical Science at the Presidency College. In this connection it may not be an

exaggeration to say that he is the Tata of Bengal though in a somewhat smaller scale.

The name of the late Nawab Sayyid Vilayet Ali Khan, C.I.E., of Patna, must be always remembered as a benefactor to the city of Patna. The title of Nawab was conferred on him as a personal distinction on 14th April 1882, in recognition of "prominent and devoted services rendered during the Mutiny and munificent liberality." The late William Taylor, Commissioner of Patna, at the time of the outbreak of the Mutiny thus wrote of the Sayyid :—"At the time of the visit of the Prince of Wales the Sayyid had the distinguished honour of receiving His Royal Highness' personal thanks for his good services to the Empire. He was one of the chief founders of the Patna College, now a great centre of learning, of the Temple Medical School and of many other important institutions, and has always been prominent in every good and important work in the Province of Bihar." He has endowed a splendid Imambarah where the Mohurram and other religious festivals are celebrated with due pomp and ceremony.

The Durbhanga Raj stands unsurpassed in this country for its munificence and public spirit, and the late Maharaja Sir Lachmeswar Sing Bahadur, K.C.I.E., displayed these qualities in the most remarkable manner, by virtue of his marked superiority of intellect and ability and by his magnanimity and generosity of mind. He belonged to an ancient Rajput family, whose ancestor Mahdeo Thakoor obtained the title of Raja, and the grant of the Durbhanga Raj from Akbar, the Moghul Emperor of Delhi, early in the sixteenth century. Later on when Maharaja Chattar Sing died in 1839 he made over his estates and his title to his elder son, giving to his younger son for maintenance the Raj villages in Jarail, four houses, two elephants and apartments in the Durbhanga palace. These arrangements led to extensive litigation, as the younger son claimed a larger share of the estates and repudiated the regulation of the disposition of property by the *Kulachar*, or family custom, and brought an action to recover Rs. 2,446,958. The Sessions Judge, Mr. Ratray, decided that the eldest son was entitled to the Raj, the younger obtaining sufficient properties in land for their maintenance. The Raj pays the Government revenue direct for them, and they reimburse it, the lands being assigned on condition that failing male issue they revert to the Raj. The case came on appeal before the High Court, which affirmed the Judge's decision that the Raj was an impartible one and the eldest son succeeded to it. Thus Rudra Sing became the Maharaja. Lachmeswar Sing, the late Maharaja, was his grandson. He was educated along with his brother, the present Maharaja, at Benares, under the

superlvision of the Court of Wards. Their tutor was Mr. Chester Macnaghten, afterwards Principal of the Raj Kumar College for Princes and Chiefs of Western India. Maharaja Lachmeswar Sing was one of the most munificent philanthropists of the present century. During the great famine of 1873-74, he expended for the relief of the distressed no less a sum than thirty laks of rupees, for the scarcity and hardship of famine were felt with greater severity in Tirhut than in any other part of Bengal. This sum is, perhaps, higher than any amount previously spent, or spent up to this time, by any private person for the relief of distress not only in India but probably in any part of the civilized world. To add to the privations and sufferings of the famine-stricken, cholera made its appearance, and the people, already emaciated by hunger and starvation, fell easy victims to it. The services rendered during the famine by Maharaja Luchmeswar Sing Bahadur forms the brightest record in the history of the Durbhanga Raj. It opened not only relief works on a grand scale but also organized a system of gratuitous relief of a most satisfactory and complete character, establishing kitchen-houses and alms-houses throughout its extensive estate from the extreme limits of Durbhanga to the Nepal frontier. But it is not only in the great famine of 1873 but in every time of scarcity the Maharaja's arrangements for meeting it had been on a splendid scale. During the last famine he was equally generous in his disbursements and expenses for relief. He gave in all a sum of sixteen lakhs for the purpose of relieving the distress in his estate. The sum of eight lakhs of rupees was spent in giving food to the ryots and an equal amount in remission of rents. When we find that the State spent in Bengal during the last famine only one crore of rupees, it is not a small item of generosity for a private landholder to spend a sum of one-sixth of the amount spent by the Bengal Government towards the same purpose. Yet in the face of this fact Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, in his speech regarding private subscriptions in the present famine at Simla at the Legislative Council Chamber made a general and sweeping assertion that the wealthy native had not yet been animated by a sense of practical charity on a large scale! To Maharaja Lachmeswar Sing Bahadur is due almost all the credit of munificent liberality of the Durbhanga Raj—its hospitals and schools, its big roads and irrigation canals, its beautiful villas and bridges in every town and river within the estate.

The first dispensary in Durbhanga was established in 1861 and was entirely supported by the Raj. In 1871, the number of in-door patients was 353, of out-door patients 5,287, as compared with 446 in-door and 6,497 out-door patients.

In 1870: The total income in 1871 was about 6,000 rupees. In 1871 a first-class building was erected by the Durbhanga Raj, at a cost of about Rs. 40,000, which has since been supplemented by additional outlays of heavy amounts for increased accommodation, specially for a Branch Dufferin Hospital. The building is a very handsome and palatial structure, situated just north of the town. It supports at Kharakpur another first-class dispensary, the construction of which cost an equal amount as that at Durbhanga. In addition to these it supports three other dispensaries at several parts of its estate, the whole entailing a yearly expenditure of close upon Rs. 30,000. It has built an Anglo-Vernacular school at an expense of Rs. 15,000 which it maintains, as well as nearly 30 Vernacular schools of different grades. It subsidises a much larger number of educational institutions throughout Bihar. The Durbhanga Raj thus holds the enviable position in Bihar of being the disseminator of primary education amongst millions of its ryots, and also of looking after their health by the establishment of charitable dispensaries and hospitals in almost every part of its extensive possessions. For the purpose of the advancement of Sanscrit learning it keeps up at a great cost scores of *lots* throughout the Province, where stipends are yearly remitted for the encouragement of pundits and students. It holds once a year a meeting of learned pundits in Durbhanga, when discussions and examinations on various books of theology and astrology, rhetoric and grammar, law and language are held for several days, and those who come out best and successful in these tests are rewarded with appropriate titles and robes of silk and shawl of various descriptions. It is considered a mark of very great honour and a sign of vast erudition and learning among Behari pundits to obtain these titles and to be invested with the robes of learning by the Durbhanga Raj.

The late Maharaja Lachmeshwar Sing Bahadur constructed hundreds of miles of roads in various parts of the Raj, planting them with tens of thousands of trees for the comfort of travellers. Conspicuous among these roads are the following:—The Jhanjharpur-Naiya road, 30 miles; the Nagarbasti road, 13 miles; in Purneah, 26 miles; the Jainagar road, 36 miles; the Dagmariya road, 37 miles; and the Bimband road, 8 miles. On the borders of these roads alone no less than 20,000 trees have been planted, which throwing their umbrageous branches high up in the air give a cool shade for the relief of pedestrians, of whom these roads are always full. He constructed iron-bridges over all the navigable rivers of the Raj and extensive irrigation works on the Kharakpur estate in the Monghyr district. These

works were constructed at a total cost of seven lakhs of rupees and have done a great deal towards removing the apprehensions of a repetition of the terrible famine which visited Bihar in the year 1873 and which put the financial status of the Raj into such a severe strain for the purpose of mitigating its ravages.

The Tirhut State Railway which runs entirely through the Durbhanga Raj lands is generally regarded as a monument of the late Maharaja's liberality and public spirit. It had its origin in the beginning of February 1874, when Mr. Stevens of the Durbhanga Raj first proposed its construction. Sir Richard Temple pressed the scheme; and the Government of India gave its sanction. The work was begun on the 23rd February, and the first train ran through to Durbhanga on the 17th April. The distance amounted to 53 miles, and the whole of this land was made over to Government by the Darbhanga Raj free of any compensation money. •

The late Maharaja Sir Lachmeshwar Sing Bahadur was one of the Premier nobles of British India. Born in 1856, he succeeded to the Raj as a minor on 20th October 1860. I have already referred at some length to his magnanimous and princely contribution of thirty lakhs of rupees towards the relief of the famine-stricken. Since then he had always taken the foremost part in every public movement and useful work in Bengal, as well as in every part of the Empire, and devoted his vast wealth to objects of charity pure and simple, such as famine-relief, medical aid, help to sufferers from fire and flood, and the like. He also gave large sums for objects of general public utility, as for instance in the gift of Rs. 50,000 to the Funds of the Imperial Institute, Rs. 12,000 for the repairs of the Shivalya Tank for the benefit of pilgrims to the Baidyanath Temple, and a lakh of rupees towards the expenses of the Dufferin Hospital. The promoters of the Indian National Congress owe a deep debt of gratitude to the late Maharaja Sir Lachmeshwar Sing Bahadur for he contributed the princely sum of Rs. 60,000 towards its funds at a critical moment when all other sources of its income were exhausted, and when, but for his sympathy and support, the movement would have died out within the space of a short time. Any attempt to collect together a list of his charities under Rs. 10,000 would be a vain and almost impossible task. If I were to take up the task of doing so, it would fill up a volume. It has been computed that he had spent an aggregate sum of something like two-and-a-half millions sterling on charities and works of public utility and charitable remissions of rent during his lifetime. Nor is this all. For the public and for his country he laboured long and arduously, taking a leading part in debates

of the Legislative Councils, both Imperial and Local, and the singular ability and intelligence with which he discussed the burning questions of the day in those Councils received the warm recognition from successive Viceroys and Secretaries of State of India. During the prolonged discussions in the Supreme Legislative Council, when the Bengal Tenancy Bill was in the anvil, he spoke with an independence, ability and moderation, acting at the same time in harmony and co-operation with Kristo Doss Pal and Raja Peary Mohun Mookerjee, which, very few councillors can evince at the present day. He did a good deal for the improvement of agriculture—specially for the improvement in the breeds of horses and cattle—in Bihar. A most liberal philanthropist and patron of the Turf, a loyal subject of Government and true patriot of the country, his sad death was deeply lamented by all classes of people and by Government alike. To the zemindar community his loss is simply irreparable, and they even now mourn his death in the words of the poet ‘Sage counsel in cumber, how sound is thy slumber!’ What a perennial gloom has been cast on the magnificent Palace at Darbhanga, surrounded by its beautiful gardens, its menagerie and aviary! Though he died prematurely, his death should no longer be lamented who died so full of honours and at the height of human fame, and if the chariot and the horses of fire had been vouchsafed for his translation he could scarcely have departed in a brighter blaze of glory. We sincerely hope his death will verify the language of the old Mythologist, Hesiod, that the spirits of dead men become the guardians of living men. We exhort Maharaja Rameshwar Sing Bahadur to follow the footsteps of his illustrious brother. He has already begun well by subscribing the handsome sum of a lakh-and-a-half towards the present famine and Rs. 12,000 towards the Transvaal War Fund.

I shall now go on with Orissa :—The old religious spirit of Hinduism is reflected in Orissa more than anywhere else in the Province. It is still known as the Promised Land of the Hindus. What rich endowments were created by the ancestors of the petty chiefs or landholders of the Orissa Tributary Mahals none can form an adequate idea, who has not been among the temples there.

Sir William Hunter says in his book on Orissa :—“Hundreds of monasteries dot the province, and enjoy an aggregate rent-roll of £50,000 a year. Every town is filled with temples and every hamlet has its shrine. This lavish devotion extends into the hill country. Up the Mahanuddy, each rocky islet, or wooden crag that rises from its banks, is crowned by a temple to some gods. Even foreigners feel that they are treading on

hallowed ground ; and the villagers still tell how the image-breaking Mussulmans retired abashed before the sanctity of Orissa." These temples give shelter and food to thousands of Brahmin priests and menials and serve to stave off to some extent the poverty and pauperism which prevail in the province. Every morning and evening the fan-fare of trumpets, the beating of gongs and blowing of conches announce in almost all places—even in the most inaccessible and heaven-kissing tops of hills—the presence of Hindu gods, enshrined in temples whose beauty of shape, strength and solidity and the fine taste of architecture displayed therein have been considered by European architects as something marvellous and exquisitely charming.

Hardly, however, any properly-organised temporal charity exists in Orissa. The only exceptions are the charities of the Maharajah of Mourbhanj, Raja Shyama Nanda De Bahadur of Balasore and the Raj family of Killah Darpan. The Maharajah of Mourbhanj has endowed the Cuttack Ravenshaw College with a gift of Rs. 20,000 for providing scholarships to students. His expenses for imparting education to the subjects of his state are on a very lavish scale. He has established English and Primary Schools all over his possessions, the whole machinery of education being placed under the supervision of a very able officer, who is called the Superintendent of the Mourbhanj Raj Public Instruction and is very handsomely paid. He also maintains several charitable dispensaries for the benefit of his people and the poor, and also several *atish-salas* (poor-houses).

Raja Shyama Nanda De Bahadur of Balasore is a very liberal and public-spirited zemindar. He spent about Rs. 30,000 during the Orissa famine of 1866—Rs. 6,000 in subscriptions and Rs. 21,768 in the distribution of grains to the poor. For removing the water-scarcity of Balasore he expended about Rs. 12,000 in the digging of tanks and reservoirs. He has endowed the Cuttack High School with a fair income. He maintains a charitable dispensary, and has erected a fine building for it in the heart of the town of Balasore. He spends large sums of money monthly to meet his daily charities to pilgrims and paupers. He showed his fervent loyalty to the Queen-Empress by establishing a scholarship of Rs. 8 per month at the Balasore Zillah School for the purpose of commemorating the visit of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to that town, and for this purpose he handed to Government the sum of Rs. 5,000.

The Raj family of Killah Darpan, whose munificence and charity are so widely known in Orissa, was originally founded by Pandit Mahatapran, a descendant of an ancient and re-

spectable Kashmiri Brahmin family. He came on a pilgrimage to Jagarnauth and settled at Cuttack. He built and endowed several temples, of which the most remarkable are the two temples on the Bartonabanta hill, dedicated to god Shiva, made of two images, of Hari and Sankar, of beautiful colours. This hill and the temple are much frequented by pilgrims from all parts of the country. His son, Baidyanath Pandit, expended Rs. 9,000 to encourage irrigation, at first started at Killah Darpan and subsequently extended to the rest of his zemindaries. His father was a very loyal and devoted subject of the Government. He assisted Government during the Mutiny of 1857 and gave elephants, men and provisions for soldiers to quell the Shambalpore insurrection. To improve the state of his ryots he opened three markets and excavated numerous tanks and wells for the benefit of the public. His son, Badyanath, maintains a charitable dispensary and hospital, a *dharmsala*, and a charitable Vernacular School at Chutya at Killah Darpan. He has contributed handsome sums towards the funds of the Cuttack College and Medical School, and gave Rs. 11,000 for the New Market.

I cannot pass over in silence the splendid charities and endowments of the Cooch Bihar Raj. Though, a ruling chief, the Maharaja holds zemindaries within the British possessions whose vast income exceeds even that of his State; and it is for this reason that I mention his name here. Himself a most accomplished and educated person, the Maharaja has done his utmost to introduce learning in all its phases amongst his subjects. In addition to the large number of vernacular and minor schools, he has founded the Victoria College for higher education of his people and had it affiliated with the Calcutta University. His charitable dispensaries and hospitals have all been made in a most royal style and on a lavish scale. The long term settlements of revenue which he has given to his subjects, for a period of thirty years, is based on most approved principles of assessment. His Highness established the India Club at Calcutta in 1882—a club which has been the means of bringing together men of all nationalities of this great Empire. The Nripendra Naryan Hall at Jalpaiguri was also founded by him. The Darjeeling Lowis Jubilee Sanitarium owes its existence to his liberality and generosity. He presented most of the lands on which the Sanitarium at present stands, as well as the house. In 1889 he founded the Anandamoyee Dharamsala or alms-house which has endeared his name to the people of the Province.

CONCLUSION.

It now remains for me to give the endowments set forth in my articles in detail together with their market value:—

		Capitalized Value	
Donors.		Crores.	
Cooch Bihar Raj (Ruling Chief)	...	...	2½
Durbhangah Raj	...	...	2½
Orissa Temple Endowment	...	...	1
		Lakhs.	
Burdwan Raj	...	...	75
Nawab Abdul Gani	...	...	50
Natore Raj	...	...	40
Hutwa Raj	...	...	30
Tikari Raj	...	...	30
Gidhr Raj (Baidyanath Endowment)	...	...	25
Domraon Raj	...	...	25
Moshin Endowment	...	...	25
Prosonno Coomar Tagore and Jotindra Mohun Tagore	...	...	20
Nawab Bahadur of Moorshedabad	...	...	20
Natore Raj	...	...	20
Nadya Raj	...	...	20
Shovabazar Raj Family	...	...	20
Rani Surnomoyee	...	...	20
Seal Family Endowment	...	...	15
Pikeparah Raj	...	...	15
Rajendra Mullick	...	...	10
Dighapatya Raj	...	...	10
Bhowal Raj	...	...	10
Pal Chowdhury Family, Natuda	...	...	10
Shovabazar Raj	...	...	10
Raja Shukmoy's Family	...	...	10
Bhukailash Raj	...	...	10
Tarkeshwar Endowment	...	...	10
Sagore Dutta	...	...	10
Joykissen's Family Endowment	...	...	10
Surja Canto Acharji	...	...	10
Rani Rash Moni	...	...	10
Mullick Families of Barabazar and Jorabagan	...	...	10
Putya Raj	...	...	10
Narail Rai Family	...	...	10
Naldanga and Moisadal Rajs	...	...	10
Midnapore Raj	...	...	10
Sonbursa Raj and Arnakali Rani	...	...	10
Kahina Raj and Talispore Raj	...	...	10
Saroda Prosad of Chakdighi and Nundo Lall of Bally	...	...	10
Other Endowments mentioned in articles	...	...	50
Grand Total	...	crores...	13

I have taken all these endowments at their lowest estimate possible.

The total of all these sums comes up to thirteen crores of rupees. Large as this amount appears it probably represents but a fraction of the actual sum spent by the zemindars. Now let us compare this amount with what is spent in charity by the landlords of England—the richest country in this world. According to the statistics, published by the Charity Commissioners lately the nett amount of charities and endowments in England at the present day comes to fifty five millions sterling. But this sum represents the total charity subscribed by the landlords of England as well as by its general public. The total yearly income derived from real estate on this head is £1,558,250, the capitalized value of which represents approximately the amount of property endowed by the English Lords for charity. Calculated at the rate of 5 per cent., this income will be represented by a capital of close upon thirty millions sterling. The total income of the landlords of England is about 100 million sterling every year. Thus their expenditure for charitable purposes is, in proportion to their income— one-third of it. The income of the Bengal landholders including those of Orissa, on the other hand, is about Twelve crores of rupees, and their total outlay in religious endowments and charities is thirteen Crores; or in otherwords they have spent in charities more than what their yearly income is. Thus while the Bengal landlords are about twelve times poorer than the English, yet they have spent three times more in proportion to their income in public charities than the latter have done. This may seem a strange conclusion, but it is a surprisingly true one. The facts set forth in these articles testify to it most strongly and in the most convincing manner. They prove how groundless are the remarks of Lord Curzon that wealthy natives of India has not yet reached a high standard of practical charity!

Even if the whole charity of England and Wales, represented by 55 millions sterling is supposed to have been contributed by English landlords alone, the amount is only half of their annual income. This still makes the Bengal zemindars doubly generous in comparison to their English brethren, and yet only a fraction of the charities of the Bengal landholders has been taken into account in this comparison!

I bring to an end the charities of the Bengal Province, specially of Bihar and Orissa, by the following additional list of charities and public works executed by the zemindars of the Province :—

1. Burdwan Town Hall. By Bongsho Gopal Nanda and others.

2. Baidyapore Temple. By Deno Bundhu Nundy and others. The temple has an *atithsala* adjoining to it, and is supported by an endowment in lands having an income of about Rs. 8,000 yearly.

3. Female Ward, Ranigunge Charitable Dispensary. By Kumar Dakhineswar Malia Bahadur, Siarsol.

4. Singur H. E. School under the name of Moti Lal Malia's School. By same.

5. Bancoorah High School, Charitable Dispensary and *atithsala*. By Godadhar Bondopadhyaya, Ayodha, Bancoorah.

6. Bancoorah Raja's temples.

7. Berhampore Charitable Institution. By Biswamoyee Dosse, widow of late Bhubon Mohun Sen, zemindar. It has an endowment yielding an annual income of Rs. 9,000.

8. Motihari Hospital. By Roy Gunga Prosad Singh Bahadur. Established 1898 and an endowment created to the value of Rs. 10,000 for its maintenance.

9. Dharmasala at Mozufferpore. By Rameshwara Naryan Endowment, Rs. 36,000.

10. Nawab Lagi Khan's English School, Rs. 30,000.

11. Baghi Sanscrit School. By Gujraj Sahoy. Endowment Rs. 15,000, established 1895.

12. Baghi Charitable Hospital. By same. Endowment Rs. 30,000, established 1895.

13. Guru Nanak Saha's Charitable Institution. By Domi Loll Chowdhury of Mozufferpore. Endowment Rs. 4,000, established 1887.

14. Raj Hurrubullubh Narain Scholarship at Patna College, Rs. 5,600.

15. Rajnagar Women's Hospital. By Raja Rameshwar Sing of Durbhanga.

16. Patna Female Hospital, Rs. 10,000. By a Mahomedan zemindar of Patna.

17. Benawari Lall's Charitable Dispensary at Motihari. Endowment Rs. 81,500.

18. Charitable Dispensary at Laheria Sarai. By Gunga Prosad Singh Bahadur of Durbhanga. Endowment Rs. 21,000.

19. Bhagalpore Water Works completion. By Udit Naryan Sing, Handwah, subscription Rs. 26,000, and Rs. 10,000 for Leper Asylum Fund.

20. Gya Lady Doctor's Building Accommodation and

Dufferin Fund. By Rameshwar Prosad Narain Sing, Rs. 36,000.

21. Bihar Famine Relief Works, Rs. 10,000. By Maharajah of Sonbursa in 1892. He has subscribed very largely to various objects of public utility, such as Bhagalpore Water Works, Hospitals, Schools, &c. He paid Rs. 4,000 for tobacco and cigars for troops in South Africa.

22. Sursand Charitable Dispensary. By Rao Gopal Narayan, son of Raja of Sursand. He has endowed it with a sum of Rs. 12,500.

23. Bishanpur Entrance School. By Parameshi Prosad Naryan. Expense Rs. 150 per mensem.

24. Temples dedicated to Siva at Bishanpur and *atithsala*. By same.

25. Madhapura Charitable Dispensary. By native landholders of Madhapura, Bhagalpore.

26. A charitable establishment for feeding daily all poor travellers at Hasna, Gya, kept by a certain zemindar of the place. It costs Rs. 50 a day. (Hunter's Statistics, vol. XII, p. 121.)

27. Arrah Relief Institution at the Maula Bagh. By certain Mahommedan zemindars.

28. Daltongunj Charitable Dispensary. By Bhyadirgaj Deo, Zemindar of Untari, Palamau, Rs. 8,000.

29. Kusumgram Madrasah, Mosque and Minor School, Burdwan. By Hazi Munshi Mohammed Mozaffar. Yearly expense Rs 5,000 covered by an endowment in land.

30. Hetampore Krishna Chandra College, Beerbhoom. By the Hetampore Raj.

31. Raja Ram Ranjan Town Hall and Public Library Beerbhoom. By same.

32. Dharamsalas and Jain Temples in Azimgunj, Moorshe-dabad, and Rajgir, Bihar. By Dhanpat Singh, Rai Bahadur.

33. Bibi Pran Kumari Jubilee High English School and Almshouse. By Shitab Chand Nahar, Azimgunj, Moorshe-dabad.

34. Champanagore Almshouse. By Tarak Nath Ghose. Mahasya, Bhagalpore. Yearly expense Rs. 20,000 nearly.

35. A Temple and Suspension Bridge at the shrine of Budri Naryan, N.-W. P. By Rai Bahadur Surujmal Jhunghunwala. He has founded and endowed schools, libraries and dharamsalas.

36. Gya Water Works, Rs. 25,000. By Ram Nath Singh, of Gya.

37. Tej Narain Jubilee College. By Rai Bahadur Tej Narain Singh, of Bhagalpore.

38. Hetampore Raj Religious Endowments, consisting of temples and *atithsalas* at Hetampore, Beerbhoom. Rs. 20,000 yearly expense.

39. Rajgir Almshouse. By Heera Nund.
40. Bihar National College. By Bisseswar Singh, Zemindar of Kulharya, Shahabad.
41. Rai Chowdhury Mahommed Taib Institution, Bankura.
42. Shib Chandra H. E. School, Kirnahar, Birbhum.
43. Nawab's Madrassa, Murshedabad.
44. Murari Chand College and School, Sylhet.
45. Chanchel Shideswari Institution. By Sarat Chunder Roy Chowdhury, Malda.
46. Nawabgaj Hari Mohun Institution, Malda. Yearly expense about Rs. 2,500.
47. K. P. Institution, Monghyr. By Rai Kamaleswari Prosad Singh Bahadur. In 1892 amalgamated with Diamond Jubilee College, Monghyr.
48. Diamond Jubilee Institution, Shahabad. By Jagabandhu Babu, Kanchantala.
49. Rai H. M. I. Bahadur's Free School, Barari, Bhagalpore.
50. Nawab Imdad Ali Khan Bahadur's High School, amalgamated with the Bhumihar Brahman College, Mozafferpore.
51. Chowdhuri Mohedar Rahaman's Charitable Dispensary Indas, Bankura.
52. Bhagalpore Technical School. By Raja Shib Chunder Bannerjee. He has also subscribed largely towards the Bhagalpore Water Works and gave a donation of Rs. 25,000 to the Dufferin Fund.
53. Rai Rajib Lochun Bahadur, of Cossimbazar, has endowed scholarships of about Rs. 800 monthly in the Berhampore and Sanscrit Colleges.
54. Guest-houses (chatras) at Benares erected by most of the rich zemindars of Bengal, widely known throughout the country, such as Surnomoyee, Dighapatya, Burdwan and Putya Houses. Maharajah of Cooch Behar has the grandest endowment at Benares in this respect. The Bihar landlords, such as the Tikari and Hatua Rajas, keep up Guest-houses at great expense at Benares. The combined expenses every year would come up to several lakhs.

ICH DIEN..

ART. V.—OLD HAILEYBURY.

I.

THE appearance of a little book on "Colonial Civil Service" by a citizen of the United States, aided by a distinguished Englishman engaged on educational work in that country, suggests memories of the service of the East India Company. * Everyone who has paid attention to the subject must be aware that the Company—originally chartered for the purposes of trade—had lost its commercial character during the nineteenth century and had even ceased to be supreme in the direction of political affairs in the vast territories won to the flag by its military and diplomatic exertions. But the civil administration continued to be carried on by officials selected, commissioned, and paid by the directing body by which the Company was yet represented : and it says much for the activity of the Yankee mind that, in beginning to run an oriental Dependency in the Phillippines, they should address themselves to studying the means by which the British Company provided for such work.

That the system pursued at the E-I. College was not perfect our authors readily admit. Indeed they point decisively to the flaw in its entire conception and conduct : namely, the controlling of the College by the same body by whose members the students had been nominated. Holding their office by the pleasure of the same men, the Principal and his Council were unwilling to ruin their own patrons' nominees ; and hence the discipline of the place lacked the ultimate sanction of expulsion by which alone it could have been made effective. Cases therefore occurred in which men were sent out to govern India who had never been reduced to obedience or taught to govern themselves. A shrewd female observer, in the first-half of the century, gave instances of the unfitness of some of the men whom she met, regarding them from the point of view offered to a lady visitor. " Their poor dear manners were quite gone The gentlemen talk of Vizier Ali and Lord Cornwallis ; the ladies do not talk at all ; and I do nt know which I like best Towards the end of the rainy season the lowness of spirits that comes on is quite dreadful : everyone fancies that he is going to die ; and then, he thinks, no one will bury him as there is no other European at hand. *Moral* : Never send a son to India." (" Up the Country ; " Hon. Emily Eden, 2 vols, 3rd ed.: London, 1866.)

**Colonial Civil Service*; A. Lawrence Lowell and H. Morse Stephens, New York, 1900.

Such was the impression made on the Governor-General's sister by the Haileybury Civilians of 1839 ; and, however, we may suspect a little caricature, we can easily imagine a certain lack of energy in the administration of those forlorn exiles. Very unflattering pictures, also, of their military *confrères* appear in works of the day ; and it must be borne in mind that the Company's Army furnished many an understudy for the most important parts in the drama of public life. Kaye's "Long Engagements"—a forgotten fiction of the first Afghan war—and Sir Willam Sleeman's "Rambles and Recollections" may in this connection deserve a passing notice ; as also "Oakfield," a somewhat later work by W. D. Arnold. It was ungraciously observed, by Arnold's more famous brother, that "no Arnold could write a novel ;" the subsequent success of Mrs. Humphrey Ward not being visible to her uncle's prophetic soul. Certainly "Oakfield" is dead and buried : it was never a brilliant story ; yet there could be no doubt as to the author's view of Anglo-Indian Society or what he called "Fellowship in the East." He soon left the army for educational work, and died young, leaving a son, the energetic military reformer known to the present generation as H. O. Arnold Foster, M. P.

In one respect, at least, it may be hoped that Anglo-Indian administration has made a great advance since the Company's days. Under the influences of public opinion and of improved civilisation greater earnestness may be well supposed to have established itself ; and with it a diminution of selfishness and injustice in high places. In the times of Miss Eden—say in the first twenty years of Queen Victoria—the officers entrusted with civil charges in the Indian Mufassal could not—unless protected by strong interest—rely on Governmental recognition, or expect to prosper in direct ratio to their merits and deserts. It would be a strong indication of ignorance of the world if one were to assume that all men became perfect in wisdom and in virtue by wriggling from stool to stool in a Government Office ; on the other hand it would be absurd to argue that these merits are hopelessly excluded from the arena of an official hierarchy. But the familiar instances of Sir D. Ochterlony in 1825 and of William Tayler in 1857 are enough to show the powers of a bureaucracy, and the occasional lapses from justice to which it may be liable. Failures of another sort were always possible where the civilians of the old school had lost touch with the people. The Orissa Famine of 1866 is a case in point. Its treatment, according to a most loyal supporter of the Indian Government in general, "left a deep stain on the reputation of the Bengal authorities" (Marshman.)

Admissions of this kind, it must be remembered, do not

necessarily involve the character of the whole body of men turned out from the Company's College. Some were half-bargains indeed, men who would never have got into the service, but for the favour of their patrons and the unwillingness of the Principal to ruin their careers ; but even of these there were some brave and honest men who made an excellent use of their slender powers in times of stress like the Mutiny. Others, of a more disciplined and plodding order, rose in the Secretariat to become conscientious, if somewhat formal, Ministers and Lieutenant-Governors. All honour to the men who founded and consolidated the great "empire of the middle classes," and to those who rule it at the present hour. The provincial staff has always been devoted and earnest ; while central authorities, if not free from the temptations of their place, have generally held and followed a high ideal of duty.

The writer of these pages may, perhaps, incur the charge of egotism : his only excuse is that what he has to say about the Company's College, and the service which it engendered, is based upon direct personal testimony. As readers of Mr. Lowell will remember, the writer is mentioned as one not only trained at Haileybury but actually born there : including his father's traditions his memory covers a period extending from 1824—when the College was fifteen years old—to the time when he left it for India in 1847. In the former of these years his father had lately settled there as Professor of Arabic and Persian ; and amongst his colleagues were several distinguished men—Cobbett's "Parson Malthus," C. W. LeBas, a divine of the *via media* ; presently after came J. A. Jeremie, afterwards Regius, Professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge, and others whose names would convey little meaning now, but who, nevertheless were good men in their time ; law was taught by Empson, Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*.

The period was not exciting. In the earlier years the throne was occupied by that medieval roué George IV, a monarch who had but little influence on the affairs of India or of the Company. Before coming to the Royal title George had for about ten years been Regent ; and it was during the Regency that the Company's Charter came up for renewal, not without much preliminary discussion on selection and preparation in Parliament and in the Press. Already, in 1806, a staff of teachers had been selected by the Court of Directors, and a training-school for the aspirants to Indian administration opened in Hertford Castle to be transferred to Haileybury—a small manor about two miles off—some three years later. At first little more than a seminary "for the reception of students at the age of fifteen, to remain till they are sent by the Court

to their respective destinations." The academical character of the College was not finally determined until 1813.

During the discussions preliminary to the renewal of the Charter in that year the question of nomination to the Indian Civil Service had been among the points debated. And Lord Grenville—one of Pitt's ablest followers kept out of office by his liberal opinions—made a proposal which in some degree anticipated the modern system of Competitive Examination. He refused to allow that the retention of this valuable patronage by the Company's Directors was the only alternative to its being made an engine of political corruption. That, indeed, might have been the rock on which the ship split in Fox's charge thirty years before; as no one knew better than Grenville who had been a party to the wreck. What he now suggested was that the nominations should be taken out of the hands of the Company, not to be transferred to the Board of Control or any other organ of the Government, but to be offered to a competition among the boys at public schools; and the selected candidates were to receive their training not at a special College like Haileybury, but at the National Universities among youths of their class.

The danger passed; the Company's Charter was renewed without detriment to the power of nomination: by the Act of 1813 the College obtained parliamentary recognition, and the status of an academy of adult students in caps and gowns, on a similar footing to one of the Colleges in the Universities. No person, it was provided, should be sent out in the service who had not passed two years at the College, and the minimum age for entrance was fixed at seventeen.

Such was the condition of the College when the writer's father joined in 1824 as Professor of Arabic and Persian: shortly after he was made Registrar—much the same office as that of the Bursar at Oxford. His lodging was in a commodious house on the northern side of the Quadrangle, in the upper part of which was fixed the College-clock: and in this house his eldest son was born. The Principal in those days was a distinguished Cambridge man who had been third Wrangler and Fellow of Trinity; the Rev. Joseph Hallett Batten, D.D., Fellow of the Royal Society, who had begun his connection with the College as Professor of Classics. This accomplished man, whose house was at the S.-W. angle, next the chapel, held office on less than three-and-twenty years; and under him were trained most of the men who made the great reputation of the Company's Service: Mr. James Thomason, Sir Charles Trevelyan, and Lord Lawrence, "the Saviour of India."

If the Reverend Professor of Arabic had less academical

distinction to show than Dr. Batten he had seen a great deal of the world. Originally a soldier, he had borne part, under Arthur Wellesley, the future conqueror of Napoleon, in the short campaign which ended in the fall of Tippoo Sultan and the usurping dynasty of Mysore. Afterwards entering the College of Fort Willam, where the Civilians were trained before the establishment of Haileybury, he passed a few years in the Madras Civil Service. He entered Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, as a Fellow-Commoner in 1810; and became a man of some note, graduating in honours and being elected a Fellow of his College, which involved his being ordained a clergyman of the Anglican Church. After the fall of Napoleon he made a tour in Europe with Lord Mahon, afterwards Earl Stanhope, F.R.S., the well-known historian; finally settled down in England to contest the Arabic Chair at Cambridge, and on being defeated by the eminent Hebraist Dr. Samuel Lee—obtained the appointment at Haileybury as already stated.*

One's earliest memory of the College is thus different from that of others, having been received from the point of view offered by a Professor's house. It is somewhat obliterated, no doubt, by the later recollections of a student like an old M.S., obscured on a Palimpsest. Only two aspects are left at all distinct; one of a general complaint of lawlessness, the other of a certain atmosphere of good old-world social life. Instances of the one occur in connection with some frequency. Miss Martineau used to come as the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Malthus; we exchanged visits with Lord John Townshend, of Balls, an old *viveur* of the days of Fitzpatrick, Fox and the Dandies; on the occasion of terminal inspections we saw Sir Charles Wilkins, who had been one of the early members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the days of Warren Hastings. Francis Jeffery used to appear at Empson's, who had married Jeffrey's daughter. As for the Students, a certain element of apprehension was not altogether absent; although some of them had been tamed so far as to be admitted to the Professor's houses, the results were not always quite satisfactory. A young man afterwards a distinguished and decorous member of the Indian Government, went to Gorhambury races; and returning late at night availed himself of his knowledge of our premises to let himself in by the kitchen-window and enter the College Quad by unlocking our front-door from within. Occasionally the conduct of these young libertines assumed a wilder licence. One evening, when Mrs. LeBas had been at our house, my father was escorting her to the sedan-chair which

* See article in Vol. XXX of the "Dictionary of National Biography."

awaited her at the door when he was forcibly restrained by some of the students who had been of the party. In another moment was heard a loud explosion; and the sedan-chair was hoisted into the air, a charge of gunpowder having been placed in a drain-pipe and fired just as the good lady was stepping into her vehicle. She escaped with a fright; and I fear that my father never disclosed the identity of his well-wishers whose favourable intervention must have betrayed a guilty knowledge. At another time, when the infant who has since developed into the present aged babbler was lying in his cradle, a huge boulder came crashing through the nursery-window and lodged on the arched top of the basinette. On hearing the nurse's outcry my father rushed out into the Quad to find two or three Students who apologised for the fractured pane, on the ground that the clock was too fast and they had no means of correction but by throwing stones at the hands. One of the most lawless of the students of that time is said to have been named John Lawrence, who entered in 1827. He obtained a nomination vacated by the late Charles Merivale, who died Dean of Ely, and who was wont to say that, as the cause of Lawrence's appointment he, Merivale, was the real Saviour of India.

II.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century brought many changes to the College. Amongst the deaths the most noticeable were those of Mr. Malthus and Dr. Batten. The former was succeeded in the Chair of Political Economy ("Polly Con." as the young men said) by the Rev. Richard Jones, a Poor Law Commissioner and a writer of some temporary authority on the subject of Rent. The demise of Dr. Batten, a few years later, left the post of Principal open to the Dean, Mr. Le Bas, in whose hands the discipline of the College is believed to have suffered. Before his accession, however, our direct knowledge of the matter had ceased; my father having retired in 1834.

The personal peculiarities which made LeBas an inadequate ruler of turbulent youths fully aware of the immunities which they derived from the protection of their patrons are stated by Mr. Stephens with much frankness: and one's own recollection of the worthy gentleman is in general agreement with what is stated by him. In appearance LeBas somewhat resembled Charles Lamb; with a smooth, low-comedy countenance, an undersized figure, and little legs clothed in shorts and black gaiters. Add to this that he was very hard of hearing, with a high uncontrolled voice, and a quaint way of interlarding his talk with Latin quotations and words that he himself would probably have styled "sesquipedalian." For

example, I remember going to Brighton just after passing out of College after several false starts: one day I walked to the Post office to put a letter into the box: there was a bit of a crowd at the window; and out of the crowd behind me I heard a shrill cry—

“Well, sir, so you’ve got out at last: I congratulate you. Post tot naufragiatutus!”

It was the ex-principal who had chosen Brighton for his residence; and who coming on a like errand with myself, had recognised me as I stood before him. Sir. M. Monier-Williams mentions his rebuking some of the stone-throwers of the Quad. by reminding them that it was forbidden to “lithobolise” there; and a case was on record in which, sending for a student who had been reported to have given a wine-party on a Sunday evening, “the Prin” — as he was called—added the special reproach:—

“And I understand, Sir, that you were the *Coryphæus* of this unhallowed assemblage.”

LeBas had just ceased to govern when I entered the College as a student; but I had found him there the year before, when I visited it from Oxford. On that occasion I dined at the high table in Hall and was honoured with a seat next to the Principal. During dinner our attention was pretty well occupied; but in a pause he curved his hand over his ear and loudly demand:—“How is your grandmother, Sir?”

“She’s dead, Sir,” was my reply.

Before the cloth was drawn occurred another pause, during which the courteous but forgetful old man again asked me the same question. From the pitch of his voice all in the neighbourhood were now roused, and, amid the curious gaze of surrounding Professors, waiters, and students, he presently added in some impatience—“I’m asking about your grandmother.” Thus urged, I too, had to raise my voice as I gave the only possible answer—“She’s still dead.”

When I got my nomination to the College the good old mannerist was gone, having been succeeded by Henry Melvill, brother of the Secretary to the India-House. The Principal’s name is probably not very familiar now; but Melvill was a well-known man at the time; genial, strong, and eloquent, the Chrysostom of Evangelicalism. Jeremie had succeeded LeBas when the latter was promoted from Dean to Principal; and he was understood to feel resentment at not being made his successor now. Empson was still lecturing on Law and Morals, in other words pouring out an indistinct torrent of utilitarian philosophy, in which morsels of common law, statute, civil law, and equity came floating along, *in gurgite vasto*. Jones held forth on rent, land-tenures, and Indian

History, an awful but grotesque figure, with a bloated red face surmounted by a chestnut wig. It is hardly needful to add that the student who chose to attend carefully and continuously at the lecture-rooms of these able teachers soon found his account in so doing: the ludicrous element was superficial, the solid value of the well-digested information could not be denied. The way of it was this. The Professor undertook to explain certain authoritative text-books; and expected the students to take notes of what he said. At the end of the term those who had taken such notes intelligently and without interruption could submit them to the Professor for inspection, after which there would be a general examination of the class, the questions being based upon the course that had been delivered during the term. Bad work was denoted by the letter L. printed against one's name, the better performances being labelled G., or Gt., and a handsome prize of books, or a silver medal, awarded to the best. L. meant "little progress," while G. and Gt. stood for "good" or "great." I may illustrate the system by stating what occurred at the end of a term between Mr Jones and a student who found that attendance at the Professor's lectures interfered with breakfast, and who therefore contented himself with studying the text-book and reading up the notes taken by one of his friends. When the examination was over Jones sent for the young man and bluntly accused him of having copied his papers from other men's work: "You could not have sent in such a paper otherwise, as you have not been at any of my lectures." On the young man repudiating the charge and explaining his *modus operandi*, Jones offered alternatives; either the paper should be marked G. or the student might undergo a special *viva-voce* examination, in which—as the Professor hinted—his ignorance would be soon brought to light. Rightly surmising that Jones would resent the trouble of a special examination the young man shrewdly answered:—

"Well, Sir, I have told you the truth, and cannot do better than leave myself in your hands."

The kindly Professor ultimately awarded the mark of Gt. to which the intrinsic quality of the work was admitted to have established a title.

During the three years of my student life at the old College the times were tranquil. The Afghan war was just over; the main excitement of the country,—always excitable,—was over Maynooth and the Corn Laws; and both questions were earnestly discussed amongst us youngsters, mainly from the high Tory point of view. Our life was joyous rather than wilfully insubordinate; and the authorities for the most part connived at little irregularities conceived in that spirit. Writ

had a Debating Society in which the Conservative majority was led by Temple, since distinguished as Governor of Bombay and Vice-Chairman of the London School-Board. The Liberals were best represented by Mr. Hodgson Pratt, known to later times as President of the association for promoting international Arbitration. Besides the Debating Society there was a social club, the "Wellesley," which was a little exclusive and guarded jealously the admission to its limited ranks. We had a "chartered toast," accompanied by a song with the refrain, "a health to the Marquess, God bless him!" This postmortem homage to a long-departed Governor-General was celebrated by help of a grand silver cup filled with generous port wine; and had, probably, more effect on our own health than on that of the deceased. But the practical result was that we constituted ourselves a medium of communication between the College and the World, and assumed the duty of entertaining distinguished visitors to Haileybury.

It will be understood that all such revelry was against rules; and the authorities had ample means of control in the system of nightly inspection carried on by the servants. There was but one entrance to the College Quadrangle from without, namely, the western gate facing the London road. Here was installed a janitor—Wiltshire by name—whose duty it was to lock up at sunset and enter in his book the names of all students entering after a certain hour. We were then supposed to pass the evenings in our rooms, absorbed in study either solitary or shared with an equally assiduous comrade; and at the hour assigned for retirement, one of the staff went round knocking at each door with the question—"Alone, Sir?" If this was sometimes answered by a cheerful chorus of convivial voices no evil consequences usually resulted.

The relaxation of rules hereby involved was mainly due to the progress of time and the mitigating action of experience. In the earlier constitution of the College it had been intended that discipline should be administered by the collective body of the Professors sitting in Council. But in Melvill's day the power and responsibility had been consolidated in the hands of the Principal: and his ability, good-nature, and genial hospitality had combined to give him great and beneficial influence. It is not too much to say that the more valuable features of academic discipline had been greatly strengthened by the apparent relaxation of rigour which ensued.

I recollect an instance of the tact with which Melvill turned aside what might have proved a dangerous blow to the well being of the College—or, at least, to that of some of its alumni. It occurred in this wise. A number of the students had combined their resources for the purchase of a billiard-table

which—with the fittings and appurtenances— had been erected in the old Rye House, famous as the scene of Rumbold's abortive plot against the life of King Charles I. On the opposite shore of the river Lea—which was here crossed by a road-bridge—there was an inn much frequented by cockney anglers, and used by members of the College addicted to boating and bathing. The innkeeper having failed, the estate passed into the hands of Trustees in Bankruptcy who attached our billiard table, etc., as forming part of the assets. In vain we pointed out the hardship of this, seeing that the property obviously did not belong to the estate. The Solicitor to the Trustees could only answer that he found the names of many of the students on the inn books as debtors for dinners and drinks ; he would therefore hold the things as security for such claims until we could prove our case in Court. On receiving this ultimatum we resolved to break the lien asserted to exist by carrying off the property: fortified, as we were, by the opinion of counsel that, if it were once taken out of the possession of the Trustees, all such claims would lapse. Accordingly, one dark November night, we went down with a wagon and carried off the table, with cues, balls, lamps, and furniture ; depositing them in a friendly quarter at Ware. As soon as Mr. Murray, the man in possession, discovered the loss he proceeded to the residence of the nearest Magistrate, to whom (in spite of the late hour) he insisted on relating the case with a demand for warrants on a charge of burglary. Among the members of the Club were some who afterwards filled high offices in the Indian Empire ; but the only men whom Mr. Murray could identify were the writer of these lines and the present Marquess of Tweeddale—then Lord William Hay—and in their names accordingly were the nocturnal warrants made out. On the following morning Murray presented himself at Wiltshire's Gates, demanding execution of these warrants ; but Wiltshire would only refer him to the Principal. Melvill accordingly sent for Hay and myself, and concealing Murray behind a door, proceeded to ask us for an explanation. On hearing the facts the good Principal broke into a hearty fit of laughter, and dismissed us. We heard no more of the warrants, and could only presume that our Principal had sent Murray away in accordance with the Horatian moral—

“ Solvuntur risu tabulae—tu missus abibis ”.

My connection with the College ceased in 1846 ; and of its later fortunes I have no personal experience : but a pleasant picture has been supplied by Mr. E. Lockwood, who was a Student there in the years immediately preceding the discontinuance of the system to which it owed its existence.

Discipline and training appear to have gone on improving: and the men turned out during those closing years were perhaps up to an even higher general level than had hitherto been usual. A few—notably Sir Alfred Lyall and Sir Auckland Colvin—lived to earn distinction in many important fields and to become, in a most conspicuous degree, Men of the Time.

The conclusion arrived at by Messrs. Lowell and Stephens is remarkable, opposed as it is to modern ideas, however supported by the facts.

"It appears clearly," says Mr. Stephens, "from this story of the patronage-system of the East Indian Company as to appointments . . . that patronage, when checked by training at a special College entered only after a qualifying examination, produces results not inferior to open competitive examination . . . Most clearly of all is it proved that the chief advantage of such a College, as Haileybury, lay not so much in the actual instruction afforded as in the association together of young men intended for a career in common in which they specially needed the traditions of a noble service." In the earlier portion of the work Mr. Lowell applies these and similar considerations to the support of his proposal that American colonial work should be entrusted to young men specially prepared. In any case it is presumable that the people of the United States would never agree to the adoption of a system under which an overeducated Bengali can be sent to govern Sikhs or Afridis, and the administration of an important colonial sea-port be entrusted to a full-blooded buck Negro.

The stress laid by the authors on the association of the young men is by no means exaggerated. Not only were traditions of honourable duty established, but the corporate spirit fostered was on the whole beneficial. And these things were perhaps more practically useful than all the book-learning in the world.

No properly-informed person will contend that old Haileybury was an ideal place of education, or deny that, in comparison with other institutions, it was a rather lath-and-plaster Temple of the Muses. All that can be claimed for it is, perhaps, that it answered the purpose for which it was intended and that went on improving itself to the last. The declared intention was to provide a place where young men of a certain social class, after giving proofs of good character and attainments, should live together for a time and receive instruction in certain branches of knowledge which would be useful to them in the career which they had undertaken. Whatever protection may have attended the sons and nephews

of the Directors after they had become Students at the College, the entrance-examinations at least were conducted by competent and impartial scholars ; and it was my personal conviction—going up as I did from Oxford—that a knowledge of the required subjects would have more than sufficed to ensure a University Degree. Nor, indeed, was the ordeal without its terrors ; some candidates abstained from presenting themselves and were consoled by commissions in the Company's Army ; while others only qualified themselves by the aid of special trainers, amongst whom I particularly remember hearing of a Mr. Rowsell by whom several of my contemporaries were prepared to face the Examiners.

This ordeal once passed, with certain satisfaction of the Court in regard to moral character, the youths entered the College and became exposed to the temptations incidental to their age and circumstances. The defect in sanction, arising from the known reluctance to blight a protégé's career, has been already shown ; but it would be quite a mistake to infer that the Students' progress was neglected or that they were usually sent to their important work in India as perfect dunces. The nature of two of the "European" Courses—Political Economy and Law, has been already mentioned ; other subjects were equally attended to. Jeremie lectured in the Library, expounding Plato and Cicero with a wide and various apparatus of illustration. Heaviside—afterwards Canon of Norwich—taught science, or some branch of applied mathematics. In the oriental side we had Francis Johnson, editor of Richardson's Arabic Dictionary, and Monier-Williams, afterwards Boden Professor at Oxford. Eastwick and Ouseley looked after Urdu and Persian ; provision being also made for the languages of Madras and Bombay.

Nor was all this a mere show. Eminent scholars came down to test our work at the end of each term, or what was known as "Dist," Day. In that terminal examination a certain number of L. marks involved the loss of the term ; and the loss of two consecutive terms vacated one's appointment. If, after all precautions, a dunce did occasionally succeed in getting to India, he was not always a bad fellow for rough work : in any case he had not made culture an industry or learned to loathe books like a grocer's boy surfeited with figs. Clearly, the names recorded in this book of Messrs. Lowell and Stephens are enough to show that old Haileybury was quite able to turn out men whose reputation extended even beyond the limits of India. Competition has probably raised the general level of knowledge ; it has not yet produced better scholars than Brian Hodgson, better statesmen than John Lawrence.

ART VI.—MILITARY WEAPONS OF THE HINDUS.

IN this Essay, we shall try to show that as regards Military Science and the handling of martial weapons, the Hindus held their own against, and, in some respects, were even superior to the other nations.

Our main stay is *Mahabharata*. Amongst the *Puranas* we have consulted the *Vishnu* and the *Markandeya-Chandi* chiefly. The earlier dramas, especially the *Mricchakatika*, the oldest of them, were also before us. The invaluable help we had from the treatises on military tactics (some of which are still extant, while many of these, we fully believe, have perished) such as the *Dhanurveda* of Vaisampayana, the excellent collection of *Sarngadhar*, the *Sukraniti* and the *Virchintamani*, whilst the *Koshas*, especially the valuable edition of *Amar* by Dr. Colebrooke, have proved of great help to us. Our thanks are also due to Babu Nagendra Nath Basu, the indefatigable editor of the *Viswa Kosha*, the Encyclopædia Bengaliana, for the valuable suggestions found in his book.

At the very outset, we shall refer to Sukracharjya, who draws a fine distinction between the two different classes of weapons the *Nalika* and the *Mantrika*. Those weapons which are “hurled at the foe,” with the recitations of *Mantras*, were called the *Mantrikas*, and those which were discharged by the aid of Nala-jantra (cannon or muskets) were called the *Nalikas*. The author goes on to say that the former are to be used when the latter are not available. As we mean to deal with *Mantrika* weapons later on, we should like to take up the subject of *Nalika* instruments at first. This distinction, as we see, corresponds to the modern distinction of ordinary weapons and fire-arms. The able Editor of the *Viswa Kosha*, the Bengali Encyclopædia, Babu Nagendra Nath Basu, is perfectly right in thinking that they roughly correspond to modern muskets or pistols.* There seems to have been three synonyms of the words,—*Nālīka*, *Nālika* and *Nāla* (নালিকা, নলিকা, নল), Mention is made of this instrument even so early as the Vedas, in the Atharvan and Krishna Yajur Vedas respectively, where they are given the characteristic appellation of *Sūrme*. The *Asuras* by the help of these weapons used to kill their enemies by hundreds. The distinguished commentator of the Vedas Sayana, explains this word† as meaning ‘a cylindrical hollow

* See his able and suggestive explanations of these words in Vol. IX of the *Viswa Kosha*.

† Commenting on the Sloka “এবা বৈশ্বর্জ্যকাবভোনিহ্ম” &c.
(কৃষ্ণযজুর্বেদ ১।৫।৬।৭)

iron tube.' It occurs also several times in the *Dhanurveda* of Vaisampayana, in the *Sukraniti*, in *Virchintamani*, as well as in both the Sanskrit epics. Vaisampayana, for instance, explains Nalika as being "Nala or reed-shaped (whence its name), of a dark-blue colour, of a rectilineal and cylindrical form, hollow at the centre, capable of piercing the bones of the enemies *"
 "From within these weapons," he goes on to describe, "Aiah Karana (অয়ঃকরণ), [or as in Mahabharata Aiah-Kana (অয়ঃ-কণ)], i.e., iron-bullets are projected with violent force to pierce the vital parts of the enemies. Three-fold duties are involved in the manipulation of these weapons: first, handling; secondly, igniting; and lastly, hurling them on the enemies. Any one skilled in these three is sure to gain victory over an approaching enemy." The excellent, though small collection of Sarngadhara has a Sloka describing the opportune moment of using these instruments. He says that "Nalika are small bullets (lit. 'arrows') discharged by the *Nala-jantra* (cannon). They are to be used when the enemy is on a great height or in besieging forts. To leave no room for doubt Sukracharjya describes the different shapes and sizes of these rifles and cannon, the different purposes for which these ought to be used, their respective weights, the means of carrying them, and even the use and preparation of gunpowder with which they are to be stuffed. As this description, we dare say, is likely to prove interesting to our readers, we quote here the Slokas in original :—

“অস্ত্রস্ত দ্বিবিধং জ্যেয়ং নালিকং মাস্ত্রিকং তথা ।
 যদা তু মাস্ত্রিকং নাস্তি নালিকং তত্র ধারয়েৎ ॥
 নালিকং দ্বিবিধং জ্যেয়ং বৃহৎ ক্ষুদ্র বিভেদতঃ ।
 তিৰ্য্যাগৃদ্ধিচ্ছিন্নমূলং নালং পঞ্চবিতস্তিকং ॥
 মূলগ্রয়ো লক্ষভেদি তিলবিন্দুযুতং সদা ।
 যস্ত্রাঘাতাগ্নিকং গ্রাবচূর্ণধৃক্কর্ণমূলকং ॥
 স্রুকাঠোপাঙ্গবৃদ্ধঞ্চ মধ্যাকুলবিলান্তরং ।
 স্বাগ্নেহগ্নিচূর্ণসন্ধাতৃ শলাকাসংযুতং দৃঢ়ং ॥
 লঘুনালিকমপোতৎ প্রধার্য্য পতিমাদিতিঃ ॥
 যথা যথা তু ভুকুসারং যথা স্থলবিলান্তরং ।
 যথা দীর্ঘং বৃহৎ গোলাং দূরভেদী তথা তথা ॥
 মূলকীলক্রমালঙ্ঘ্য সমসন্ধানভাজিতং ॥

* “নালিকা ঋজুদেহা সাৎ তবঙ্গী মথারঞ্জিকা ।

মর্গচ্ছেদকরী নীলা ————— ॥” (বৈশম্পায়নোক্ত ধনুর্বেদঃ ।)

নালীকালঘবে বাণা নলযন্ত্রেণ নোদিতাঃ ।

অতুচ্ছদূরপাতেষু দ্বর্গমধ্যেষু তে মতাঃ ॥ (শার্ঙ্গধর সংগ্রহীত ধনুর্বেদঃ)

বুহ্মালিকসংজ্ঞ্যং তৎ কাষ্ঠবুধবিবৰ্জিতং ।

প্রবাহং শকটাদ্যস্ত স্মৃকুং বিজয়প্রদং ॥”

(শুক্রনীতি ৪।৭ অঃ ।)

Sukracharjya, in defining the above two words, says:—
“Weapons (in general) are of two kinds, the *Nālikā* and the *Māntrika*. The former are to be used where the later are not available. *Nālikā* weapons are divided into two classes, the *Laghu-Nālikā* or the smaller *Nālikā* and the *Brihat Nālikā* or the larger *Nālikā*. Of these, the dimension of the smaller is about five *Bitasthis* or cubits, or about five feet in length. It is made up of an iron tube, hollow at the centre, that hole stretching from bottom upwards, *i.e.*, towards the muzzle as seen from the outer surface with a cock at the middle to fix aim between that point and the muzzle (lit. topmost point) and a stone underneath which when struck (by this cock), emits fire. Adjoining is the receptacle of gun-powder (অগ্নিচূর্ণ) with the handle and adjacent parts made up of a good quality of wood. The central hollow ought to be of such a diameter as to allow the middle finger of a man to pass with ease. Attached to the iron tube is a hard iron pike to stuff gun-powder with. This is known as the *Laghu-Nalika* and are used by the infantry.”

“As to the *Brihat-Nalikas*, the more hard its tube, or cell (lit. ‘skin’), the larger its size, the greater the space in its central hollow, correspondingly greater would be the size of the iron balls and greater is the distance to which these can be projected. It has no wooden handle or pike attached to the tube. It is carried in wagons or by camels. If properly manœuvred, it is sure to give victory. This is named as the *Brihat-Nalikas*.”

From the above it is quite clear that the former weapon resembled very closely the modern rifle and the latter, the cannon. To leave no room for doubt, Sukracharjya dwells on the mode of preparation of the balls, the bullets and gunpowder. He mentions several methods of the preparation of the latter of which we mention only one. We intend to deal with it fully when we come to treat of the military tactics of the Hindus:—

“স্বচ্ছলবণান্ পঞ্চপলানি গন্ধকাংশলং ।

অস্ত্রধূমবিপকার্কসুহাদ্যাদ্বারতঃ ফলং ॥

শুদ্ধাং সংগৃহ্য সংচূর্ণ্য সম্মীল্য প্রগুটেদ্রসোঃ ।

সুহর্কাণাং রসোনস্য শোষয়েদাতপেন চ ।

পিষ্টা শর্করবচৈতদগ্নিচূর্ণং ভবেৎ থলু ॥”

"Mix five *palas* (?) of nitre with a *pala* of sulphur and the charcoal of the *Arka* plant (*Calotropis Gigantea*) from which the smoke at the time of putting out of the fire had not escaped (अभ्युष्मविपक्व). First pound them separately, and then mix them together with the juice of the above plant and of garlic. Let the mixture be dried in the sunshine and then pound them up like sugar. Thus will *Agnichurna* be prepared."

As regards the method of preparing the cannon balls and the bullets and their use Sukracharjya goes on to say:—"For the *Brihat-Nālikā*, it is necessary to make balls of iron. They may be of two kinds, one solid, and the other, hollow, with small bullets within (like our modern shells). The bullets for the *Laghu-Nālikā* are to be made of lead and fitted to the shapes of the tubes." From the above it is plainly manifest that the Hindus used fire-arms and knew of the use of gun-powder long before the Battle of Crecy, and knew also of the method of preparing gunpowder long before the Chinese. Even if these *Slokas* be rejected by any captious critic (as they have been by some) on the ground of their being subsequent interpolations into the original text, and that no such mention is made in earlier works like the *Dhanurvedas* of Vaisampayana and Sarngadhar, no writer has yet ventured to make out *Sukranatī* to be a work later than the early Mahomedan conquests, *i.e.*, later than the seventh century A.D., a time when the use of fire-arms by any nation was unheard of.

That the Hindus had occasion to use *Nalika* weapons or fire-arms can also be proved by the unbiassed testimony of several foreign critics, who are agreed in thinking that the Hindus knew their use from a very early time. During the excavation of a canal of the Ganges near Behat, the ruins of a very ancient village were discovered. From the relics that were restored from thence were found coins from the inscriptions on which the epigraphists came to the conclusion that these could not have been of a later origin than the fifth century B. C. Prinsep,* quotes from Colonel Cautley's report of the discovery, who says that amongst the relics discovered, "there were other things, one bearing in some respects a resemblance to a small cannon, another to a button-hook, etc." This is a small relic, restored to us by the merest accident, whose origin cannot reasonably be traced to any other source except by their use in early times. These evidences are quoted here not because that they are conclusive, but as evidences they deserve some notice from an honest chronicler. Here we ought

* In his "Indian Antiquities," Vol. I. For the fac-simile of the coin, see plate XIX.

to mention also of the repeated recurrence of the word *Sataglni* (শতগ্নী), (literally 'centicide' or slayer of a hundred), in the Sanskrit Epics as well as in some of the *Puranas*, especially the *Srimadbhagabat*.

It occurs, to cite here one instance out of many, in the 5th chapter of the 1st Canto of the *Ramayana*. Here the poet is describing Ayodhya, the birth place of his hero and the lordly residence of the descendants of the renowned race of Ikshaku. The great city is described "as of 12 *Yojanas* in length, gracefully divided by its three broad and well-watered highways, sweet and fragrant with fresh flowers strewn over them. Here king Dasaratha lived, like the god Indra in Heaven, whose benign government had immensely swelled the population of his capital. Here the city lay with its triumphal arcs, with well-marked divisions of rows of shops, with its arsenals filled with every sort of weapons and dwelt by every kind of artisans."* Next comes the Sloka, to which we wish to direct the special attention of our readers. "This graceful city," continues the poet, "of unparalleled magnificence was filled with bands of bards and minstrels. It had lofty towers over which pennons 'streamed in state' and bristling with hundred *Sataglnis*."†

Mr. Griffith, the able translator of *Ramayana*, has translated it as "wondrous engines dealing death." This, as it stands, is somewhat vague, as it leaves the reader in doubt to determine precisely what these "wondrous engines" were. By this, it is not our intention to detract from the merit of this worthy translator, "whose earnest and sympathetic labours, in the field of Ancient Sanskrit Literature have placed within easy reach of the English-speaking people the vast treasures of the

* "আয়তন দশদ্বৈ চ যোজনানি মহাপুরী ।
 ত্রিমতী ত্রীণি বিস্তীর্ণা সুবিভক্তমহাপথা ॥
 রাজমার্গেণ মহতা সুবিভক্তেন শোভিতা ।
 মুক্তপুষ্পাবকীর্ণেন জলসিক্তেন নিত্যশঃ ॥
 তাং তু রাজা দশরথো মহারাত্রিবিবর্জিতঃ ।
 পুরীমাবাসয়ামাস দিবি দেবপতির্যথা ॥
 কপাটভোরণবতীং সুবিভক্তানুরাপণাম্ ।
 সর্বযজ্ঞায়ুধবতীমুচিতাং সর্বশিল্পিভিঃ ॥"

আদিকাণ্ডে, ৫ম অধ্যায়ঃ,

৭-১০ শ্লোঃ ।

† "সুতমাগধ স্বাধাং ত্রিমতীমতুলপ্রভাং ।
 উচ্চাটালধ্বজবতীং শতগ্নীশতসঙ্কলাং ॥"

Vedas and the Ramayana,*" as stricter literal accuracy cannot possibly be maintained in a metrical version. Professor Wilson explains *Sataghni* as "a sort of fire-arms or the ancient Indian rocket,† but it is also described as a stone set round with iron spikes."

So it seems that his explanation is not decisive. Besides, we have not seen the application of the word in the sense in which Professor Wilson explains it. The meaning suggested by the commentator, Ramanuja, is more clear and leaves little doubt that a sort of fire-arms was meant. He explains it as a sort of weapon made of ample iron and placed on the ramparts (towers?) for its defence."‡ Though he has not called it a sort of fire-arms, but from the description he gives of it and from the context it cannot but be reasonably taken to mean a primeval sort of Indian fire-arm. For had it been "a stone, set round with iron spikes," as Professor Wilson has explained it, there was no need of its being placed over city ramparts for its defence. Well might Babu Prafulla Chandra Bannerjee, the late Deputy Postmaster-General of Bengal, and the well-known authority on Valmiki ask "that from all this could the existence of cannons, not certainly with its present perfection, but in its rude primeval form, be reasonably be construed from all these descriptions of Valmiki?" §

We would not tire out the patience of our readers by multiplying instances of this nature. We need quote here only one or two more, that would be enough. Like the word *Sataghni* one is struck with the occurrence of the word *Aiayah-kanapa* (অয়ঃকণপ). We will cite the passage from the Mahabharat in which it occurs:—

“অয়ঃকণপচক্রাশ্ব ভূষণ্ড্যদভবাহবঃ

কৃষ্ণপাথৌ জিঘাংসন্তঃ ক্রোধসম্মুর্চ্ছিতৌজসঃ ॥”

১২২৫।২৫।

Here the word, অয়ঃকণপ, is explained by Nilkantha to mean "a weapon which discharges iron balls by the aid of gunpowder."|| If we may accept the meaning suggested by the

* Bibu Nobin Chundra Das, M.A., in his "Note on the Ancient Geography of Asia compiled from Valmiki Ramayana."

† Professor Monier Williams has explained 'rocket' as অগ্নিবাণঃ, ধূপঃ, ভূশুণ্ডী, শতদ্রী, তার। ●

‡ “শতদ্রো নাম প্রাকারসংরক্ষণার্থং অয়োভারনির্মিতাঃ প্রাকারো-
পরিস্থাপিতাঃ আয়ুধবিশেষাঃ”—আদিকাণ্ডে ৫ম সর্গে ১০ম শ্লোকস্ত
রামায়ণে টীকা।

§ In his excellent Bengali work entitled "Valmiki and his Times."

|| “অয়ঃকণান্ লৌহশূলিকান্ পিবতীতি তৎ তথাবিধং লৌহময়ং যন্ত্রং যেন
আগ্নেয়ৌষধবলেন গর্ভসমুভা লৌহশূলিকা ক্ৰিপ্যন্তে”—ইতি নীলকণ্ঠঃ।

commentator, it leaves little space for doubt that some sort of ancient cannon is meant in this passage. Again, in another passage in the 10th Skandha of Bhagabat, where king Salwa's army is described to be scattered by "arrows of the Jadavas which, when they fell were as scorching as the flames of fire, the rays of the hot sun and the fatal fangs of serpents." The gloss of Sreedhara throws some light on the passage. The compounds অগ্ন্যর্কসংস্পর্শৈঃ and আশীবিষদুরাসদৈঃ are explained to mean that "(these arrows) were as burning like the fire, diffusing through the whole body like the rays of the sun and as unbearable as the snake-bite which is fatal even if it is on one part of the human body.*" We leave our readers to determine what precisely these terrible engines of destruction were.

In the 226th chapter of the Adi Parvan of Mahabharat Agni, the god of fire, makes a gift of some fire-arms (আগ্নেয়াস্ত্র) to Krishna. But no detailed description of the same are subjoined, so nothing could possibly be determined about their precise nature. As our short space would not allow us to deal about this class of weapons at more length we conclude our remarks on the subject by quoting from the works of two Savants, Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, commenting on the arms of the Ancient India, says :—

"From the frequent mention of *Agni Astra*, or fire-arms, in ancient works, it is to be inferred that the Hindus had some instruments for hurling shells or balls of burning matter on their enemies. No sculpture representation of any such, however, has yet been met with."†

(Dr. Oppert, however, has corrected the latter part of Dr. Mitra's assertion and has mentioned of several such in his excellent book referred to in the footnote.)

Mr. T. N. Mukherjee says :—

"Fire-arms are frequently mentioned in old books, and there is no doubt that at least some terrible destructive agency like the Greek fire was known to the Hindus."‡

About the priority of the discovery of the mode of preparing gunpowder by the Hindus, Professor Beckmann writes :—

"I am more than ever inclined to accede to the opinion of those who believe that gunpowder was invented in India

* "অগ্নিবদ্ধাহকঃ অর্কবৎ যুগপৎ সর্বতঃ সংস্পর্শো যেবাং তৈঃ । আশী-
বিষবৎ একদেশস্পর্শমাত্রেণ মানকহাৎ দুরাসদৈঃ দ্বুসদৈঃ" ইতি ভাবার্থ
দীপিকা ।

† "Indo Aryans," Vol. I, p. 307.

‡ Art-Manufactures of India," p. 214.

* * * * The use of it in war was forbidden in their sacred books, the *Veidam* or *Vede*.”*

Now we pass on to the second class of weapons, *viz.*, the *Mantrika* ones.

Here we tread on firmer ground. Of this class of weapons we may speak with something like historical certainty as our assertions are backed by ample historical evidences. These evidences are two-fold.

First, external evidence, or the evidence supplied by foreign writers, who came in contact with the ancient Hindus. They have left the records of their knowledge of the ancient Indians,—of their manners, habits, customs,—of their religion, their mode of worship, their method of fighting,—of their art and literature, in short, the height of civilization to which they had then attained. And these records furnish a rich store of varied and interesting materials for ancient Indian history. Of these three such sources the Greek, the Chinese and the early Mahomedan, we shall have time to deal with only one, *viz.*, the Greek in the present essay and shall take up the other two when we shall deal about the ancient Hindu military art. The second is the internal evidence, or the evidence which we can trace in our Vedas and Puranas, and which evidence we have no reasonable ground to neglect. The Greeks, who came to India during and after the invasion of Alexander, very well testify to the truth that the Hindus held their own against all other early nations in their knowledge of the military art. From them we learn that they knew full well about the use of different weapons in war, had trained elephants and horses and used chariots. In Professor McKrinde's edition of Arrian's *Anabasis* we find that “in the art of war they were found superior to the other nations, by which Asia was at that time inhabited.”† Again Quintus Curtius has also given a very graphic description of the dress of Hindu soldiers. Speaking of the far-renowned wealth of “Gorgeous Ind,” says he, “that the country of India is reckoned rich not only in gold, but in all manner of jewels, etc,—the soldier's shields shone with gold and ivory. Therefore that Alexander

* The History of Inventions, Vol II. For a more detailed treatment of the subject the reader is referred to Professor Wilson's “Essay on the Art of War as known to the Hindus”; to Sir Henry Elliot's “Notes on the early use of gunpowder in India” in his index to the “Historians of Mahomedan India”; to Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's “Indo-Aryans,” Vol I.; to Dr. Oppert's book “On the ‘Army, Organisation, etc., of Ancient Hindus’”; to Prof. Lassen's “Indische Alterthum Skunde” (VI, p. 64); to Mr. MacLagan's Early Asiatic Fire Weapons, in the Journal of A. S. B. for 1876, etc.

† Invasion of India by Alexander the Great (as described by Arrian Q. Curtius, etc.) translated by Prof. Mc'Krinde, p. 85.

might not come short of those in finery, whom he surpassed in other respects he ordered the shields of his soldiers to be covered with plates of silver, and the bits of his horses' bridles to be made of gold.* Here we find that the refinements in the armours of the Hindu soldiers had excited the envy even of the "great Emathian Conqueror." It justifies the description given in Vishma, Drona and other Parvas in Mahabharat where horse's bridles, shields, breast-plates, feathers of arrows, etc., were described as embroidered with gold. "Arrows," says Mr. T.N. Mukherjee, speaking of the armours used by ancient Hindu soldiers "of later times were of course pointed with iron. Quivers were generally made of hide or basket-work and sometime of metallic plates. Besides shooting the arrows, the bow was also formally used in casting stone or earthen pellets. Slings were used for the same purpose. * * * * * Javelins, spears, lances, discus and various other weapons were known to the Ancient Indians. Of non-missile weapons, clubs, maces, swords, daggers, battle-axes of various shapes and sizes, helmets, plate-armour and chainmail were known from the time of the Rig-Veda. The military caste of India, the Kshatriya, has the word 'Varma' or the 'mail-clad' for its surname."†

We shall conclude our catalogue of external evidences by a quotation from Sir George Birdwood's remarks on Indian swords and Indian steel:—

"Indian steel has been celebrated from the earliest antiquity, and the blades of Damascus which maintained their pre-eminence even after the blades of Toledo became celebrated, were in fact of Indian steel. Ctesias mentions two wonderful Indian blades, which were presented to him by the King of Persia and his mother. * * * * * We have seen that Arrian mentions Indian steel as imported into the Abyssinian ports."‡

We are sorry that space does not permit any further quotations. We can only refer our readers to the excellent description as to how the war was conducted in Ancient India, as described by Megasthenes and Arrian in Professor Mc'Kendrick's edition of "Indica." We shall now turn our readers' attention to the internal evidences of the existence of arms and armours, and the perfect knowledge of their use as are mentioned in early Sanskrit Literature. These are immense, and we do not pretend that we will be able to do full justice to them here. The science of war amongst the Hindus, as also amongst the other nations, developed with the development of the nation. From the very earliest times when our Aryan ancestors

* Mr. Rooke's translation of Arrian's "Indica," Vol. I, Chap. XXII.

† "Art Manufactures of India,"—pp. 216-17.

‡ Quoted in Mr. T. N. Mukherjee's Book, p.p. 216-17, pp. 220 21.

were settling in India, from their common camping-ground in Central Asia, and were progressing step by step and conquering the dark-skinned aborigines, this science was making slow yet steady strides towards progress. Formerly stone-missiles with sharpened edges were used. They were superseded by arrows made of iron-ends. By degrees, when iron came to be used amongst the Hindus, swords, daggers, spears and other implements of war were fashioned. Meanwhile they had much progressed as a nation. There was no longer a struggle with the barbarous Non-Aryans, 'the *Dasas*,' 'the *Dasyus*,' 'the yelling hounds'—they had been driven forth or conquered and reduced to bondage. The parts of India that they then inhabited had been well-nigh recovered from their grasp and the Aryans were the masters of the soil. But still there was no peace. For there were rival Aryan dynasties each contending to wield the sovereign supremacy. The final struggle is described in the Mahabharata. It is the struggle of different and powerful contending Aryan dynasties to obtain supreme foothold in India. With the successes of the Pandavas in the field came peace for which India was thirsting for so long. We have made this digression simply to show our readers how Hindu Military tactics developed with the development of the Hindu nation. The rude implements of war during the Vedic period are perfected and we are astounded to find them swelled to form such a complete arsenal during the great Mahabharat period. In this Epic alone, if we but care to study it with a sharp eye towards truth, we shall find how Hindu science of warfare had advanced considerably and was superior in many other respects to other contemporary nations. We shall prove our assertions as we progress in our interesting study. Here we must content ourselves by subjoining a list of weapons mentioned in the Epics principally. It does not pretend to be exhaustive, and we have purposely omitted weapons that smack of supernatural agencies. The synonyms are mainly taken from the Amarkosha with the translations of Dr. Colebrooke, and Professor Wilson and Professor Monier Williams:—

Names of Weapons.	Their synonyms.	Their English equivalents.
অস্ত্র	আয়ুধঃ, অস্ত্রণঃ, } শস্ত্রং ।	A weapon.
ধনু	চাপঃ, ধনুঃ, শরাসনং, কোদণ্ডং, } কাম্বুকং, ইষাসঃ ।	A bow.
পৌরাণিক ধনুঃ		Bows mentioned in the <i>Puranas</i> :—
১ কর্ণের ধনু ...	কালপৃষ্ঠং ।	... Bow of Karna = Kalapristha.

Names of Weapons.	Their synonyms.	Their English equivalent.
২ অর্জুনের ধনু ...	গাণ্ডীবঃ।	... Bow of Arjun = Gandiva.
• ৩ শিবের ধনু ...	পিণাকঃ, অজগবৎ।	... Bow of Siva = Pinaka, Ajagava.
ধনুর বক্রভাগ ...	কোটীঃ, অটনিঃ, আটনীঃ, ধনুরগ্র।	... Notched extremity of a bow.
ধনুর মধ্যভাগ। ...	লম্বকঃ, ধনুর্মধ্যঃ।	... Middle of the bow.
ধনুর ছিলা। ...	মৌর্কীঃ, জ্যা, শিজিনীঃ, শুণঃ।	... The bow-string.
জ্যাঘাতনিবারক চর্ম।	গোধা, তলা, তলং* জ্যাঘাতবারণং।	... Leathern fence for the arm.
ধনুর্বিদ্যা। ...	শরাভ্যাসঃ, উপাসনং।	Archery.
বাণ তীর। ...	পৃক্ষঃ, বাণঃ, বিশিখঃ, অজিক্ষগঃ, খগঃ, আশুগঃ, কলষঃ, মার্গণঃ, শরঃ, পত্রীঃ, রোপঃ, ইষুঃ*।	} An arrow.
লৌহময় বাণ। ...	প্রক্ষেড়নঃ, নারাচঃ।	
বিষাক্ত বাণ। ...	দিগ্ধঃ,* লিপ্তকঃ*।	.....
ক্ষুদ্র তীর। ...	ভিন্দিপালঃ, স্বগঃ।	... A short arrow.
তীরের পালক। ...	পক্ষঃ, বাজঃ, পুঙ্খঃ।	... Feather of an arrow.
প্রক্ষিপ্ত তীর। ...	নিরস্তঃ, প্রহিতবাণঃ।	Shot, as an arrow.
তীর রাখিবার আধার।	কুণঃ (ভূণঃ),* পাসঙ্গঃ (উপাসঙ্গঃ, অপাসঙ্গঃ), তুণীরঃ, নিষঙ্গঃ, ইষুধিঃ* ভুণীঃ।	... A quiver.
অসি। ...	ভরবারি, করবালঃ (করপালঃ), খড়্গঃ, কুপাণঃ, নিস্ত্রিংশঃ, চন্দ্র- হাসঃ, অসিঃ, রিষ্টিঃ, কোক্ষ্যকঃ মণ্ডলাগ্রঃ ইত্যমরঃ। প্রবালকঃ, ভদ্রাঙ্গজ, সাষ্টঃ ধারাবিষঃ ভরবাজঃ কুপাণী, ইতিশব্দরত্না- বলী। বিষমন ইতি ত্রিকাণ্ড শেষঃ।	} A sword.
অসির মুটা। ...	ৎসকঃ, খড়্গামুষ্টিঃ।	

Names of Weapons.	Their synonyms.	Their English equivalent.
অসি বাঁধিবার পেটি ।	মেখলা, অসিবন্ধনং ।	... A sword-knot.
ঢাল । ...	ফলকঃ, * ফলং, চর্ম * ।	... A shield.
ঢালের মুট । ...	সংগ্রাহঃ, ফলমুষ্টিঃ ।	... The gripe of 'a shield.
মুগুর । ...	ক্রঘণঃ (নঃ) মুদগরঃ ঘনঃ ।	... A mallet.
লাঠি । ...	ইলিঃ (ইলী), * করপালিকা, যষ্টিঃ ।	... A cudgel.
যে লাঠির মাথার দিক মোটা । ...	পরিঘঃ, পরিঘাভনঃ ।	... A bludgeon.
বর্শা । ...	শল্যঃ, * শঙ্কুঃ ।	... An iron crow (c.) A club, a lance (w.)
সাঁজোয়া । ...	কঙ্কুঃ, বারবাণঃ ।	... Armour, hawberk
সাঁজোয়ার মধ্যবর্তী পেটি । ...	সারসন ।	... The girdle over the coat of mail.
মস্তকাবরক, রণপরিচ্ছদ ।	শীর্ষকঃ, শীর্ষণং শিরস্কং ।	A helmet,
রণপরিচ্ছদ । ...	তনুত্রং, বর্ম, দংশনং উর- শ্ছদঃ, কঙ্কটকঃ, জাগর, কবচ ।	} Mail.
ছুরি, ছোরা । ...	ছুরীঃ, অসিপুত্রীঃ ছুরিকা, অসিধেনুক ।	} A knife, (c.) A dagger.
... ..	প্রাসঃ, কুন্তঃ ।	... A bearded dart.
... ..	সর্কলা, তোমরঃ,	... An iron crow.
গদা ...		... A mace or club (w.)
শক্তি ...	শক্তিকা । (M. W.)	... An iron spear, lance, pike, dart, a sword. (M. W.)
শূল ...	শূলকীলঃ	... A lance.
ত্রিশূল ...	ত্রিশূলং ।	... A trident.
কণপ ...	কণপঃ (কণপঃ ।)	... Spear or lance.
প্রাচীন কামান ...	অন্নঃকণপঃ, শতদ্রী,	... Ancient cannon.
” বন্দুক ...	অগ্নিবাণঃ, বাণভূষুভী (w.)	Ancient pistol A weapon, apparently a kind of fire-arms or rocket (w.)

*These words with asterisks are of both genders, e. g., তলং both feminine and neuter.

Names of Weapons.	Their synonyms.	Their English equivalent.
...	কম্পনং	... A kind of weapon (M.W.)
যুদ্ধে ব্যবহার্য্য কুঠার ।	ভল্ল, পট্টিশ ।	... A battle-axe.
অস্ত্রপ্রকার কুঠারাস্ত্র ।	খবিতি, পরশু, পরশ্বধ ।	... A different kind of axe.

Besides these there are some whose meanings we have not been able to discover in the dictionaries of either Professor Wilson or Professor M. Williams. We will here name them together with the works in which they occur. We again remind our readers that we have excluded from our list weapons to which miraculous powers are ascribed, weapons which often take the surname of *Brahmastras* and destroy whole legions. Sometimes by their agency a great conflagration is created, at others, thunderstorms ensue, the rains pour forth in torrents, sweeping away the enemies' force from the face of the earth. We would not quarrel with the orthodox readers who may maintain that such things may have been possible by *Yoga* or other occult powers*, but as supernatural things, they must legitimately fall outside the pale of history.

Names of Weapons.	The Books in which they occur.
বিমল. ...	মহাভারত, ভীষ্মপর্ব ।
শপ্তলা, চামরকবা ইতি ভাষা	শব্দকল্পদ্রুমঃ ।
ভলত্র ...	মহাভারত, ভীষ্মপর্ব, ৯৩ অধ্যায় । .
নখরঃ ...	„ দ্রোণপর্ব, ১৮ „
নির্ম্মল ...	„ ১৬৬ „
সরল ...	„ „ ১৬৭ „
অর্দ্ধচন্দ্র বাণ ...	„
খট্টাক ...	মার্কণ্ডেয় চণ্ডী ।
পাশ, } নাগপাশ }	„ শ্রীমদ্ভাগবত, ষষ্ঠ স্কন্ধঃ ৮ম অধ্যায় ।
চক্র, অলাতিচক্র, } অঙ্গার চক্র । }	মহাভারত, দ্রোণপর্ব, জয়দ্রথবধ পর্বোধ্যায় ।
ক্ষুরপ্র ...	„ „ ১১৬ অধ্যায় ।
ঈষাদণ্ড ...	„ „
অক্ষ, ...	„ ১২১

The descriptions of these weapons, their mode of preparation the cause of decline of the use of fire-arms in India, etc., would properly form the subject of the next chapter "On the Military Tactics of the Hindus."

BIRESWAR GOSWAMY.

* Such are the weapons that are given by the sage Viswamitra to Rama (Ramayana 1st Canto, 27th chapter.) Many such weapons are described in the Lanka Kanda, etc., etc.

ART. VII.—THE BENGAL TICHBOURNE CASE.

THE present Raj family* of Burdwan was founded by Babu Rai, who, with his brother, Abu Rai, came down from the Punjab and settled in Bengal about the middle of the seventeenth century. The sixth in lineal descent from Babu Rai was Chitra Sen Rai, who first got the title of Raja. He died in 1744, and, as he left no male issue, was succeeded by his cousin Troyluckya Chandra *alias* Tiluck Chand. The latter cut a very remarkable figure, and was created "Maharaja Dhiraj Bahadur" by the Emperor of Delhi. He died in 1771, leaving a minor son, named Tej Chandra, to succeed to his vast estates. Tej Chandra had a wife, Nunku Kibi, who bore him Protap Chand. But, though he had a son living, and was himself turned forty, he married a young girl of the name of Kamal Kumari, daughter of one Kashinath. This fortunate man had also a son, who was afterwards known as Poran Babu. Kashinath settled in Burdwan, and, like Nur Jehan's father, soon rose in power and riches. After his death, Tej Chandra, who had already enjoyed half a dozen wives in succession, married, in his old age, Basanta Kumari, Poran Babu's daughter.† Thus Poran, like a skilful actor, dexterously passed from the gay to the grave side of relationship.

Protap's mother having died when he was a mere infant, he was brought up by his grandmother, the Dowager Maharani Bishen Kumari. As usual with sons of rich men bred up by their grandmothers, Protap's education was neglected, and, in point of fact, he learned very little; but nature had given him very strong common sense, "that best and rarest of all senses," as Southey calls it. After he had attained years of discretion, he was styled the "Chota Raja."‡ With all his shortcomings, Protap was sociable,§ and often mixed with gentlemen of this part of Bengal. His most intimate friends were Nabob Babu|| of

* For an account of the ancient Raj family to which Bir Singh of Vidya Sundara fame belonged, see *Khitish Fungsarali Charitam*, W. Pertsch's Edition with English translation, Berlin, 1852.

† Napoleon Bonaparte married Josephine, while his brother Louis married the Princess Hortense, her daughter by another husband.

‡ Meeran, the favourite son of Nabob Mir Jaffar, was called the "Chota Nabob." He was a greater villain than Siraj-ud-dowla himself. He died in his twenty-first year, being struck by lightning in his tent on the 2nd July, 1760.

§ Would we could say with the poet that he led "A social, not a dissipated life." But truth compels us to say that he was all but a confirmed rake, and it was not unoften that he was admonished by the Dutch Governor of Chinsura, Mr. Overbeck, for his gaities and lax habits.

|| His real name was Srinath. He was the handsomest as well as the richest man of his time in the Hooghly District. Jedunath, who was also a man of note, was his younger brother. Srinath's branch of the family has become extinct.

Singhoor, and Ramdhone Babu* of Telinipara.† During his stay at the Chinsurah Rajbati he spent many pleasant hours with Mr. Daniel Antonio Overbeck, the last Dutch Governor of that Settlement.

Protap hated his wily uncle, Poran Babu. Indeed, there was no love lost between them. Finding Poran's influence continually on the increase, he got his old father to execute a deed of gift of all his property in his favour. After that, he took upon himself the whole management, and, be it said to his credit, effected many reforms and improvements. It was at his suggestion that Government framed and passed Regulation VIII of 1819,‡ more commonly called the *Patni* Regulation. But sociable and business-like as he was, he was unfortunately addicted to "wine and wassail" which got such a firm hold on him that it was little restrained by the strait-laced tenets of his religion. This bad habit did him infinite harm, and at length estranged his doting father from him.

Thus passed twenty-six years of his life, after which there was a sudden change in his mind and mood. He lost his usual hilarity and became pensive and morose. He seldom talked with any body. Except Sham Chand Babu§ and the well-known painter, Chinnery, whom he had engaged to paint his portrait, he allowed no one to have the pleasure of his company. This melancholia was followed by an intermittent fever which soon took a very serious turn. At his own request he was taken over to Kulna that he might die on the banks of the holy Ganges. No relative or friend accompanied him, nay, not even one of his wives || was allowed to go with him. Tej Chandra was then at the Kulna Rajbati, but he returned to Burdwan on the very night Protap died.¶ Three or four days after, however, a rumour got abroad that the "Chota Raja" had not died, but had fled from the burning ground. Tej Chandra also heard the rumour, but he did not say yea or nay to it. As Protap had acquired the whole of the Raj estate by virtue of a deed of gift from his father, his two widows brought a civil suit** for recovery of the same. But ultimately the gift was pronounced void, and

* Ramdhone Babu is now represented by Babu Bhogabati Charan Banerjee.

† Among the Hindoos of Calcutta, Protap visited the houses of only two, namely, Gopi Mohan Deb of the Shova Bazar Raj family, and Ram Mohun Roy, the famous Hindu reformer.

‡ See S. B. Choudhuri's article on *Pattani or Patni Tenures* in the "Calcutta Review," 1876.

§ Sham Chand was the brother of Maharani Joy Kumari, the elder wife of Tej Chandra.

|| Protap had two wives, Peary Kumari and Ananda Kumari.

¶ This was in January 1821, when the *Samachar Durpan* of the day stated, he was aged only twenty-nine years and two months.

** In this suit the Ranecs were assisted with money by Babu Dwarka Nath Tagore of Calcutta. Mr. Oakley decided this suit.

thus the property remained, as before, with Maharaja Tej Chandra, the baffled Ranees being merely allowed an inconsiderable monthly sum for their maintenance.

Sometime after a proposal was made to the old Maharaja to take a son in adoption as he had no natural-born son living. He was at first averse to the proposal, but at last gave in, and the youngest son of Porān Babu, who, like our Krishna, was his eighth child, was duly adopted. This lucky boy was afterwards known as Maharaja Mahatab Chand Bahadur. Tej Chandra died in 1832, and was succeeded by his adopted son. As the latter was then a minor, the estate came under the management of the Court of Wards, but the party really in power was Poran Babu, the father of the young Maharaja.

Fifteen years after Protap's death or disappearance, that is in 1835, a Sannyasi presented himself in Burdwan. He looked with earnest, inquiring eyes into every creek and corner, as if they had been the scenes of his early days. At last, he appeared at the gate of the well-known Golap Bagh. One Gopinath Moira* who had kept a confectioner's shop there for a long time, recognised him as the "Chota Raja." In this he was confirmed by several others. This unpleasant news coming to the ears of Poran Babu, he sent a parcel of sturdy clubsmen who drove the suspicious Sannyasi across the Damodar. A few months after, the same Sannyasi made his appearance at the Bishnupur† Rajbati. The then Raja, Khetter Mohan Singh, soon recognised him as Raja Protap Chand, and treated him in a manner quite becoming his high rank and position. By his advice the so-called Sannyasi proceeded towards Bankura with a view to having an interview with the Magistrate. He reached his destination, but reached it only to be arrested as a vagabond and peace-breaker by the Magistrate, Mr. James Balfour Elliott‡, along with some others who had come to see him§. He was at once sent to jail, where he was incarcerated for nearly eight months,|| when he was *challenged* to Hooghly for trial, although, as a matter of law, he should

* This man was examined as a witness in the trial which was held in the Sessions Court at Hooghly in 1838.

† Bishnupur preserved its independence during the Mahomedan rule. The Abbé Raynal is lavish in his praise of this country which he describes "as a happy and fortunate spot where liberty and property are held sacred, robbery, either public or private, is never heard of, and beneficence to strangers is practised both by the sovereign and his subjects." *History of European Settlements*, Vol. II, Book I. I. Alas! times have since altered, and Bishnupur is now almost a desert.

‡ In 1858, when the Commissioner of Burdwan, Mr. Elliott, pointed out to the late Babu Sanjeeb Chandra Chatterjee, Deputy Magistrate, the very spot where he had arrested the *pseudo* Raja as he called him.

§ The excitement in our hero's favour, said a Paper of the day fanned as it was by the disaffection and hostility subsisting towards the family of Poran Babu, contributed, in no small degree, to render his cause highly popular; but it gave a handle for the institution of a public prosecution against him.

|| He was detained in custody in the Bankura jail until August 1836.

have been tried at Burdwan. Here his trial commenced in due course before Mr. Harrington, the Sessions Judge. Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Turton,* the well-known barrister of Calcutta, came to defend him, but he was not allowed to utter a single word in his client's favour. The learned counsel then moved the Nizamat Adalat at the metropolis, but his motion was rejected, that court taking the same view as the Hooghly Court. The charge against the accused was that, though his real name was Aluk Shah,† he had collected followers calling himself Raja Protap Chand, and had thereby given occasion for a breach of the public peace. The charge was found to be true, and the accused was sentenced‡ to simple imprisonment for six months, and was also ordered to enter into a recognizance for Rs 40,000 to keep the peace for one year after the expiry of the term of imprisonment. The sentence was duly worked out; and the convict was allowed to go at large, but not before he had executed the said recognizance. This was in February 1837§.

The above mischance does not seem to have damped the ardour of our hero and his followers a whit, and, as a matter of fact, his popularity, so far from losing hold, continued to gain ground. The so-called Aluk Shah after his release, went down to Calcutta where he was recognised by most of his former friends and acquaintances as the real Protap Chand. They naturally expressed great sympathy with him and advised him to go to law for recovery of the Raj estate. By their advice, backed as it was by counsel's opinion, he brought an ejectment suit|| in the Supreme Court in respect of three Calcutta Bazzars, the well-known Dewan of the General Treasury, Babu Radha Krishna Bysack, supplying the sinews of war.¶ The suit was contested by the Court of Wards on behalf of the minor Maharaja Malatab Chand; Maharani Basanta Kumari, also put in a defence therein. The hearing began in due course. Some respectable persons of Calcutta were examined, and they one and all declared that the plaintiff was really Raja Protap. But this evidence was not thought sufficient by the Court, and it, therefore, became necessary to examine some inhabitants of Burdwan to his identity. Protap Chand offered to go himself to Burdwan; ** but this was no easy matter, as

* Turton was appointed Advocate-General of Bengal upon the retirement of Mr John Pearson in 1839.

† It is a mere *sobriquet*, signifying *Invisible King*.

‡ This sentence was passed on the 4th August 1836.

§ Alexander Foss was then Deputy Governor of Bengal. He began his Indian career as an Assistant in 1795 and rose to be a Sadar Judge in 1825.

|| In this suit the Advocate-General, Mr. C. B. Priusep, Mr. L. Clarke, and Mr J. F. Leith were counsel for plaintiff.

¶ Protap put up at the splendid Boitakkhana of Babu Bolu Chand, the eldest son of Baboo Radha Krishna. He afterwards removed to a house at Fouzdari Balakhana.

** His petition to the Deputy Governor, however, shows that his object in going to Burdwan was to "personally prosecute his claim before the established

there was every probability of his being roughly handled, if not killed outright, by Puran Babu's myrmidons. So, on the 13th February, 1838, he petitioned the Deputy Governor, Mr. Alexander Ross, * praying that "his Honor would be graciously pleased to grant to him (through the proper channel) some means of safeguard to protect his person and life from any eventual insult or danger during the time he might be obliged to stay at Burdwan."† On the 5th March following, the Government Secretary, Mr. Frederick James Halliday, ‡ informed him in reply.§ that his prayer could not be complied with. But, nothing daunted, Protap made up his mind to go, and, after making necessary preparations, he started || for Kulna, on his way to the seat of the Raj. He embarked at Jagannath Ghât and proceeded up the river, a fleet of thirty or forty boats with numerous servants and followers on board accompanying him, and after a slow journey, reached Kulna on the 13th April 1838.¶ On reaching Kulna he sent up two muktears to Burdwan with a petition to the Magistrate, asking to be allowed to go to that place. But, before they had an opportunity of presenting the petition, they were arrested by the Magistrate, Mr. James Balfour Ogilvie, and at once lodged in jail. He also sent orders to the Daroga of Kulna, Mahaboolah, ** directing him to call upon the *pseudo* Raja to disperse his "rabblement," and, in case of refusal or non-compliance, to arrest him.

On the 20th April, Protap Chandra landed on the Pathuria Mahal Ghât, and paraded the place in a *Tonjon*, with due "pomp and circumstance." Mr. Alfred Alexander, the local Padre (missionary), who had been asked by Mr. Ogilvie to watch the movements of the *pseudo* Raja and inform him thereof, gave an account of the matter to the Magistrate; but his letter, which was probably based upon the report of one of his trusty under-

judicial tribunal stationed at the place, and in the meanwhile to show himself to his step mother, aunt and wives, and other relations, and thereby, if possible, to induce them to persuade the usurper of his property to come to an amicable adjustment with him."

* The Honourable Mr. Ross retired in January 1839. He was very hospitable. Bentham was his favourite author.

† Some say that his alleged purpose was to obtain an interview with the Banis.

‡ Mr. (afterwards Sir Frederick) Halliday succeeded Mr. Ross Donnelly Mangels as Secretary to the Bengal Government in the judicial and revenue departments in 1838.

§ The reply was quite Spartan-like, it was in these words: "The prayer of this petition cannot be complied with."

|| This was on the 7th March 1838. "Sad was the hour and luckless was the day."

¶ He passed through the districts of 24 Parganas, Hooghly and Nadia, on his way to Kulna, and stayed several days at Santipur, only twelve miles distant from Goari, the birthplace of Kristo Lal Brihmachari, about whom we shall have to say much later on.

** A worthy Daroga indeed, "who could neither read nor write," and was also such a huge heap of flesh that he could neither "walk nor run."

lings, was a little too highly coloured. * On receipt of this letter Mr. Ogilvie sent down his Nazir, Assad Ali, with orders to arrest Protap Chand. Poran Babu at the same time sending a batch of stout clubsmen under Radha Mohan Sircar. Not satisfied with sending his Nazir with such strict orders, the Magistrate† himself, accompanied by his worthy adjutant, Dr. Cheek, the Civil Surgeon, started for Kulna and, taking with him on the way a detachment of native infantry which was then halting at Boinchee, under the command of Captain Little, reached his destination sometime before dawn ‡ At that "still and solemn hour," the Raja and his people were sunk in sleep in the boats but the Magistrate could not brook delay in the execution of what, he in his overzeal, considered to be his duty. Firing commenced, and some innocents were wounded while lying in an unconscious state § The Raja awoke, and plunging into the river, saved himself from the bullets of the sepoy by his practical moor-hen-

* The Padre's letter runs as follows :—"My dear Sir,—Protap Chand has just gone on board his boat, after parading the whole length of Kulna in a *Tonjahn* with a drawn sword in his own hand, attended by upwards of a hundred swordsmen and double that number of stickmen. The concourse was altogether 6,000 or 8,000. He appeared to be intent on the Rajbarry. But your active Daroga prevented him. The aspect of things, I think, threatens an affray, if he is not checked soon." This letter was written in reply to the one which he had received from Mr. George Nicholas Cheek, the Doctor, on the night of the first of May. The Doctor, it seems, was a tool in the hands of the Magistrate.

† The Magistrate and the Doctor were each armed with a double barreled pistol, which was given them by Mr. Barlow the Judge of Burdwan. Dr. Cheek, as he himself admitted in his evidence, was once in the artillery.

‡ The *Hurkara* of the 7th May, however, says that the Magistrate arrived with Captain Little and his company in the morning of the 2nd May and gave directions to fire a volley only to check the flight of the impostor and his men on boats. Protap got to the other side where he lay motionless like a corpse. But being discovered by an experienced *habildar* who had given him a kick, he was arrested. Among the persons who were made prisoners in the boats were Mr. Shaw and two other Europeans, who were lodged in the Burdwan jail. Protap was sent to Hooghly in charge of Little and his company, and was early in the morning of the 6th May delivered over to the Hooghly Magistrate who saw him safely lodged in jail. But the *Englishman*, the *Daily Intelligencer* and the *Calcutta Courier* condemn this hostile tone of the *Hurkara* and lay the whole blame upon the Magistrate. They also say that Shaw was not present at the disturbance, and that he was arrested while he was coming down to the Raja's boats from Mr. Lya's factory in a *Palki*. So far from stirring up sedition, the main object of his coming to Kulna from Calcutta was to play the pacificator and prevent any breach of the peace on Protap's party.

§ Mr. Ogilvie having considered the presence of Protap to endanger the peace of the district had sought the instructions of the Governor, as to the course he was to pursue; and he received orders to arrest him, if no other alternative remained for preserving the public tranquility. The Magistrate and Captain Little's regiment marched all night, and before daybreak arrived on the bank of the river. As there was not the slightest show of resistance, or even preparation for any on the part of Protap, the order to fire was quite unjustifiable. The Magistrate, it is said, was also accompanied by a number of the mounted soldiery of the *de facto* Raja of Burdwan, who were drawn up on the shore, and the balls which proved so fatal were discharged by them.—*Friend of India*, 17th May.

Several persons were wounded of whom three only, to wit, Tara Chand Chakravarti, Siraji Manjee and Gobinda Sing, died of their wounds. The story of about fifty men being killed is entirely false.

like skill in the art of diving. He got to the other side of the river out of harm's way. So did his friend, Raja Nara Hari Chandra of Nadia, and the two passed the rest of the night at a place to the north of Santipur.

The firing ceased, when plunder commenced, and after the plunder was over, there were arrests. But a sufficient number not being found on the Raja's boats, it was made up by arrests on some pilgrim-boats which were lying at anchor at a little distance. In this way two hundred and ninety-four persons,* amongst whom were several of the opposite sex, were arrested. The Raja and his friend, Nara Hari Chandra,† were also sought out and added to the number. Protap Chand, instead of being sent up to Burdwan as the others were, was *challaned* to Hooghly for trial. His attorney, Mr. William Dalrymple Shaw, also did not escape arrest, although he was not present at the engagement at Kulna. This arrest was made by Mr. Ogilvie himself, while Mr. Shaw was returning from his friend, Mr. Lyall's factory at Pygatchee, three or four *eros* from Kulna, and he had to suffer a good deal for his high-handed and arbitrary proceedings.‡

In the morning of the 6th May, Protap Chand arrived at Hooghly under a Police guard, and was immediately placed in the local jail where he was made to await his trial. Mr. E. V. Samuel§ was then the Magistrate of this District. Before that he had been for some time in charge of the Burdwan Magistracy, where he had heard all about the so-called *pseudo* Raja from Poran Babu. He had already formed his opinion that the claimant could not be the real Raja but a mere Perkin. He had heard from somebody that one Krishna Lal Brahmachari son of Sham Lal Brahmachari of Goari in Nadia, had not been heard of

* Many of them had no more connection with Protap than the men in the moon. Mr. F. C. Smith, Police Superintendent of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, made the investigation.

† They were arrested by the Magistrate on the same day. The other arrests were made the next day, that is, the 2nd May. The *Hurkar* of the day, which was most hostile to Protap all through remarked:—"If this man should be permitted to go at large and wander about with a parcel of armed followers from the thoughtlessness of the moment, thousands of the people might be induced to join his standard, and thus cause a regular civil commotion." The *Calcutta Courier* also observed that "there is a good chance of his closing his eventful career, an exalted character."

‡ Mr. Shaw was taken to Burdwan on Friday, and was mowed up 'in duress vile.' In this miserable state he remained till the 9th May, when he was released under a writ of *Habeas Corpus*. His caption and detention made a great sensation. Two actions were brought against Mr. Ogilvie in the Supreme Court, one by Mr. Shaw for wrongful confinement, and the other for manslaughter of Tara Chand Chakravarti at Kulna. The latter case came on for hearing before Sir John Peter Grant on the 13th August 1838. The Judge in his charge having expressed it as his opinion, that the fatal firing was purely accidental, the jurors by their foreman, Mr. Camron, returned a verdict of not guilty. Mr. Shaw's case was tried by the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Ryan, also with the aid of a jury, and resulted in the conviction of the accused who was fined Rs. 2,000.

§ He had been officiating in Hooghly for Mr. Grant since 1835.

for four or five years, and he at once jumped to the conclusion that the pretender was no other than that notorious cheat. He tried all manner of means to prove their identity, and, as a matter of fact, nearly four months were occupied in the procuring of proofs.* At last on the 1st September, the trial commenced,† and the trying officer was Mr. Samuells ‡ himself. The charge was that the accused had suppressed his real name and had falsely, deceitfully and wickedly assumed the name of Raja Protap Chand, the deceased zemindar of Burdwan. The trial lasted till the 20th September, in the course of which a large mass of evidence was adduced, and the Magistrate being of opinion that the prosecution had made out a sufficient *prima facie* case committed the accused to the sessions.§ Mr. James Curtis was then the

* The following letter which he wrote to Babu Dwarka Nath Tagore of Calcutta, plainly shows that the spirit in which he acted in the matter was not that of an impartial Judge, trying a case on the evidence adduced before him but that of an interested party, bent upon securing a conviction.

"Hooghly, September 4, 1838. My dear Dwarka Nath,—I was disappointed at your non-arrival as I think you could speak more decidedly than any of the other witnesses to the man's non-identity, but it is not of much consequence. I have no objection to make a bargain with you. I will let you off altogether if you will procure me the names of half a dozen good respectable witnesses from Baranagore, who know him as Krishna Lal. I dare say you could do this through Kail Nath Roy (Chowdhury, Mathoora Nath Mukerjee, or any of your own servants. Let me know what you say to this. What a scoundrel that Buddinath Roy is. If I had known his character I would rather have gone without evidence altogether than have had his.

Remember I must have the evidence from Baranagore within a week or so. Persuade Mathoora Nath also to come. His *hornut* and *ijjat* shall be *nureck* *sworut se bahal*.

Yours truly,
E. A. SAMUELLS."

It is true, however, that as the law then stood, the Magistrate in a case of public prosecution was competent to search for and produce all the evidence which he might deem requisite; but in this instance Mr. Samuells (verily the law, defective as it was. He went to the length not only of discovering evidence but also of inventing it. The "Buddinath Roy" spoken of above, is no less a personage than Raja Raidyanath of Calcutta, and he is abused so very grossly because he stated what he knew to be true, and not what the biased Magistrate had expected from him.

† On this occasion Protap was permitted to be defended by Counsel, and, as a matter of fact, was defended by Messrs. Leith and Morton. Mr. Turton being unwell at the time could not hold a brief for him. The prosecution was conducted by Mr. M. A. Biggell, the Superintendent of Legal Affairs for Government.

‡ His pay as acting Magistrate was only Rs 7'0 per mensem. He was made *pucca* in September 1838.

§ While Protap was a denizen of the local jail awaiting his trial before the Sessions Judge of Hooghly, a contemporary thus writes of him and his claims: "His ambitious claims, though certainly by no means established, are not yet absolutely proved to be built upon sand, and after all, in great attempts 'his glorious eye to fail!'" Again he says, "If the whole of Bengal Proper were to be brought to the roll, we suspect the show of hands would be uncontestedly in favour of our hero." He thus describes him: "In person the subject of our sketch is of a tall and well-proportioned figure: His countenance is expressive; the black eye has a somewhat pensive and melancholy gaze, the nose is aquiline, the features regular, and his hair is unusually worn long and flowing behind. When well-dressed, our hero certainly possesses something of an air *distingue*, and has no reason at all to be ashamed of his exterior *tout ensemble*." Calcutta

Sessions Judge. The trial had been fixed for the 20th of November, but it actually began on the day previous. The same Counsel who had conducted the prosecution and the defence before the Magistrate were also Counsel on the same sides in the trial before the Sessions Judge. Monsaram Sircar, whose name is still held in abhorrence for ministerial misconduct, was Dewan* to the Judge. His influence was very great, indeed, even greater than that of the Judge himself. After the preliminaries had been gone through, the charges were read out to the prisoner. They were as follows:—1. That the accused, whose real name was Aluk Shah *alias* Krishna Lal Brahmachari, had practised imposition by assuming the name and title of Maharaja Protap Chand, the late zemindar of Burdwan. 2. That under the said false pretence he had cheated Radha Krishna Bysack, Dewan of the Government Treasury, out of his money. 3. That he had formed an unlawful assembly at Kulna on the 2nd May 1838.

The prisoner pleaded *not guilty*. As he was unwell, he was allowed a chair during the trial of his case.

The Sessions Judge had a mind to try the case with a special jury, but the gentlemen summoned with the exception of Babu Annada Prosad Banerjee of Telinipara, having for reasons given by them refused to act, he was obliged to call in the aid of the Mahomedan Law Officer of the Zillah, Moulvi Syed Ahmed.

The first day was taken up in arranging the preliminaries, and the witnesses were commenced to be examined on the 20th November. Evidence was given under four heads:—

1. As to the identity of the prisoner with Maharaja Protap Chand. 2. As to Protap's death. 3. As to the prisoner being Krishna Lal Brahmachari of Goari. 4. About the alleged unlawful assembly at Kulna.

The *onus* was upon the Government to prove that the prisoner was not the man he represented himself to be, and the Government prosecutor, Mr. Bignell, admitted it in so many words. Seventy witnesses were examined on the side of the prosecution, most of whom were not men of much consequence. The most important witnesses who deposed on the question of identity were Mr. Gregory Herkelots, the Fiscal of Chinsura, Mr. Henry Toby Prinsep, the Government Secretary, Mr. C. Troyer, the Collector, Mr. John Marshall, the Brevet Major, and two well-known natives of Calcutta, namely, Babu Dwarkanath Tagore

Monthly Journal, Part 1, 1838; *Hurkara*, pp. 97-100. The late Babu Gour Das Bysack who had seen the claimant, Protap, many times and conversed with him, told us that his was a noble and grand appearance, considerably resembling Lord Mayo, the Governor-General. But opinions differ, some declaring that the true Simon Pure, compared with his present representative, was Hyperion to a Satyr, or, if there was aught of vague resemblance, that "Esau's hands suit ill with Jacob's voice."

* Now called Sheristadar.

and Babu Radha Krishna Bysack. Mr. James Pattle, a member of the Revenue Board, Mr John Ross Hutchinson,* a Judge of the Sadar Dewani Adalat, Mr. D. A. Overbeck, the late Dutch Governor of Chinsura, and the Rev. W. J. Deere of Krishnagar had been examined before the Magistrate, but they were not produced before the Judge, although the Magistrate had stated that every witness called for the prosecution in his Court would, as a matter of course, be produced before the Sessions Court. Mr. Overbeck and the Rev. Mr. Deere were, however, examined on the side of the defence. Besides the *spoken* evidence of witnesses, there was also a peculiar kind of evidence, which, though mute, spoke with a hundred tongues, and was of very great importance to the Judge in arriving at the real truth :—It was the life-like portrait of Protap, as painted by the well-known painter, Chinnery, a friend of the Raja. This portrait was brought down from the Burdwan palace, and was kept in a room adjoining the hall in which the trial took place. It was, as the *Hurkara* of the 5th September stated, “a rather hostile witness.”

Mr Herkelots said : “My impression is that the prisoner is not Protap, whose features I have no precise recollection of.” Thus, from his own words the evidence of this witness is not worth much, if anything at all. Mr. Prinsep stated : “I should say that the prisoner is not Protap Chand. He appears much taller than Protap Chand” He also stated that in June or July 1837, he had an interview with the prisoner at his office, when the latter mistook Pattle for him, and could not point out Hutchinson who was present in the room. He, however, admitted that General Allard told him that he had seen the prisoner travelling about Lahore as a *fakir* and that he believed him to be what he gave out he really was, namely, a Bengal Raja. On seeing the portrait referred to above, Mr. Prinsep said that there was no resemblance between it and the prisoner. The witness, Mr. Troyer, was Collector of Burdwan from 1808 until about 1817, and was a personal friend of Protap Chand with whom he not unoften played chess. He said that the picture which he saw in the Magistrate’s Court was a striking likeness of Protap, and he gave his emphatic denial to the prisoner being Protap by observing that “If the prisoner were to speak to me till eternity he would never be able to convince me that he is Protap Chand.” However he admitted that Dr. Halliday, who was the family Surgeon of Protap, and who had operated on a large boil on his thigh had told him that the prisoner was the Raja. Mr. Marshall stated : “I believe the prisoner to be the person I used to meet, at Chinsura upwards of twenty years ago, under the name of ‘the

* He was gazetted in 1836, to act as Judge of the Sadar Dewani Adalat. He died on the 2nd September 1838. The *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, Part I, 1838

young Raja of Burdwan' 'I must have seen him frequently at Mr. Overbeck's when he was Governor of Chinsura, and that was in the years 1818, 1819 and 1820. The Raja was decidedly tall for a native." Babu Dwarkanath Tagore said that if he knew that the prisoner was the real Raja, he would gladly give him five lakhs of rupees out of his pocket. He also stated that Gopi Mohan Deb, who was one of the two natives whom Protap would visit at their house, refused to see the prisoner. Babu Radha Krishna Bysack having assisted the prisoner with funds, his evidence might be objected to on the score of interest. But there is no doubt that he was a very respectable man and that his veracity could not be impeached except on very strong grounds which, however, did not exist in the case. He stated that, on being assured by Dr. Halliday of the identity of the prisoner with Protap Chand, he advanced him money; that General Allard also told him that he, the prisoner, was the son of the Burdwan Raja; that relying on the words of the General, Gunga Prosad Ghose also advanced money as did Dr. Jackson; that his own belief was that the prisoner was in reality what he gave himself out to be.

As the evidence for the prosecution stood, it did not satisfactorily prove that the prisoner was not Protap Chand, nor did it conclusively show that he was so. But when this evidence is coupled with the other evidence adduced in the case, as well as the surrounding circumstances, there remains not a shadow of doubt as to his identity with Raja Protap Chand.

The evidence adduced on the side of the defence consisted of the testimony of forty five witnesses. Most of these witnesses were of the ordinary run, but there were some whose integrity and impartiality could not be questioned. They were Mr. Robert Scott, Surgeon, 37th Madras Native Infantry, Mr. Daniel Antonio Overbeck,* the late Dutch Governor of Chinsura, Dr. Leotard, the indigo planter, David Hare,† the veteran educationist, and Raja Khetter Mohan Sing of Bishenpur. Dr. Scott said: "I was officiating surgeon at Burdwan from 1815 to the end of 1817. I knew the prisoner as the young Raja. He spoke and wrote English, but not very well. I was very intimate with him. I attended him in 1817, when he had an ulcer in the inside of his right cheek. The mark of the ulcer is still seen in the prisoner's cheek, and the tooth opposite to it is gone. The Raja had lost his tooth when I attended him. The prisoner's face is darker than Protap's, but the body is

* Mr. Overbeck survived until the 24th September 1840

† David Hare came to Bengal in 1800, and died of cholera on 1st June 1842. He was the father of "Native Education," and his whole life was devoted to one generous end, which, as the poet truly says, was

"To bless the Hindu mind with British love,
And Truth's and Nature's faded lights restore."

similar. The Raja used to perspire even in cold weather ; the prisoner is troubled with the like complaint. The prisoner is thinner than the young Raja ; he, I have no doubt, is Protap Chand." Mr. Overbeck said : " I can recognise the prisoner to be Raja Protap. I have traced the contour of the prisoner's face in the picture, which was shown as the picture of Raja Protap Chand. I have traced all the marks which Protap had on his body, and in my close examination of the prisoner in the presence of the Counsel for the prosecution and the defence, he has answered every question which I put to him of days past satisfactorily and without any hesitation ; consequently, to the best of my belief the prisoner is Raja Protap Chand." Mr. Overbeck went on to state : " Shortly after Protap's alleged death, I heard that he had absconded and was alive. I made enquiries and learnt that at sunset he took a bowl of broth ; after which he was taken out in a *palkee* into a tent near the river, surrounded by *kunnetts* and attended by his servants. At night, he was suddenly missed. Search was made for him, but to no purpose. Raja Tej Chandra was informed that his son was *glorified*. He ordered his funeral ceremony, and a trunk, filled with shells, was burnt on the pyre, and the ashes were collected and carried to Ambica. The report was, I believe, very general. I have been fifty-two years in India." The *Hurkara* of the 2nd January 1839, stated that on the day (*i.e.* 27th December) on which Mr. Overbeck gave his evidence, the Court compound and the entrance room were quite thronged by the populace ; and that the crowd, as the *pseudo* Raja left the Court to get into his *palkee*, thrice shouted *Jaya Dhunnah Raja Protap Chand*. Mr. David Hare said : " I was acquainted with Raja Protap. I saw him six or seven times at his house at Chowringhee. I think the prisoner resembles the Raja Protap Chand very much. I have seen the picture in the room adjoining the Magistrate's Court. I examined him very minutely with it, and I traced a strong resemblance between the nose and eyes of the prisoner with those in the picture. Then from prisoner's reply to certain questions which I put to him at the jail, I verily believed him to be Raja Protap Chand of Burdwan." At the conclusion of his deposition, Mr. Hare spoke of a peculiarity in the prisoner's nose which he did not find in the nose of any other person, that is, that it perspired. The Bishenpur Raja, Khetter Mohan Sing, said : " The prisoner is certainly and undoubtedly Raja Protap Chand. About three years ago I sheltered him at my house at Bishenpur for three months. The Bankura Magistrate, Mr. Elliott, abused me for succouring the prisoner, whom he termed an impostor and a vagabond, and he also threatened me with imprisonment in the event of my persisting in the same course. I have sold my *zaminidari* to Raja Tej Chandra." Besides the

witnesses already examined on the side of the defence as to identity, the prisoner had a mind to examine Poorsun Chand Baboo, Protap's maternal uncle, who all on a sudden presented himself in Court on the 15th January, but his legal advisers having advised him to the contrary, his evidence was not taken. They said that the evidence already adduced was quite sufficient for the purposes of the present trial, and that, as it was not a civil case, stronger evidence as to identity was not at all necessary. In this advice they were not far wrong, for as the evidence stood, it was quite sufficient to establish the identity of the prisoner with Protap. If, however, stronger evidence was thought necessary, it was quite within the power of the Court to take it. But, as a matter of fact, the best evidence that was available in the case was withheld. The way to test the prisoner truly was to have him seen and examined, of course, so far as Hindu manners and customs would allow, by Protap's wives and aunts, all of whom were alive, and also to examine him by some artificial means which were not wanting in the Rajbati. But neither of these courses was adopted. The Rani of Protap Chand were naturally very anxious to have a look at the prisoner, but they were not allowed to satisfy their curiosity. Indeed, when it became known that the younger Rani on being convinced, by the anecdotes which he related of his sweet dalliance with his wives in the sleeping chamber, of the identity of the prisoner with Protap Chand, was anxious to see and have him, some of her confidantes were removed from the palace and a double guard placed on it to prevent all egress and ingress. Protap's paternal aunt, Rani Tota Kumari, who along with the late Dowager Moharani had brought him up from his infancy, was also very anxious to see the prisoner; so was Protap's maternal aunt, Bibi Badami. But none of these ladies was allowed to have their wish gratified. Mr. Curtis, the Judge, on being pressed by the Counsel for the defence to give these ladies an opportunity of seeing and examining the prisoner, observed that he did not think Rani Tota Kumari would ever come to his Court and give evidence in the cause, and that the evidence of Protap's wives would not be legally admissible as wife and husband are, in the eye of law, one and the same. But was Rani Tota Kumari really unwilling to come? We trow not. As for the objection raised by the Judge to the legal advisability of the evidence of Protap's wives, it could stand good only where the relationship of husband and wife was not disputed; whereas in the present case that was the very thing which was the subject of the inquiry. Thus, the Judge's objection had no force at all; indeed, it involved the logical fallacy of *petitio principii*, or begging the question. At length, to make matters all square and perfect, *subpoenas* were issued to the elder Rani and the aunts of Protap, in reply

to which a petition was put in as coming from them saying that being convinced of the fact of Protap's death and of the prisoner being an impostor they did not think that their evidence would be of any avail to the latter, and they accordingly declined to attend. We doubt very much if the ladies aforesaid knew of the *subpenas* or of the petition purporting to have come from them. But even supposing that the petition did really come from them, was it not incumbent on the Judge, for the ends of justice, more especially when the matter was so earnestly pressed by the defence, to take their evidence and place the whole thing beyond the domain of doubt? The *Hurkara* of the 21st May properly remarked: "Suspensions, well or ill-founded matters not, but suspicions are afloat throughout Burdwan, Bancoorah, and Murshidabad, that Poran Babu is at the bottom of this attempt on Protap Chand's life, and it is absolutely necessary for the peace and quietness of the country, that the truth or falsehood of the impression should be placed beyond all doubt." When such was the state of the public feeling, and that this was so might be easily inferred from the fact that a Journal which was notoriously hostile to the prisoner all through, gave such emphatic expression to it, was it not necessary, if not for any thing else, at least for the good name of British justice against which there were 'curses, not loud but deep,' to make every possible inquiry into the fact whether the prisoner was really Protap or a mere pretender? But it does not appear that the Judge who tried the case was actuated by any such noble motive, and so far from trying all possible means to get at the truth, he in a manner stifled inquiry. But supposing for the sake of argument that there was some difficulty in taking the evidence of the ladies, what difficulty was there in examining Poran Babu who was so well competent to speak to the fact. And is it not very strange that Poran Babu himself, who did not spare means or money to put down the prisoner if not to polish him off the world, did not of his own accord come forward to say on oath that he was not the man he represented himself to be but a false pretender. Again, there were some old servants of Tej Chandra and Protap Chand living at the time, and they too were not called to the witness-box. Protap had also some fast friends in this part of the country, conspicuous amongst whom were Sree Nath Babu *alias* Nabob Babu of Singhoor, and Ramdhone Babu of the Telinipara zemindar family. But no attempt would seem to have been made to take their evidence. Both of them were then residing within the jurisdiction of the Judge of Hooghly, and nothing was therefore easier for him to produce them in his Court, if he was so minded. But for some reason or other, neither of them was called to the witness-box. The

mere fact that the prisoner could have examined them but did not do so, was not sufficient for the Government that was conducting the prosecution to have dispensed with their evidence. It should not have left any stone unturned to have the matter thoroughly sifted in order to find out the truth. Thus, it is quite clear that the best evidence that was available in the case was kept back without any very good reason being assigned for its non-production. Again, the prisoner had stated that there were in the palace a *Pandan* (betel-holder) and a hand-box so ingeniously made as to baffle the skill of all but the initiated to open them. But neither the *Pandan* nor the hand-box was produced, and as there was nothing to show that they were not forthcoming, or that there were no such things in the Rajbati, their non-production could only be accounted for on the supposition that had they been produced they would have established the prisoner's statement and gone a long way in proving his identity with Protap Chand. Besides the evidence that was produced and the evidence that was kept back, there were many significant circumstances which served to raise a strong presumption, amounting almost to a moral certainty, that the prisoner was the real man and not a counterfeit. We have already observed that many respectable persons, including some Europeans, advanced him large sums of money. Babu Radha Krishna Bysack,* the Dewan of the Treasury, alone lent him more than a lakh, and the amounts advanced by other gentlemen were also not inconsiderable. Now, while these gentlemen assisted him with the sinews of war, there were several Rajas who, anxious as they were to see him restored to his ancestral Raj, in a manner fought for him. The Raja of Nadia Nara Hari Chandra, and the Bishenpur Raja Khetter Mohan, suffered much for him. As for the Raja of Pachete (Panchakote), he actually broke out into open revolt and attacked and took possession of a factory of Dr. Cheek; and the matter at last became so very serious that Mr. Halkett, the Magistrate of Bankura, found it necessary to call in the military to put him down. If these very respectable personages, whose position as the recognised nobility of the land dated from very remote antiquity, had entertained any the least doubt as to the identity of the prisoner with their brother Raja of Burdwan, would they have done and suffered so much for him. This circumstance, significant as any circumstance could be, was alone sufficient to show that it was very probable,

* Attempts were made on the part of Poran Babu to induce Babu Radha Krishna to abandon his protégé to his fate. At first, Babu Dwarka Nath Tagore was deputed to him for the purpose, but he failing, Babu Mathura Nath Mullick of Ramkrishnapur, was asked to try the same thing. Very strong temptation was laid before Radha Krishna, but he put it aside, and went on assisting the man until he found that the matter was quite hopeless and beyond human power.

if not morally certain, that the prisoner was the real Simon Pure, and not a false pretender. Unfortunately for the cause of truth and justice, all these circumstances were ignored by the Judge, nay, not even so much as taken notice of. But not only the gentry and the nobility of the land espoused the cause of the prisoner and did their best to see him restored, the general body of the people took great interest in his welfare. Both while he was on his way to Court and back during the trial at Hooghly, the commoners never failed to set up cries of *Jaya Raja Protap Chand*. This peculiar kind of demonstration, spontaneous as it perfectly was, had its origin in the conviction that the prisoner was the real Raja Protap Chand and not a false pretender.* And this conviction would seem not to have been confined to the men, but extended to the women, who wished in their hearts to see him restored to the *Guddee* at Burdwan. It is said that while on his way to Kulna wherever he made a halt, the old matrons of the place would come to the river side, and standing at a respectful distance, feelingly exclaim, "Go child, go to thy home, sweet home, after suffering the pain of long exile, and reign in peace in thy own Raj!" This general outburst of love and affection in favour of the prisoner afforded a very strong moral proof in support of the truth of his claim, but such was the spirit of the times that the voice of the people was given the go-by and the voice of the devil prevailed. Then, again, the prisoner had described some papers and documents bearing his signature, which used to be kept under lock and key in the Rajbati. It was not said that there were no such papers or documents existing, and yet none of them was produced to show whether the signature therein tallied with the signature of the prisoner or not. But this was a small matter compared with the other circumstances we have mentioned before,—circumstances which, to use the words of the greatest of modern poets, "lead directly to the door of truth." One word more about the portrait referred to above, and we shall have done with this part of the case. To repeat the words of the *Hurkara* it was "a rather hostile witness." True it is, Mr. Prinsep, the Government Secretary, said that there was no resemblance between it and the prisoner; but this statement, it is to be observed, was not made after due comparison, else he would have agreed with Mr. Overbeck and Mr. Hare who took great pains in making the comparison, and gave it out as the result of their close examina-

* Some old people still believe that the ostensible was the real Raja. Indeed, his case stands on a much better footing than that of Perkin Warbeck who is believed by some great historians as the veritable Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, even though Warbeck himself confessed his imposture on the scaffold. But opinions differ—*quot homines, sat sententiae*.

tion that there was a strong resemblance between the two. In fact, the portrait was a damaging piece of evidence, and spoke, as we have already said, with a hundred tongues testifying to the truth of the prisoner's claim.

On the second head, the officials of the Rajbati, who were quite under the control of Poran Babu, were examined. Of course, they gave a story in support of the prosecution, but their evidence was not worth much, if anything. Though they were very large in number, the weight of their testimony was very small. Surely, evidence is not to be *numbered* but to be *weighed*. But the credulous Judge, overlooking this most important rule of the law of evidence, preferred *number* to *weight*, and held upon the evidence of those witnesses that Protap's death had been established beyond doubt. There were, however, very strong circumstances which went dead against such a finding, and yet strange to say, they were not even taken notice of. Protap Chand had two wives living, and there was also his father present at Kulna at the time. None of them did him the last funeral service; but the purohit, Ghasiram (since dead), according to the witnesses, gave "the lighted torch to his face" This was quite contrary not only to well-established practice but also to Hindoo shastras; and if Maharaja Tej Chandra had been fully convinced of the death of his son he would not have allowed such a thing to be done, supposing that it was done at all. Our impression is that what Mr. Overbeck stated in his deposition before the Judge was the true state of affairs. A few days after the alleged death of Protap there was a rumour that "dispenser of popular favour" that he had fled from the burning ground and was still alive. This report, as Mr. Overbeck said, was very general, and spread like wild fire from one end of the country to the other. It cannot be denied that history furnishes only very few instances of such report spreading and gaining ground in cases of real death. This report, so far from fading away in course of time, received considerable strength from the ever-increasing number of its believers. In fact, it was seldom, if ever, disbelieved by anybody. Tej Chandra, when he was asked to take a son in adoption, long hesitated to take any such course, evidently in the belief that his son was not dead but might return home. It was after very strong inducements, which were brought to bear upon him by his favourite wives, Kamul Kumari and Basanta Kumari, that he at last consented to adopt Poran Babu's infant son. If Tej Chandra had not been enfeebled by old age nor had been under the sweet but none the less coercive control of his young wives, this adoption would most probably have never taken place. Again, if Protap's death had really taken place, or had been placed beyond all reasonable doubt, his *shrad* ceremony would have

been performed in the usual way. His wives had the preferential right to it, and failing them, his father was entitled to perform it. But in this case, although both the wife and the father were living and were fully competent to perform the ceremony, strange to say, neither of them did it but that this all important duty, upon which rest the future happiness and misery of a Hindoo in the world to come, was performed by the purohit, Ghasiram. This circumstance, coupled with the other circumstances we have taken notice of before, gives rise to a host of doubts and suspicions as to the truth of Protap's death. In fact, his alleged demise at Kulna is a mystery which has never been cleared up and never will be. The probability is that, by some unusual method, of which he was a master, he feigned death, and thus effected his escape, as he said, from the funeral pile at Kulna. Such feigning of death is not improbable in itself, and is quite possible, as is proved by the well-known case of Colonel Townsend, related by Dr. George Cheyne*.

As to the cause of his having adopted such unusual means of escape, and abandoned not only kith and kin but such large estates, the prisoner stated that in an unguarded moment he had committed a great sin,† which lay like a mill stone upon his conscience, and that, being advised by pandits and astrologers that it could only be expiated by death, or by remaining *incognito* for fourteen years, he struck in with the latter condition and effected his flight from Kulna.‡ In this way he had travelled over many countries, from Chittagong on the one side to the Punjab on the other. He stayed in Kashmir for six years, where he became acquainted with General Allard.§ At Delhi he was recognised by Mr. Ramsay. After the stated term of fourteen years had thus expired, he returned to Bengal, and was arrested at Bankura by Mr. Elliott. It was at that time that the invaluable Diary which he had regularly kept during his travels was lost. He stated all these facts in Court; and then concluded by saying that if he had really died, he would certainly have

* See T. H. Tanner's Practice of Medicine, vol. I.

† It was not generally known what the nature of that great sin was, but the rumour was that he had slipped into one of his step-mothers, most probably Basanta Kumari. Eodipus's offence was certainly of a graver character, but it was purely accidental, whereas Protap's offence, though not equally grave, had no such palliating circumstance.

‡ While admitting that certain ceremonies were performed, he declared that his tomb was a cenotoph, that his illness and death were feigned, that the officiating Priest (since defunct) who pretended to give him the *extreme unction*, was in league with him in the deceit, and aided him in his escape in the darkness of the night.

§ Allard was one of the foreign Generals in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Sing. He was in high favour with his royal master, who was himself a first-rate general. Ranjit's other foreign Generals were Ventura, Avitabile and Court. Allard assumed Babu Radha Krishna Bysak and others that he had seen Protap Ohand travelling about Lahore as a fakir.

made some arrangements for his vast estates, either by a Will or by a deed of gift, which there was ample time for making, as he had lain sick for several days.

On the third head, several witnesses were examined. As most of them had been bought over by Poran Babu, who, to use a native phrase, spent money like water, they supported the prosecution. But there were a few others against whose testimony nothing could be said. Of these witnesses the most respectable and important was the Rev. William James Deere of Krishnagar. He had known Krishna Lal Brahmachari for a pretty long time, and his evidence on the point was, therefore, entitled to very great weight. He said: "I cannot say decidedly whether the prisoner is Krishna Lal or not. Krishna's nose pointed *upwards*, and the prisoner's *downwards*. I heard in 1821 bazar reports that Protap Chand left his country to go to Runjit Sing to form a conspiracy against the British Government." At the conclusion of his evidence he stated that "to the best of my recollection the prisoner is not Krishna Lal, the latter was much fairer."

After a careful consideration of the whole evidence and the surrounding circumstances the Mahomedan Law Officer gave his opinion that the prisoner's identity with Krishna Lal Brahmachari was not established. The Judge seems to have agreed with him in the main, but he observed, "circumstances considered, I look upon the proofs as being on the whole satisfactory." However, he went on to say that "the matter of the identity was of no importance, seeing that the death and cremation of Raja Protap Chand had been firmly established." Strange, very strange indeed, that a Judge who had received proper legal training and had long been administering justice in the name of Great Britain, where justice of all others is so very highly revered, should have considered the very point which was the principal issue in the case as a "matter of no importance."

As regards the fourth and last count no evidence had been taken by the Magistrate, and the Judge, too, expressed an opinion that the matter of the unlawful assembly was not material. And yet, as if to make the record complete in every respect, some evidence was taken. Nazir Assad Ali, and Daroga Mohaboollah were the principal witnesses. They stated many things thereby rendering their testimony open to the charge of *proving too much*. As for the chowkidars of Kulna, they flatly denied that there was any unlawful assembly. The Judge, however, held that the charge was substantially established, though he admitted that there was "no proof of an affray, or actual breach of the peace." After the arguments had been read out, for the Counsel on both sides did not argue the case *orally* but submitted *written* arguments, the Judge and the Mahomedan

Law Officer differed in opinion, the latter holding that it was not proved who the prisoner really was, and so he could not be punished for having assumed the name of Protap Chand, and the former holding the other way. According to the law then in force, in case of difference the Judge was not competent to pass sentence, so he referred the matter to the Nizam-at Adalat, stating, at the same time, that all the charges except one had been brought home to the prisoner, and recommending that he might be sentenced to imprisonment at least for three years, if not five.*

On the reference of the Sessions Judge being placed before the Nizam-at Judges, Messrs. W. Braddon and C. Tucker, so late as the 13th June, they found themselves in a difficulty from which they saw no means of escape. They could not convict the prisoner on the ground of his having caused an unlawful assembly inasmuch as the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Ryan,† in the case brought by Mr. Shaw against the Magistrate, Mr. Ogilvie, had given it as his opinion that "there was no disturbance whatever when the affray took place, nor had there been any for a considerable time before the events took place." While the Judges were in this pitiable plight, the Kazi attached to the Court came to their rescue. He said that the accused might be punished for having, for his own benefit, assumed and used the name of another. Thus fortified with the *fatwa*‡ of this oracle of the Mahomedan law, they ordered the defendant, Aluk Shah, *alias* Protap Chand *alias* Krishna Lal Brahmachari, to be fined Rs. 1,000 for having falsely and fraudulently assumed the name of the late Raja Protap Chand, and, in default, to undergo imprisonment for six months. As regards the other charges they entirely acquitted him thereof.

After the order had been passed, the aggrieved party presented a petition for retrial, mainly on the ground that the petitioner had not had anything like a fair, complete and satisfactory trial regarding the question of identity; and that further evidence as to his identity with Protap Chand, which circumstances beyond his control had prevented him from adducing at the time of trial, might be taken and final order made. This petition was, as a

* The proceedings of the Sessions Court were sent up to the Sadar Nizam-at under a letter dated the 23rd January 1839.

† Ryan was Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court for seven years before he became its Chief Justice in 1833.

‡ The *fatwa* ran in these words or to the following effect: "False personation for one's own advantage is an offence under the Mahomedan law; and although no specific punishment is laid down for such offence, it is discretionary with the Hakim to award what punishment he thinks fit to inflict, with a view to restrain the offender." The very wording of the *fatwa* gives ample ground for thinking that such false personation was no offence under the Mahomedan law, for an offence without any punishment being prescribed for its commission would, in reality, be no offence at all.

matter of course, heard by the same Judges, Messrs. Braddon and Tucker, on the 1st July, when it was rejected, the Judges being of opinion that the said evidence not having been produced before, could not be taken now, more especially as the death and cremation of Raja Protap Chand had been established by satisfactory evidence. After this order was passed, another petition was presented to the same Court on the 18th July, asking the Court to cite the authority on which the *fatwa* of the Law Officer, declaring that false personation for one's own advantage was an offence under the Mahomedan law, was based ; and also to mention the Circular Order or Regulation under which the proceedings in the case were referred to the Sadar Nizamat by the Judge of Hooghly, and the petitioner fined by the Nizamat Adalat. Couched as it was in improper language, this petition shared the same fate with the last. The Judges (Messrs. Braddon and Tucker) in rejecting it on the 19th July said that the proceedings in the case having been finally closed by the rejection of the petition for retrial, which, by the by, did not contain the said objection on the score of mistake in law, they could not be reopened ; and they concluded by observing " that as they had judicially pronounced the petitioner not to be the Maharajah Protap Chand, they could not in future receive any petition or application from him under that name and title." This order gave a death-blow to the cause of the claimant, inasmuch as it closed the doors of the Civil Courts against him at once and for ever. But, though he was thus cut off from what may have been really his own, the general public sympathised with him, and condemned, in very strong terms, the decisions of the Company's Judges. Thus defeated, the claimant gave up all hopes of recovering his property. He continued to reside in Calcutta until the breaking out of the First Sikh War, when the vigilant eye of Government being again fixed upon him, he fled to the French Settlement of Chandernagore. After remaining there for some years, he passed over to Serampore, which had not then come under British rule. Here he stayed for nearly six years, and such was the force of his moral and intellectual powers, that he was regarded as one far above ordinary humanity. In fact, the women in the neighbourhood looked upon him as a divinity, and identified him with Gauranga Deva.* In this way he set himself up for a religious reformer, and many eagerly took *mantras* from him, acknowledging him as their *guru*, or spiritual guide. It is said that nowadays his followers number more than the Puritan sect of Brahmos. It is not clear what the precise nature of his faith was, but it appears that, from having been a Hindoo, he afterwards adopted Buddhism with some modifications.

* The well-known founder of Vaisnavism in Bengal. He flourished in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Eight or ten months before his death, he had returned to Calcutta and stationed himself at the subarban village of Baranagore. * The *Harkaru* of the day stated that the *pseudo* Raja tried to lord it over the zemindar of that place ; but the latter soon collected a picked band of clubmen and made his Rajaship decamp. The late Babu Gour Das Bysack, who knew the man well, has informed us that during the Sepoy Mutiny he was confined for some time in Fort William, and that after he was released he lived in complete obscurity,

“ The world forgetting, by the world forgot.”

He was sociable in his manners and found much pleasure in talking and conversing † with the gentlemen of the village. He died unknown and unwept towards the close of 1857 or in the beginning of 1858. Although, owing to circumstances over which he had no control, he failed to receive justice at the hands of the most enlightened Government in the world, there is no doubt that he was a very extraordinary man and has left a name which generations after generations “ will not willingly let die.”

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

* Baranagore (more correctly Baráhanagore) had its name from the fact of the Company's servants having been in the habit of slaying *bears* and hogs there. The famous Tyrolese Jesuit, Tieffenthaler, says that this place was famous for its *baftah* cloth ; and Price, in his *Observations*, observes that the cloth manufactories there determined Charnock to choose Calcutta as the site for his new settlement. Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol I, p. 379, note. From its having been the resort of bad women, Baranagore was called by the early English travellers the “ Paphos of Calcutta.”

† Besides Hindustani and Bengali, our hero was conversant with the Persian and understood a little of English.

ART. VIII.—TRAVANCORE AND ITS LAND TENURES.

ADMINISTRATIVE Officers in the Madras Presidency fight shy, as a rule, of the complex and perplexing tenurial customs and usages of the British District of Malabar, and a very superficial examination of these customs and usages is sufficient to explain this bashfulness. The question of introducing a Permanent Land Settlement into the district has now been engaging the attention of the Madras Government for several years, but though more than one elaborate scheme has been drawn up by more than one Officer who might be safely described as an expert, it is said that the Madras Government has got very little forrader with its plans of Settlement than when it first proposed to work them out, a decade ago. A report has been circulated for some time past to the effect that orders have at length been issued relative to the Settlement of garden lands in Malabar, but it does not concern our immediate purpose to linger on this question, interesting as it certainly is. We merely propose in the present paper to give a brief and succinct account of the Land Tenures of the Travancore State, being tempted to do so by the view, recently urged in some quarters, that the agrarian problem of Malabar will never be satisfactorily solved unless the Travancore system of tenure is copied. It is necessary to state that the chief defect in Malabar tenure is that it fails to hold the balance evenly between the *jēnmi* (landlord) and the *kudiyān* (tenant). It is a source of various forms of tyranny and oppression, which judge-made laws and well-intentioned Government orders have alike failed to eradicate. It leaves too much power in the hands of the landlord and enables him to oppress his tenantry in a hundred different ways, not the least intolerable of which are the evictions locally known as *melcharths* or second mortgages. This system of eviction deserves to be briefly explained before we proceed to the treatment of our subject proper. A tenant takes a piece of land on lease for 12 years, and begins to improve it (if it is a garden land by planting cocoanut, jack or other fruit trees) in the confidence that at the end of the 12 years he will be permitted to renew the lease for a further similar period on payment of the customary renewal fee. More often than not, he is doomed to bitter disappointment, for he discovers at the time of renewal that the holding has been leased over his head to some other person who had doubtless judiciously propitiated either the landlord or his

stewards, more likely the former, or probably both. The occupancy tenant has now no help but to quit and to begin life all over again, the compensation which he receives for his improvements being invariably most mournfully disproportionate to the labour, capital, trouble and anxiety invested by him in the hope of future reward. Even should he be permitted to renew his lease, his position is always an unenviable one, for there are numerous *avakasams* or dues which have to be paid from time to time to the landlord. When the lease is first written out, or when it is renewed, customary presents in the shape of *oppavakasam* (presents to the landlord for signing his name in the lease), *anandaravakasam* (presents to the junior members of the landlord's family), and *thadastharavakasam* (presents to those who took part in the negotiations), have all to be made by him, and if these demands are not met he will soon be made to feel his position. He is also required to take presents in kind to the landlord on all religious festivals as also whenever there should happen to be a ceremony at the landlord's. Then, the harpies of the latter have also to be duly propitiated, and, when in addition to all this fleecing, the tenant can never feel secure about the fixity of his tenure, it is small wonder that his position is always a precarious one. They say it is this want of fixity in the tenure that has mostly always driven the Moplah into fanaticism and is day by day impoverishing the once prosperous peasantry of the Malabar District. That the existing state of affairs is not a desirable one is the view held by officers of ripe Malabar experience like Messrs. Logan, Winterbotham and Dance. Now, the tenures of Travancore are based on the same principles as those of Malabar, are as subtle and bewildering, and proceed from the same root. But they have been wisely modelled to meet all practical requirements and they are capable of being applied to the best interests of the State, the landlord and the tenant alike, though they too are capable of being turned into instruments to injure and even destroy the tenant. But, on the whole, they work equitably in practice. It is not surprising that the fundamental principles of the Travancore and Malabar tenures are so closely allied, for time was when Travancore was an integral portion of the great democratic region of Kerala or the land of Parasurama, which extended from Gokurnam to Cape Comorin, 100 *yojanas* long by 10 *yojanas* broad (a *yojanam* being supposed to measure exactly 9 miles). In the days when it formed a portion of ancient Kerala, Travancore represented one of the 56 kingdoms into which India was divided of old. After the Perumals period Kerala itself was divided into three parts, the southernmost part

being the share of the Travancore Sovereigns. Internecine wars and rebellions convulsed it during its earliest days, and it was sadly dismembered and several of its limbs torn away cruelly, until the great Rama Varma and his still more heroic nephew Martanda Varma succeeded, one after the other, in crushing the enemies of their country and in rehabilitating the administration. Martanda Varma was, in fact, the founder of modern Travancore, extending his country from Edavaye to Periyar and bringing all the rajahs and petty chiefs and nobles into subjection." He constructed useful irrigation works, championed the cause of religion, founded charitable institutions, inaugurated and put through great reforms in the government of his kingdom and dedicated that kingdom to the god *Padmanatha Swami*, ruling it as his deputy or agent. The kingdom thus restored and settled is situated at the south-west extremity of India, between the 8th and 10th degrees of North Latitude and the 76th and 77th degrees of East Longitude. Its extreme length from North to South is 174 miles, and its extreme breadth 75 miles, with a total area of 6,730 square miles, peopled by about two-and-a-half millions of inhabitants. It is bounded on the North by the Cochin State, on the South and West by the Indian Ocean, and on the East by the range of ghâts which forms a natural barrier between it on the one hand and Tinnevely, Madura and Coimbatore on the other. It is physically divided into two regions, (a) the low country bordering the sea throughout and nowhere exceeding 50 miles in breadth, and (b) an irregular tableland which separates the low-lying tracts from Madura and Tinnevely. This tableland averages on its Western edge some 2,500 feet above sea level, while on its Eastern edge, some of the points rise to an elevation of 8,000 feet. The tableland and its heights are the Southern extension of the Western ghâts, whose continuity with the Northern portion that runs from the Palghat taluk in British Malabar to the River Taptee is broken by the "Palghat Gap." Thus, it will be evident that Travancore lies practically to the westward of the main water-shed of the southern portion of the great mountainous backbone or midrib of Southern India. More than a third of the area of the country is either forest or unsuitable for human habitation. About a sixth of the land is covered with low jungle, a portion of which is used for pasturage. Lakes, rivers and tanks, building sites, ricefields, slopes for dry grains, and cocoanut, palmyra, plantain, jack and mango gardens make up the remainder, along with about 15,000 acres under tea and coffee in the Hill districts. A rich picturesqueness of scenery characterises the entire country.

The mountains which, at some points, rise to an elevation of over 8,000 feet above the sea, Anaimoodi (8,837 feet) being the highest peak south of the Himalayas, are clothed with magnificent primeval forests, alternating with bare rocky precipitous acclivities and mountains of fantastic forms in the Southern parts, while as you go North, the chain becomes less bold, a few rugged cliffs and conical summits alone breaking the sameness of the outline. Again, the high range gives way to clusters of hills from the feet of which stretch fertile and verdant valleys, studded with many picturesque old temples and churches, with many a pious shrine and quaint piece of ancient architecture. In the South, the hills soften down into gently undulating slopes, intersected by glens and valleys, which widen as the elevation of the land decreases, and which, generously watered as they are by the mountain streams and the perennial lagoons, permit largely of the cultivation of rice, which proves very productive. The Coast and the belt of flat country ten miles inland running along the seaboard is one dense, unbroken, beautiful mass of cocoanut and areca groves, in the deep, umbrageous, cool, inviting shade of which nestle the natty, perfectly-clean, palm-thatched cottages of the simple peasantry. Numerous rivers traverse the land from East to West, leaping down in roaring, silver cascades from the everlasting hills and careering through the glens and plains till their floods, arrested by the action of the sea, are spread out into the numerous lakes or lagoons (blackwaters, as they are locally known), that form an inland line of smooth water communication extending nearly the whole length of the Coast. Nanjinad, the most extensive rice swamp in the country, is nowhere sterile, but responds lavishly to the efforts of the cocoanut gardener and the paddy cultivator. It is a most productive strip of territory, capable of sustaining a dense population, and, if I may compare small things with great, I should call it the Saskatchewan of Travancore. It yields the State an annual revenue of between five and six lakhs of rupees. The mountains of Travancore are richly clothed with teak, blackwood, ebony, sandalwood, white and red cedars, bamboos, and a great variety of other trees. They make the forest scenery one continuous panorama of the richest loveliness and grandeur. The noonday sun scarcely penetrates the dense vegetation, yet, under the huge timber trees, flourishes a wealth of tangled undergrowth, while in the natural avenues and solemn cathedrals of this grand garden of Nature, the majestic elephant and the royal tiger roam in fearless lordship and a great many other minor denizens find a congenial home here. In the neighbourhood of the mountain streams, in the cool recesses of silent glades,

the deadly serpentivore and the huge python, appropriately called the "lord of the wilderness," find a safe lodging, while overhead, in the thickly interlaced branches of the forest trees, birds of gorgeous plumage dwell beside colonies of chattering monkeys and lively families of the brown-furred hill squirrel.

The irregularity of the surface of the country accounts for the widest diversity of climate. The pinching cold of the Himalayas may be experienced on the higher peaks, while at slightly lower elevations, the temperature is cool and bracing, just as it is in the South of England. If you travel in the lowlands during September and October, you realise that the clear and cloudless sky and the gentle warmth is much like what you have experienced in Southern France or Tuscany. But from January to May, the fierce sun beats down upon you with scarcely less cruelty than it does upon our brave men fighting on the naked South African veldt.

I have made these introductory remarks in order to show that Travancore is essentially an agricultural and pastoral region, wherefore, it was only natural that its rulers and the people should, from the earliest times, have turned their attention to questions connected with the soil.

Originally, the land tenure was *jennu* or hereditary right in fee simply, subject to no State demand. The traditionary history of the country States that the Nambudri Brahmins, by whom Kerala was colonised after its reclamation from the sea by Parusarama, received a free gift of all the land. This tenure, as will be seen later on, survives to the present day in respect of lands held by the Nambudri Brahmins and in their own occupation. They are absolutely free hold. During the sway of the Nambudris, the various Devaswams or temples over which they presided became possessed of immense wealth and landed property, to which latter numerous tenants were attached, who became the slaves of the Managers, their lives and properties being at the mercy of the latter. The mode of collecting the revenue in the State in the olden days was that the revenue of every petty district used to be roughly calculated and the local chief was made responsible for the collection of the same, deducting the amount assigned for the performance of devaswam and other religious ceremonies, for the maintenance of the militia and the collection of revenue. About the end of the seventeenth century, Ravi Vurmah, a wise and beneficent ruler, introduced various improvements into the land revenue as also into the general administration of the State.

At present, the State is divided for administrative purposes into four Divisions, 31 taluks and 244 proverties or villages.

The villages are again sub-divided into Karas or Mullahs, 3,728 in number, the area of each being about 2 square miles. This arrangement, facilitates the collection of revenue, the enumeration of gardens and lands, houses and population, and various other purposes of the executive administration. The principal village officer is known in various parts of the State as Proverticar, Adhicari or Monegar. He and his staff form the groundwork of the Revenue Administration, and how multifarious his duties are, may be judged from the following interesting description from the pen of an able and experienced Travancore Officer:—"Whether it is a royal procession or the lighting of a village temple, or the decoration of a pandal for the reception of a British Commander-in-Chief, or the supplying of rowers to a European traveller, or the supplying of provisions to a Nambudri dignitary, or the selling of a broken overhanging branch of an avenue tree, the Proverticar is the one official that is in constant requisition. All this is in addition to the never-ceasing pressure for collection of taxes, current and pending, and for replying to endless references from the Tahsildar and Peishcar. The hardships of the village officer are proverbial and form the theme of songs by the village women. The Proverticaran used to be looked upon with great respect by the ryots in former times, as the embodiment of Government authority in their village. He moved about in great state through his jurisdiction, carrying a huge cadjan umbrella, a *changalavathu* lamp, a betel box called *chellom*, and a pewter vessel, with water in it, known as the *pielimonthai* to gargle and wash his mouth, which is now and again required on account of the chewing of betel, nut and tobacco, perpetually going on during all the hours he is awake. These and a particular suit of clothes worn were the privileges of his high office and emblems of authority, still extant in the remote rural parts and still coveted by the bulk of our Nair population. Some are *Maura Parvathyom* or Proverticarships permanently held by certain well-to-do families of Sudras in the country, more on account of the dignity which they conferred than their gain; a fine institution, in my opinion, though latterly this hereditary privilege does not appear to be respected by the authorities." The Travancore land tenures of the present day are classed under two main heads—(a) *Jenmom* and (b) *Sirkar*. The former are of three kinds:—(1) Lands which are entirely freehold and exempt from payment of revenue to the State under any circumstances. This class comprises certain entire Proverties and Desams or tracts of territory together with detached gardens belonging to individuals or institutions. The following are some of the chief Proverties

held under this tenure:—The Adhigarams or Proverties of Attangal and Edacode belonging to the Ranees or Princesses and believed to yield an annual rental of about Rs. 20,000. The Kilimanur Adhigaram belonging to the Coil Tampurams or Consorts of the Ranees. The Desams of the Edappully Rajah, a Nambudri Brahmin, whose annual rental is believed to be very little short of a lakh. The Desam of the Pooniat Chief, another wealthy Abbott of the State, besides these, there are a number of Desams belonging to the Pagodas. Altogether, there are 76 of these Adhigarams and Desams which comprise, besides rice lands, about 24,000 gardens.

(2) Lands originally free from taxation, but which subsequently became liable to it under certain conditions. The particulars of the tenure are:—(a) That its normal condition is absolute freedom from taxation, (b) that this condition ceases directly the land passes by sale or mortgage to others than Devaswam or Brahmin jenmies, but simply renting the land does not vitiate the tenure; (c) that on alienation the land becomes liable to light tax to the State called *Rajabhogam*, the rates of which are $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the full assessment; (d) that this tax is permanent even if the *kouam* or mortgage be redeemed; (e) that if the Mortgagee dies intestate (a most unusual occurrence owing to custom of the country) the land is escheated to the State, the landlord or mortgagor being only entitled to the *Michavaram* or residue of rent payable to him by the deceased; (f) that if the Mortgagee abandons the land as unfit for cultivation, the Sirkar enters into possession and grants it to anybody who asks for it on full assessment. (*Vempattam* tenure, which will be described later on.) The lands under this particular species of tenure are known as Devaswams and Brahmaswams or property belonging to the Pagodas and Brahmins respectively. Proprietary rights are vested in the former case in the temple managers and in the latter in the descendants of the original jenmies. The number of gardens falling under this head is 421,459, of which over 42,000 are entirely free from taxation, i.e., from *Rajabhogam*.

(3) Lands subject from the commencement to the payment of a light demand. Under this head are comprised lands whose jenmies are Nais and others generally not Brahmins, and who are known as Madambimars. The characteristics of this tenure are:—(a) that the lands are from the beginning subject to the *Rajabhogam* tax, leviable whether they are in the hands of Madambimars or others; (b) that so long as the lands are not alienated by absolute sale, the tenure holds good; (c) that if absolute sale occurs, the tenure is extinguished and the land is transferred to the *Otti* class, which will be described later on. There are 17,500

Madambi gardens, and among the chief Madambimars are the Rajah of Cochin and the Pooniat Chieftain, already mentioned.

The *Sirkar* or *Pandaravagai* lands comprise all that are not *jeummom*. In many countries, it is held that all lands belong to the Crown, but in Kerala, in which, of course, Travancore is included, the arrangement has always been different, it having been held in theory that all lands were originally the private property of the landlords and not of the State. The *Sirkar* lands of Travancore constitute, therefore, property which in process of time has become vested in the State by escheat or otherwise. So long as the State dues are paid on these lands, the occupants cannot be disturbed, whether they pay the full *pattam* (rent) or only a varying proportion of it, according to the character and condition of the special tenure on which they may be holding these *Sirkar* lands. There are 85 different tenures, on which they are held, and these are grouped under the following five heads:—(1) *Kuttagapattam*, (2) *Vempattam* or lands fully assessed, (3) *Otti*, (4) *Nair Viruthis*, (5) *Inams*. The *Kuttagapattam* lands are those which are let directly to ryots by the *Sirkar* on temporary leases, but which have not been brought under any fixed assessment. As an example of this species of tenure, may be mentioned the Palliport farm in North Travancore. In 1788, the Travancore Government purchased this tract of territory from the Dutch for three lakhs of Surat rupees. Tippu Sultan made an attempt to wrest the property from the State but, as is known, the Government of Lord Cornwallis was able to save the little Principality. In addition to the money tax on cocoanut trees which tenants on this farm had to pay, each tenant had until a few years ago to contribute one cocoanut frond for every eight puthens (10 pies) of assessment, and 18,000 fronds used thus to be paid in. I have not been able to ascertain whether the arrangement still continues, but presume that it does, the march of events and the progress of enlightenment being very slow, as a rule, in the rural areas of India. The *Vempattam* lands are subject to the payment of full *pattam* or assessment. The holders of these lands have full heritable and transferable rights in them so long as the State demand is paid. If the assessment is in arrears, the land is liable to be attached and sold. *Vempattam* is the most prevalent tenure and may be compared to the Ryotwary tenure of the East Coast. Out of a total of nearly 750,000 gardens, nearly 350,000 gardens or about 45 per cent. are held as *Vempattam*, and the occupied area under this tenure is constantly increasing, as waste lands brought under cultivation are registered as *pattam* lands subject to full assess-

ment. In the opinion of experienced revenue officers, all the other tenures of Travancore tend to ultimately merge into this one. It appears that all these lands were at one time the property of the Government, the holders having no rights in them, but about 35 years ago, a Royal Proclamation conceded to them full proprietary rights, and thus the holders were able to transfer the lands by sale, mortgage, gift or otherwise. The restriction imposed was that on every transfer of land for a money consideration, a fee of 2 per cent. of the value was to be paid to the *Sirkar*. A few years ago this transfer tax too was abolished.

The *Otti* lands are also charged with full assessment, but the *Sirkar* recognises a certain debt as being due to the tenants for which interest is payable at certain fixed rates. This interest is deducted from the assessment and only the difference, plus the tax called *Rajabhogum*, is credited to the State. The *Otti* is of the nature of a mortgage, the recognised rate of interest being 5 per cent. The *Rajabhogum* is generally $\frac{1}{8}$ of the assessment, though higher rates are prevalent in garden lands. In wet lands, the corresponding rates are called *Vitharai* and *Mupparai*, which are $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ of a *parahi* (measure) of grain, which is assumed to be the average quantity of seed required to sow a *parah* of rice land. The normal assessment on *Otti* lands is the *pattam*, less interest, but, plus the *Rajabhogum* or *Vitharai*, so long as the lands remain in the hands of the original mortgagee or creditor. If the lands change hands, the conditions of tenure are somewhat altered by a process known as *Ottivilakum*. The debt due by the *Sirkar* is reduced 25 per cent. and the State demand is enhanced by the amount of the interest on this deduction. This process being repeated at every succeeding alienation, the result is the final extinction of the debt and the enhancement of the State demand to the full *Pattam*. About 8 per cent. of the gardens in Travancore are held on *Otti* tenure.

The Nair *Viruthus* are a survival of a former quasi-feudal system. The holders of these lands are required to perform certain services on certain public occasions, in consideration of which they remain on the lands, paying a light rate of assessment and *Rajabhogum*, in addition to which there is an extra cess called *chumattupanam* or "load-tax." *Viruthi* lands are inalienable and there are about 5,350 gardens held on this tenure.

The *Inams* are of two kinds—lands given for service to be rendered, and those given as personal grants from charitable motives or as a mark of favour. The former kind are inalienable and remain in the undisturbed possession of the

holders so long as these duly perform the prescribed services. The personal grants are in a few cases absolutely rent-free, but the majority of them are subject to the payment of a quit-rent and *Rajabhogum* or *Rajabhogum* only. There are slightly over 123,200 *inam* gardens of all kinds in Travancore.

In addition to the various tenures above described, there are certain lands to which the *Kundukrishni* tenure is peculiar. These lands constitute the home farm of the Maharaja and are regarded as the absolute property of the Travancore ruler. The tenants are tenants-at-will. They can claim no compensation whatever for any improvements they may effect and they pay a higher assessment than the holders of lands under the ordinary *Sirkar* tenures. Wet lands held on this particular tenure are liable, in addition to the usual assessment, to the payment of a special assessment known as *Kosh-ulabham* or proprietor's share. Moreover, the assessment on *Kundukrishni* lands is entirely payable in kind, whereas, in ordinary *Sirkar* lands, the time-honoured arrangement has been to make half the assessment payable in money and the other half in kind. There are about 254 *Kundukrishni* gardens in the State, besides rice lands calculated to yield 116,832 parahs.

It may be stated in conclusion that the earliest survey in Travancore of which we have any recorded mention was made in *A. D.* 1772-73. It comprised all cultivated lands, but was far from being an accurate undertaking, and was called a "record of what was heard," by which it was meant that the mere hearsay evidence of landholders and interested parties was accepted for the purpose of determining a most important question. In the beginning of the present century, there was a second survey of cultivated lands and it was described as a "record of what was seen." Later on, two more surveys were undertaken which embraced only garden lands, and subsequently again, a real effort was made to revise the garden assessment.

A permanent land assessment has been going on for some years past, but so far only about seven divisions or taluks have been completed, though the work is being vigorously pushed forward and several more taluks are either close upon final settlement or are fast approaching the stage when their assessment will be taken into consideration. The wet land revenue of the Travancore State is a little over Rs. 21,52,000, representing 96.95 per centage of collection to the demand. The expenditure involved in collecting the revenue amounts to about 15.19 per cent. of the receipts, which would leave the State a profit of something over Rs. 18,00,000. At the same time, in keeping with her long-cherished traditions,

Travancore does not reap all this income in such a manner as to bring misery to her children, for not only is the ratio of assessment reasonable and moderate, but remissions on account of perished crops and fallows or partial failure owing to scanty rainfall are freely granted.

ART. IX.—A UNIQUE TRIAL.

ON the 21st December 1779 began a trial probably unique in the history of Criminal Law, the trial of George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles Floger, and George Mackay for deposing Lord Pigot, the Governor of Madras. The importance of the trial had secured a brilliant array of talent ; Lord Mansfield was the Judge ; the Attorney-General, Alexander Wedderburne, and the Solicitor-General appeared for the Crown ; Dunning led the defence, and his most able assistant was the Hon'ble Thomas, afterwards the celebrated Lord Erskine. The defendants were accused with the prolixity usual in legal documents of deposing the Right Hon'ble George Lord Pigot from his command and office of Governor of Madras and of imprisoning him for nine months, "they being of wicked and seditious dispositions, wickedly, maliciously and seditiously devising and contriving" so to deprive him of the Government. Many more accusations of the same nature were added, all in the greatest possible number of words, but it is not necessary to recite them all. It is enough to say that they were specifically charged further with arresting the Governor and of assaulting him with "swords, guns, pistols, and other offensive weapons."

The events, which led to this extraordinary state of affairs, must be traced back to the wars of the French in the Carnatic. To carry out the project, which "a very bold and enterprising Frenchman, M. Dupleix" (such was the description of the Attorney-General) had formed of driving the English out of the country, he had taken part in the disputes of the native chiefs. It happened that about the same time the Subah of the Deccan and the Nawab of Arcot died. The French set up a competitor for the Arcot throne, the English took the part of Mohammed Ali, son of the Nawab. The war which ensued ended in the fall of Pondicherry, and Mohammed Ali was established in the Government of Arcot.

During the time of the Mogul Empire the Kingdom of Tanjore had been allowed to continue subject to the payment of a tribute to the subordinate Nawab of Arcot. This tribute was fixed at 4 lakhs of rupees. When the war with Hyder Ali, which took place not long after the reduction of Pondicherry, had exhausted the Nawab's treasury, he demanded the arrear of tribute from the Raja of Tanjore, and to gain his end he sought the help of the English. The Raja explained that he too had been impoverished by the assistance he had given to his allies, in the war ; but his excuses were not accepted, and

in direct violation of a previous treaty, the English invaded Tanjore and finally handed the country over to the Nawab. No sooner did the Directors hear of this disgraceful transaction than they determined to cancel it at once, and to this end they sent out Lord Pigot. But things moved slowly in those days and the Nawab had actually been in possession two years before any definite steps were taken. By that time complications had arisen to which the subsequent events were largely due. The Nawab had been put in possession by the agents of the Company and though their action had not ratified, he had been led to believe that there was nothing to fear. Accordingly he had made the usual advances of grain to the ryots, and he had borrowed money on the assignment of the Tanjore revenues. The Directors argued that he had received two years before the standing crop sown by the Raja of Tanjore, and therefore he would be no loser if the standing crop sown by him were handed over to the Raja. In two years, they said, he must have been a gainer and he could not complain. The Nawab, however, had got Tanjore, and he did not choose to part with it so easily. On Lord Pigot's arrival in December 1775, the Nawab declared that all his possessions were the Company's; and if the Company desired to send troops into his territory, he could have no objection. Lord Pigot, however, refused to entertain this indirect claim to Tanjore, and on February 9th, 1776, the Company's troops took the fort and released the Raja, who was a prisoner. But this was not restoration to the kingdom. Accordingly, Lord Pigot, with the consent of the Council, went in person in March 1776 to settle the affairs of Tanjore. Just before he started a man of the name of Benfield put in a claim for £250,000, which he said he had lent to the Nawab, and for which he had received assignments in Tanjore. Lord Pigot took little notice of the matter at the time. He told Benfield that he could not recognise the claim as it was in conflict with the Directors' orders. He then went to Tanjore, put the raja in possession, and returned to Madras on the 5th May. With two unimportant exceptions his conduct was approved, and a letter was sent to England, in which the Council said the raja had been fully restored to the possessions of his ancestors.

On the 29th May the demands of Benfield came before the Council and it was then resolved that the claim was of a private nature and was therefore inadmissible. But on the 3rd June Mr. Brooke, a member of Council, moved that the matter be reconsidered. The discussion took place on the 13th and the original resolution was then cancelled by a majority. Lord Pigot acquiesced in the decision, though

it was against his judgment, and though he objected to the whole principle of revision. But signs of the coming storm were not wanting. At the meeting of the 13th Mackay announced that he had a motion to make on the following day. On the 14th, however, when the Council met Lord Pigot proposed a motion. Mackay at once claimed priority and his contention was affirmed by the Council. He then proposed that all the Nawabs' assignments to Benfield were valid, and suggested further that they should recommend the raja to give the latter reasonable assistance in recovering his debts. Here began that divergence of opinion, which ended only in Lord Pigot's deposition. It was argued by the Attorney-General that since Benfield was not a considerable man, the assignments were fraudulent, and that corruption was to be inferred from the fact that the Council was so ready to rescind its own resolutions. On the other side, however, it was contended that there was no proof that the defendants had gained so much as a penny by the affair either at that time or afterwards, when they had assumed the Government. This contention was supported by affidavits and the judge decided that no corruption could be inferred.

Lord Pigot then proposed that "the transactions were private and could not be entertained," but Mackay was equal to the occasion. He said "the claims of Benfield were private as far as they regarded Benfield; as far as they regarded the assignments made by the Nawab, they were public" and this amendment was adopted.

So far the harmony of the council was to all appearances undisturbed, but the irritation had begun, and it was not allowed to subside. Towards the end of the month a letter arrived from Colonel Stuart commanding at Vellore, in which he demanded his appointment to Tanjore, in his opinion the more important station. The letter was not at once attended to. On the 28th June, and again on the 8th July, Lord Pigot proposed to send a Chief and Council to Tanjore. When this proposal was rejected, he suggested an appointment of a resident.

To this the Council assented and Lord Pigot at once proposed Mr. Russel. The Council, taken by surprise, agreed to this, but when they met next day, they wished to cancel Mr. Russel's appointment, and called for Colonel Stuart's letter. They objected that Mr. Russel had been appointed to a Committee of Inquiry in the Northern Circars, but this inquiry was expressly postponed to the affairs of Tanjore by the orders of the Directors. There was in the trial a dispute on the question whether the affairs of Tanjore were finally settled when the raja was placed in possession, but the tenor of the minutes

leads us to suppose that this was rather a forensic argument, used for the purpose of the trial, than a real objection advanced at the time. There is nothing to shew that the affairs of the North were in a position so critical as to require Mr. Russel's immediate presence. Moreover two of the committee appointed by the Company for the inquiry in the North excused themselves and their excuses were found valid even by Lord Pigot. If therefore substitutes could be found for them, a substitute could have been found for Mr. Russel, whose position was not in any way different from theirs.

On the 19th August Lord Pigot again moved that Mr. Russel be sent, if only for a few days; but the Council remained obdurate and insisted further that Colonel Stuart should be given the Command at Tanjore. Then Lord Pigot threw down the glove. He declared that he would not sign Colonel Stuart's instructions, unless Mr. Russel were also sent as Resident. From this point arose the quarrel which ended only in the deposition and imprisonment of the Governor; and the trial and finally the conviction of his opponents in Council. It is difficult to see why either partly took up such an obstinate position, or why the question led to such violent controversy. The Attorney-General suggested that Colonel Stuart was the tool of the majority, who for reasons of their own were afraid of an inquiry into the affairs of Tanjore. Neither part had any ground of complaint against Colonel Harper, who was then at Tanjore, and the sole reason, which was advanced for the appointment of Colonel Stuart, was that he had asked for it and the Commander-in-Chief had recommended it. Colonel Stuart, it was alleged, would overawe the raja and disturb his peace of mind, if he were to be the sole authority at Tanjore with an armed force at his back. On the other hand there was no evidence to shew that the majority had any corrupt dealings to conceal, or that Lord Pigot had any reason to suspect them except in so far as the affair of Benfield might lend colour to such a suspicion. It will be seen later that, on the arrest of Sir Robert Fletcher, Lord Pigot himself appointed Colonel Stuart to the chief command, and he could not therefore at that time have based his objection on personal grounds. It is more probable that Lord Pigot, having once entertained the idea of a Resident, determined to force this consent of the majority to his proposal; and perhaps it may be, that the majority, being equally convinced that a Resident was unnecessary, refused to submit to such coercion.

The controversy soon assumed graver proportions. In refusing to sign, Lord Pigot declared that as president he was possessed of that power without which a majority could not

act; an act done without his concurrence would be an act of the majority and not of the President and Council. "If I withhold my concurrence" he said "by adjourning his Council there is an end of the Council and here will be private violence and wrong done." The debate grew more and more heated, and as there was no prospect of an understanding, Mr. Stratton moved its adjournment to the 20th. Things went no better on that day and it was again adjourned to the 22nd. Lord Pigot then said that matters had become "very confused" and suggested that a reference be made to the directors on the affairs of Tanjore, the question of the President's powers being allowed to subside. But this did not satisfy the Council. They still clamoured for the President's signature to Colonel Stuart's instructions, and when he again refused, they drafted a letter to the Secretary ordering him to sign the instructions. The letter was handed round the Council for the signatures of the majority. Stratton and Brooke were the first to sign, and no sooner had Brooke signed than Lord Pigot snatched the paper out of his hand; then producing a written document from his pocket, he stopped the proceedings and read as follows:—

"I charge you George Stratton and Henry Brooke of being guilty of an act subversive of the authority of Government and tending to produce anarchy in signing orders to give instructions not approved by the President and Council. He then moved their suspension, and as he had by their move obtained a majority, the motion was carried.

This was a declaration of war and as such the majority accepted it. The Council was summoned for the following day, but the opposition refused to attend alleging that the suspension of Stratton and Brooke was illegal. Lord Pigot's faction however sat as a Council, suspended Floyer, Palmer, Jordan and Mackay, and ordered Sir R. Fletcher into arrest. Colonel Stuart was appointed to command in his place. On the same day the opposition met, and passed a resolution, appointing Colonel Stuart to command as Sir R. Fletcher was ill, and giving him power to arrest Lord Pigot, should he consider it necessary to do so.

It must be admitted that the members in opposition were placed in an awkward situation. Their contention was that Lord Pigot, as President, was simply *primus inter pares*, and that he was as much bound by the opinion of the majority as any other member of the Council. Eiskine in speaking for the defence, argued that Stratton, admittedly next in Council after Lord Pigot was described by the Directors as second in Council, and thus by implication the President was only the first. Lord Pigot claimed the right of veto, and if this

were allowed the Governor would become, not the President of a Council, but an autocratic ruler. It was argued that by refusing to act Lord Pigot dissolved the Council and the famous case of Warren Hastings leaving the Council room was cited in analogy. Lord Mansfield, however, drew a distinction. The Council he brought could not act without a President, but if the President were sitting, he was bound to transact business. In fact on the question of the constitution, ten Judges entirely supported the accused. "There is," he said, "a Governor and Council. The Governor is an integral part of the Council and therefore as long as he stays, the Council can act. . . . But as long as he stays, he is ministerial and he has no right of veto. He is bound to put or not to put questions as the majority decide."

On the question of the constitution therefore the defendants were in the right for not only had Lord Pigot claimed the right of veto but the suspension of Brooke and Stratton, who were no more guilty than the rest of the majority, was clearly a trick to turn the balance in his favour. But having got so far how were the defendants to act? They might, it is true, record a formal protest against the President's action and refer the dispute to the judgment of the Directors. But England, in those days, was very far from India, and it seemed that in matters in which they differed from the President only two courses were open to them. Either they must submit to the President's claim or they must consent to let such matters stand over for a year. To both these courses there were grave objections; on the one hand they were, by no means, disposed to submit to the dictatorship of the President, and on the other there was every likelihood that public affairs would suffer. It was probably considerations of this kind which made them adopt a third course—that of arresting Lord Pigot. This, at any rate, was their justification, and the weakness lay in the fact that nothing pointed to a state of public affairs so desperate as to require a revolution for remedy.

Lord Pigot passed the greater part of the 24th August in the company of Colonel Stuart. At 6-30 a chaise driven by Mr. Benfield's coachman arrived at the Island, where a Company of Sepoys was drawn up. Sergeant Sawyer, of the Police, got out of the chaise and cocking a pistol said to the coachman "If you make any disturbance, I will shoot you." In the meanwhile Colonel Ridington and Captain Lysaght came up on foot and joined the party. Twenty minutes afterwards Lord Pigot and Colonel Stuart drove up in a phaeton, and as soon as they arrived Captain Lysaght ordered the coachman to be in readiness. Then going up to Lord Pigot and putting a pistol to his breast he said: "My Lord, you are

my prisoner." At the same time Colonel Stuart turned round to the Governor and said: "My Lord, you are my prisoner: get out of the chaise." Lord Pigot was taken utterly by surprise and he had no choice but to obey. He got out of the chaise and he was then put into Benfield's carriage and driven off to the mount.

The dissentient majority had thus struck the decisive blow and their position appeared to be safe. They had secured the person of the Governor: Sir Robert Fletcher, the Commander-in-Chief, had throughout been one of them, and they had apparently gained over Colonel Stuart, who, since he was appointed by both sides, to command at the Fort, may originally have been neutral. With these two officers on their side they could count with fair certainty on the support of the troops, and they now proceeded to give their Government a constitutional form by appointing Stratton President. But Lord Pigot was not without friends, and the following letter dated the 25th August, and addressed to Major Horne, who was commanding at the mount, shews that these friends were not disposed to submit quietly to their defeat:—

"Sir, Mr. Claud Russel having last night made attempts to get the main guard under arms, and as he and his associates may endeavour to send letters to our garrisons, we request you would endeavour to prevent their conveying papers to Lord Pigot's hand to be signed by him or their holding correspondence with him, whilst he is under your charge, unless in your presence. As your last resource in any attempt to rescue Lord Pigot *his life must answer for it and this you are to signify to him.*

"P. S.—The nawab has been applied to for a party of horse to be put under your command, and they are for the purpose of conveying quick intelligence to us, and for such other purposes as you shall think necessary." This letter, and the events which followed it, were made the basis of the charge of attempted assassination which was brought against the dependants. It was argued that the defendants were really employing a trick that has sometimes been used in similar cases—the trick, namely, of courting some slight disturbance in order that they might despatch their prisoner with some show of excuse. On the other hand it was urged that the letter must be taken honestly to mean what is said. Horsemen are not generally employed in schemes of assassination, and above all men who were contemplating assassination would not be likely to tell their victim what they were going to do. At the same time it may well be urged that that was part of the scheme. Feeling sure that occasion would soon arise to furnish them with the necessary excuse, they could afford to take all possible

precautions, and to manufacture evidence which would tend to absolve them. But there is no doubt that the letter itself, and the circumstances which followed it, did not amount to judicial proof, and probably assassination was never intended.

The defendants had in fact resolved to remove their prisoner to Chingleput, and the hour which they chose for putting their decision into effect lent colour to suspicion. On the 27th August between 11 and 12 at night Colonel Eidingtoun drove to the Mount and showed Major Horne an order which instructed him to take charge of Lord Pigot. The prisoner was therefore called and told he must go with Colonel Eidingtoun, but he strenuously refused. He was evidently afraid of foul play and thought at the least he would be taken to some unhealthy place, probably Gingee, there to be slowly poisoned by natural agencies. Major Horne said, "My Lord, my orders are positive : I must obey."

Lord Pigot asked where they meant to take him, but Colonel Eidingtoun replied that, though it was not to Gingee, he was not at liberty to say where he was to be taken. Just then a guard of artillery came into the garden, and Lord Pigot, still evidently uneasy, appealed to them. 'They were men,' he said, "who had fought with him at the siege of Madras." He could depend on them, and with them he would stay or under their escort he would demand protection of the King's flag and take refuge with Sir Edward Hughes, the commodore commanding at Madras. He would never consent to go with that traitor Eidingtoun, who had stopped him in the night on the high road, like an assassin." Things began to look serious, for according to the evidence Colonel Eidingtoun twice appealed to the men's sense of duty only to be met with sullen silence. Major Horne then drew Colonel Eidingtoun aside, and after conferring with him, he said to Lord Pigot, "If you will promise to remain quiet for to-night, I will be answerable to Colonel Eidingtoun." Lord Pigot at once gave the desired promise, and there, it seems, the incident ended, for Lord Pigot remained at the Mount from that day till the 28th April 1777, though he was closely guarded and was only allowed to see his friends in the presence of an officer. On the 28th April he became alarmingly ill and the doctors recommended a change as a last resource. He was therefore removed to the "Garden House" in Madras, but this proved of no avail and on the 11th May he died.

The Coroner's inquest which ensued lasted until the 7th August, when the jury brought in their verdict to the effect that the defendants not having the fear of God before their eyes but being moved and reduced by the instigation of the devil . . . did of their malice afore-thought kill and murder

'Lord Pigot' against the peace of our said lord the King his crown and dignity. "The decision was flagrantly absurd, and at the trial in London it was ignored as well by the Attorney General as by the Counsel for the defence. The Coroner asked the jury these questions: firstly, did they believe that death was due to the confinement; secondly, was the confinement illegal; and thirdly, was there any overt act of violence. If the answer to these three questions was in the affirmative, he told them, their verdict must be one of wilful murder. Whether such a direction conforms to the modern definition of murder, is a question which is open to doubt, but which may safely be left on one side, because the answer to the important question whether death was due to confinement rested on the evidence of certain doctors, who laid down the general principle that confinement causes mental excitement, worry and fretfulness, which might bring on disease and so indirectly accelerate death. It was obviously unfair to make the deduction from their general proposition that Lord Pigot's death was directly due to a confinement which has lasted nine months.

Thus died Lord Pigot, Governor of Madras, after being imprisoned by his own subordinates and guarded by his own soldiery in his own seat of Government. He had distinguished himself at the siege of Madras; he had been sent out to right what was wrong, and had been received in India with every mark of respect and honour. The story of his humiliation and of his melancholy death must move at least our compassion. At the same time justice compels us to admit that he brought many of his misfortunes upon himself. The affair of Benfield, no doubt, produced irritation, and had it not been for that irritation, perhaps Lord Pigot would not have insisted so obstinately on his appointment of Mr. Russel, nor his opponents on the transfer of Colonel Stuart. This was not a vital question, and either side might have yielded without loss of dignity. Lord Pigot, however, went further. He asserted his right of veto as a principle of the constitution, and this was not only denied by the dependants but contradicted by the records of the India House. An order of January 31d, 1708, runs:—"Whatever shall be agreed upon by the majority shall be esteemed his order by which each one is to act, and accordingly every individual, even the dissenters themselves, are to perform their parts in the prosecution thereof, and in so doing they do their duty and are not to be blamed for the court." And again in an order of 9th March, 1702, "We do strictly enjoin that all our affairs be transacted in Council and ordered and managed as the majority of the Council shall determine and not otherwise upon any pretence whatsoever. Further by

Act of Parliament the Governor and Council were to be bound and concluded by the opinion of a majority. Therefore whatever may have been Lord Pigot's opinion as to the necessity for Mr. Russel's appointment, it seems fairly clear that he was bound to carry out the decision of the majority by appointing Colonel Stuart. All the violence and wrong originated with him. His first unconstitutional act was to claim the right of rate, and to refuse to obey the majority; his second was to arrest Stratton and Brooke. His opponents, on the other hand, did nothing in violation of the Company's orders until after the arrest of the members. When they formed themselves into a Council and elected a President, there was presented the curious spectacle of two Councils, both sitting at the same time and both illegal; for, since the President and Council were appointed by the Directors, neither party sitting without the other could claim to be a full representative Council. The disaffected majority lay under the further disability of having no duly elected President; consequently their actions were illegal from the moment of the division, and could only be justified by extreme political necessity. Upon this rock their case split. One by one the other charges broke down. The preposterous charges of murder brought against them by the Coroner's jury was ignored by common consent; the Judge set aside the charge of assault and attempted assassination, which the Attorney-General so strenuously argued should be inferred from the incident of the 27th August, and the letter to Major Horne; the attempt to explain the defendant's conduct in the affair of Benfield by a suggestion of corruption was met by the argument that they had not gained a farthing since the arrest of Lord Pigot. Every allowance was made for the difficult position in which they found themselves. Erskine cited the English Revolution in analogy. "Was it imminent danger to the State," he asked, "that Baptists and Independents might believe in transubstantiation and say their prayers without penalty? Yet the suspension of the penal laws was the immediate cause of the Revolution." This was an argument in favour of mitigating punishment, since as he admitted "those patriots were guilty in law, they were protected by an indemnity in Parliament." Were the defendants compelled to do as they did by urgent state necessity or were they not? That was the plain question put to the jury, and the jury found that they were not. The accused were fined £1,000 each, and the fines were at once paid; the public applauded the justice and moderation of the sentence, and from that time George Stratton and his companions disappear from history.

STANLEY P. RICE.

ART. X.—ART EDUCATION IN INDIA.

THE discussion which has arisen in the press and elsewhere on my paper in the October issue of the *Review* seems to show that several points of my argument require further enlargement and explanation to be generally understood. A rather superficial article in the *Statesman* may be taken as representing the popular Anglo-Indian view of the question. "The ancient art of India" that journal observes, "though commendable in its way, did not suit the taste of the Mahomedan invaders and the result was that it began to decay long before the British occupation of the country." That the decline of Indian Art, previous to British rule, was due to the dislike of the Mahomedan conquerors for the Art they found in the country is an astonishing and novel proposition. However much the Mahomedans may have disliked the old Art of India, they were not above making very considerable use of it, and they brought with them such strong artistic tastes of their own as to produce one of the most remarkable developments of Art and Architecture that India has ever seen. The *Statesman* proceeds:—"That the British have done little or nothing to revive ancient Art in India is admitted, and the reason is obvious: they much preferred the Architecture and Arts of their own country to those prevalent in this. From an academic point of view it may be all very well to bewail the departing glories of any particular art or industry but it must be borne in mind that any branch of Art which fails to keep pace with the onward progress, tastes and requirements of the world, must inevitably be left behind and in time be forgotten."

Such arguments as these are typical of the self-complacent Philistinism which has done so much harm in India. This is the popular Philistine argument:—"Indian Art is all very well, but it does not suit our taste and is far behind the times. We give India the benefit of our superior taste and knowledge, and we really do so much good in every way that it matters very little if Indian Art decays. It really does not matter; we give India our own Art and Architecture instead."

I will leave the Philistines to the enjoyment of their tastes and pass on to consider whether we may justly compare the relations which exist between modern English and Indian Art and those which formerly existed between the Art of the Mahomedan invaders and the old Art of India. Any student of Art history will know that there is so essential a difference between the two as to make utterly fallacious an argument

based on such a comparison. English Art and Architecture of the present day are purely eclectic. They are dead languages which are taught in schools and academies in the same way as Latin and Greek. The ancient traditions which guided the architect, artist, and artisan in the Middle Ages and helped to produce those masterpieces which we moderns look up to as the highest exemplars, are lost and gone. Jealously guarded as a precious inheritance by the old Art Guilds, they were handed down, more or less completely, to comparatively modern times through the apprenticeship system. Each successive generation grafted its own individuality on to the old traditions, but passed on a vigorous and healthy stock to the next. So though the history of English Art shows that the Tudors cared little for the taste of the Normans, the Jacobean little for the great work of the Tudors, and the next generation little for the taste of its predecessors, yet, through all these changes of taste, Art retained a healthy and vigorous existence, because it was an essential part of the national life and was guided throughout by principles and traditions which never changed. Then came the great revolution in industry and trade caused by the introduction of steam power and the development of mechanical science, sweeping away the apprenticeship system, and what remained of the old traditions, and creating a totally different condition of social life. Where is English Art now? It does not exist, in the same sense as Norman, Tudor, Elizabethan, Jacobean, Queen Anne and Georgian Art existed. It is no longer a part of our national life. It is the possession of only a small and privileged class, a luxury, and it must be said, too often a pretence. We fill our Art Museums with the works of past generations for designers to study. We build our houses not in the Victorian style, but in various imitation styles of old English, Italian, French, or German Gothic and Renaissance. We decorate them in Japanese, Indian, Moorish or Pompeian. The Government spends large sums in Art education; in former days Art education took care of itself with much better results. County Councils spend, and too often squander, large sums on technical education, with the result that the old system of apprenticeship is beginning to be recognised as the best means of imparting technical instruction. There is reason to hope that English Art is beginning to extricate itself from the quagmire of ignorance and folly through which it has been dragged for almost a century, but it is recovering its position only by going back to the solid ground on which it grew and flourished in past ages. In the course of generations new traditions may develop and Art may again become a part of our national life, but the period

which immediately followed the sweeping away of the old traditions will always be known as the most corrupt and degraded in English Art.

This, then, is the difference between the Art of the Mahomedan invaders of India and that which we introduce into this country. The former was a living tongue perfectly understood by the Indian Art workmen; the latter is a dead language, imperfectly understood by Anglo-Indians themselves and a meaningless jargon to the natives. The average Anglo-Indian may be perfectly satisfied with the sham Gothic, sham Elizabethan or Jacobean, and sham Classic styles which are thought suitable for our public buildings in India, but no one who cares to consider the question seriously can find anything but disaster to Art in the short-sighted policy which has made such false principles the basis of Anglo-Indian Architecture. Fergusson in the introduction to his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* has stated the case clearly:—"Architecture in India is still a living Art, practised on the principles which caused its wonderful development in Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries; and there consequently and there alone, the student of Architecture has a chance of seeing the real principles of the Art in action. In Europe, at the present day, Architecture is practised in a manner so anomalous and abnormal that few, if any, have hitherto been able to shake off the influence of a false system and to see that the art of ornamental building can be based on principles of common sense, and that, when so practised, the result not only is, but must be, satisfactory. Those who have had an opportunity of seeing what perfect buildings the ignorant, uneducated natives of India are now producing, will easily understand how success may be achieved, while those who observe what failures the best educated and most talented architects in Europe are constantly perpetrating, may, by a study of Indian models, easily see why this must inevitably be the result. It is only in India that the two systems can now be seen practised side by side—the educated and intellectual European always failing because his principles are wrong, and the feeble and uneducated native as inevitably succeeding because his principles are right." This was written twenty-five years ago, but we still continue to ignore the lessons taught by the history of Art in England during the last hundred years and carry on a policy which has done more harm to Indian Art as a whole than the competition of Manchester or any other external influence, a policy which, I am convinced, can only end in the eventual extinction of most, if not all, of the traditional Art of India.

If the Schools of Art in India were twenty times as numerous they could not counteract the influence which the

Public Works Department, by its monopoly of architectural style, exerts on Indian Art. It is not difficult to understand what that influence is. A great many of the industrial arts of India are inseparably connected with architecture. Wood carving and inlaying, stone carving and inlaying, *repoussé* and inlaid metal work, decorative painting in oil, tempera, lacquer and fresco, pottery (terra-cotta and tiles), and a good many minor arts. Indirectly most of the other art industries are more or less influenced by architectural style. Now as long as the traditional architectural styles of Indian Art are followed in Indian public buildings there is an enormous field open for the hereditary Art handicraftsmen, who, by the caste system, have preserved artistic traditions in India in the same way as the Art Guilds and the apprenticeship system preserved them in Europe. Of course in very many public buildings a lavish expenditure on decoration is out of the question. No one would dream of reviving the architectural triumphs of Akbar or Shahjehan ; but still there has been a considerable amount of money spent on public buildings in decoration which artistically is worthless. If the same amount had been spent in good Indian decoration, many art industries which are now threatened with extinction might have been revived and Art in India would have benefitted enormously. For it must never be forgotten that the Art, or the semblance of it, which we introduce into public buildings, is trustfully regarded by most of the natives of India as the highest exposition of modern European civilisation and culture. The extraordinary discoveries of modern European Science must continually astonish and impress the natives of India, and we cannot expect them to understand that modern European Art is not on the same level as modern European Science. It is impossible for them to realise that the Victoria Terminus at Bombay is not the highest expression of Gothic Art, or that Government House at Calcutta is not the finest type of the Renaissance. Even if these buildings were what the natives believe them to be, the wrong we do to Art in India would be the same, for it is from the blind imitation of the style of these buildings that the decay and degradation of Indian Art proceed. If we set an Indian fashion in Architecture most of the natives of India will follow that fashion. Then instead of working blindly in a foreign style, the native caste architects, builders and art workmen will be following their own hereditary art instincts and traditions. The Indian Princes, Rajahs and others, who now lavish large sums on trumpery European decoration, would spend their money in trying to excel what the Government did in public buildings. When Indian Art was thus turned again into its natural channel, India

would afford the most magnificent field in the whole British Empire for the development of Art, instead of being, as it is now, almost the most hopeless and unprofitable.

It may be necessary to point out why, from an artistic point of view, the preservation of the living styles of Indian architecture is necessary for the preservation of a healthy and vigorous life in Indian Art. Those of the art workmen of India who have not been driven to agriculture for a livelihood, or have not been converted into ignorant copyists of Public Works patterns, exist chiefly by the manufacture of bric-à-brac for the European market. Let us consider for a moment the conditions under which they work. They make tea tables, tea trays and table covers, chairs, brackets, vases and "curio-ities," on contract with the dealers in such wares. The dealers care nothing for the artistic excellenc of what they sell ; whatever will catch the popular taste is to them the most desirable, and it is hardly necessary to say that the contract system as worked by them is not conducive to high artistic effort. The workmen are mere drudges ; their commercial instincts and not their artistic faculties are developed by the work they are compelled to do. How different it was when Architecture which created their Art afforded it nourishment and support. They worked in a congenial atmosphere and were continually spurred to higher efforts by a spirit of artistic emulation. Their work was not something which was shipped off to Europe and never seen again. If a man did a fine piece of carving it was discussed and criticised not only by his fellow workmen, it became the talk of the bazar and one of the sights of the town, and remained for succeeding generations to admire and imitate. If a private house or palace was to be decorated the owner took a personal interest in the work and encouraged the workmen, for he felt a pride in the adornment of his home and the home of his family.* By such means the artistic sense both of the people and of the workmen was kept alive. The present Public Works System dries up the springs of artistic sentiment and checks their flow at the very source. It does not require a very strong imagination to understand that the

* Since this was written I have come across an exact illustration in a Report by Mr. J. L. Kipling on the Punjab Exhibition of 1881-82. He says :—" In building a house, for example, the work people are all paid wages more or less regularly, but for any extra spurt or during the execution of delicate or difficult details they are often liberally treated with sweetmeats, tobacco, sharbat, etc. In some districts when a carpenter has made a carven *chaukut* for door or window he takes a holiday to exhibit it, and spreading a sheet on the ground lays it down in front of the house it is to adorn, and sits there to receive the congratulations and gifts of his admiring townsmen. As much as Rs. 100 have in one day, been thrown to the carver of a particularly good piece of work."

one system develops the artistic sense of the people and creates a class of good art workmen and the other turns all artisans into mechanical drudges.

A correspondent in the *Pioneer*, though admitting that the architectural training of the Public Works Engineers is inadequate, contended that they could do much more artistic work if it were not for the cheese-paring policy of the administration. This idea is born of the common superstition that Art has no part or parcel in constructive design; it is only concerned in ornamentation, and, as ornament is a luxury, Art as a whole is included in the same category. It is difficult for the public to understand that, even if the sum of money allotted for a building is insufficient for ornamentation, a better artistic effect will be obtained by a well-trained architect than by the most skilful builder who has had no artistic training—for the Art of the architect begins with the plan and construction of a building, the Art of the engineer begins only when he has done with the construction.

The question often arises—is it not an artistic anomaly to introduce Indian styles into European buildings for European purposes, in the semi-European cities of India? This is one of those peculiar archæological scruples of the modern Art critic which artists and architects of all periods previous to the nineteenth century have resolutely ignored, and surely the artistic and architectural achievements of the nineteenth century are not so great as to justify it in setting up any new canons or principles of taste. One of the most striking characteristics of a healthy and vigorous style of Art or Architecture has always been its readiness, even anxiety, to adopt and assimilate new ideas, and perhaps nothing is more characteristic of the weakness and degeneracy of modern European building styles than the perpetual anxiety of architects over historical correctness of style. The Renaissance style, which is the style most affected by Anglo-Indians, is in itself a remarkable instance of the contempt with which all the great architects have treated the archæological scruples which so trouble the minds of modern critics, for what more glaring anomaly could be imagined than to take the style of pagan Roman and Greek temples as a model for the Christian churches and palaces of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries? If art criticism in those days had taken the lines which we generally follow now, the Renaissance style would never have been created. For my part I cannot see why it should be less appropriate to adapt living Indian styles of architecture to our requirements in India than to make a Bombay railway station a grotesque imitation of a Gothic cathedral, or to take Hyde Park as a model for the *maidan* of Calcutta. The ultimate test of a work of Art is not the

historical consistency of its style but its aesthetic perfection. If we were a people bringing with us into India, like the Greeks of Alexander's army, strong artistic convictions and workmen following a living artistic style we should doubtless succeed, as the Greeks did, in originating a new development of Indian Art, in which the best traditions of the East and West were combined. But, when we have nothing better than the dry bones of extinct styles of Architecture and Art to offer India, it is surely right to exert ourselves to the utmost to keep alive the living traditions of Indian styles and to give them a chance of adapting themselves to our requirements. There is no reason to doubt that Indian Architecture can be adapted to any Anglo-Indian requirements ; Fergusson, who devoted his lifetime to the study of it and was himself a highly trained architect, had no doubt on this point. If, indeed, Indian Art and Architecture have lost the power they once possessed of adapting themselves to changed conditions, then they are already moribund and hardly worth preserving. But we have never made any real attempt to discover whether Indian Architecture still possesses any of the vital power it surely had in generations not remote from ours.

I do not pretend that the pristine splendour of Indian Art can be revived by a notification, or that the mistakes of fifty years can be wiped out by a Government order. But I do maintain that when principles are wrong the best thing is to put them right, and my endeavour has been to show what are the right principles for Art Education in India.

E. B. HAVELL,

ART. XI.—SRI TIRUMALA SEVARI.

WE have always thought it strange that while the Great Tirumala has always been recognised as Tirumala Naick yet his agnomen of Sevari does not appear to be known to the average Hindu. The school-boy at Madura will point without mis-direction to the palace he calls Tirumal Naick's, he will speak glibly of the king's greatness, and very much more will he say of Tirumal Naick, but who Tirumala Sevari was he knows not. How came Madura to become Tirumala's capital we asked. And the school-boy may be excused for his ignorance. Perhaps the fault lies partly with the historian.

Sri Tirumala Sevari was, without exception, the greatest of all the rulers of Madura in modern times. Between the age of thirty and forty he was crowned king at Madura in January 1623; and long and gloriously did he reign for six and thirty years. But before his coronation he held his court in Trichinopoly for twelve years. There he contracted so severe an attack of catarrh that the royal physicians gave him up in despair. And now to all and sundry it was known that the great gods of the River Kavéri, Rangla-Nayaka and Jumbá-Keshwara, either would not or could not help the king in his extremity. So the king determined to visit Madura, for which place he set out. But his illness waxed worse and worse till at last he could no longer bear the fatigue of travelling. Sick unto death he halted at Dindigul. There, on a certain night, he was sleeping uneasily in his tent. Aches darted through his body and pains held his joints; his brain gambolled in vain imaginations, while at other times his heart sank low in black despair. Thus ran the gamut of his sickening wail. Then came to him a pleasing vision. The God Sundareshwara and the goddess Minakshi appeared and vowed that if he made Madura his permanent capital they would cure him of his malady so completely that he would never have a return of it. After making this conditional promise they gave him sacred ashes enjoining him to swallow a portion and to rub his body with the rest. Out of this dream Tirumala awoke just before the dawn of day. The Brahmans and his close attendants having approached him for their respective services, he related to them what he had seen and heard in his vision. Naturally they advised him to obey the wish of the gods so clearly expressed. Whereupon, on the spot, he unhesitatingly vowed that, if he was cured, not only would he make Madura his capital but he would spend there five lakhs of *pons* (£100,000 on sacred works. The vow made, it miraculously

VOL. CXII.]

occurred shortly after that, while he was leisurely cleaning his teeth early in the morning as is customary with Hindus, he felt the disease had left him entirely. He was overcome with joy ; and thenceforth devoted his life to the worship and service of the gods at Madura and adopted the Saiva faith, of which the sacred ashes and the five letters *Na, Ma, Si, Va, Ya* are the symbols. Having arrived at Madura he received the sceptre in the presence of the goddess Minahshi. His bodily health sensibly improved daily ; and in gratitude he set about to fulfil his vow by erecting buildings of several kinds. Piles of grace and beauty and structures of utility arose in all directions. From distant climes came cunning artificers ; fine granite, and the beautiful black Madura marble were dug out of quarries ; whole forests of timber were cut down ; and mountains of the finest bricks burnt. To adorn the principal idols costly jewellery in abundance was manufactured, the richest fabrics were spun to cover them, while great cars of curiously carved and scented and costly woods were built for their conveyance. Then was to be seen in the course of slow and steady erection an enormous brick and stone palace of luxury and splendour unprecedented. Horses and elephants in thousands were bought and caparisoned with such extraordinary richness as to swell the king's pomp and to make him more famous still amongst men. This extraordinary expenditure of money and activity soon caused Madura to become rich and prosperous once more, her geographical position and physical resources enabling her to win and hold for herself a place among the cities of South India. There is but little doubt that, had Tirumala not fallen ill and his dream not coincidentally brought him health, Trichinopoly, not Madura, would have been the capital of the Nayakkan dynasty. There is no more unsuited a place for a fortress than Madura. Lying in the midst of a plain, with no rock or eminence for a citadel, unprotected by sea, river or morass, it could never have withstood a skillful or protracted siege. At the time it depended on protection from outside invasion on a high double wall, a wide ditch and seventy-two bastions ; but though these works were constructed with much solidity, yet they covered such an extent of ground that for the defence to be strong a very large body of men was required. The town itself had a square area of a mile, all sides being equally exposed to attack. Thus it can easily be seen that a very large army indeed was required for its successful defence. Tirumala's three immediate predecessors recognised all this and abandoned Madura, his immediate predecessor building a fort near Trichinopoly (which was for some time the capital of the Nayakkans) and fortifying Chidamboram. Madura was thus

practically deserted, for not only was it inferior to Trichinopoly as a place of arms but it was also much worse as a place of residence from a Hindu point of view. Through the latter flowed the holy Kavéri, a noble river, well filled through the greater part of the year, never even partially dry at any time. In Madura there is no river that is full for even a few days at a time. Round about Madura a much-dreaded epidemic of fever always rages. The Nayakkan kings for these reasons chiefly cared not to reside in Madura ; and we find Orme and others suppose Trichinopoly to be the only capital of the Southern Kings. When a king died his successor came to Madura as a matter of form to be crowned. The probabilities therefore are that Madura was capital in name, being visited from time to time by her kings as a holy place, the abode of Brahmans and powerful gods, the anger of whom it would be bad policy to provoke by indifference or neglect. Besides, her antiquity and the splendour and wealth of her temples would prevent her falling rapidly into obscurity. All these considerations notwithstanding, it goes without saying that Madura would have sunk to the level of an ordinary Hindu town had not the Great Tirumala made her his capital and done so much for her. Not only is Tirumala Sevari to be remembered as a liberal, sumptuous and charitable prince and a mighty architect, but his reign is also to be noted on account of the many wars he waged and the formidable rebellions he crushed. He it was who for the first time shook off the power of the Vijayanagar Yoke. Shortly after his accession he determined to make himself independent ; and anticipating the probable consequences of his rebellion he made considerable preparations for war. He massed 30,000 troops in Trichinopoly, and resided there for a time to supervise the erection and strengthening of its fortifications. Further, he built two new fortresses in his northern frontier ; and did not return to Madura till he placed, as he considered, his kingdom in a complete state of defence. But his subjects were greatly alarmed. The country was restless and excited, feelings, by no means, allayed by the general prevalence of famine. But this state of things passed away in the course of a few years when it was found that no dreaded armies of the Vijayanagar Kayár appeared. Thus it looked as if Madura would go unpunished. Taking into consideration the fact that Tirumala thought it necessary to put forth all his energies to repel invasion, and that not even the semblance of an attack appeared, the inference naturally is that the Vijayanagar Empire had become effete just then, being convulsed with internal struggles—and that the Pennukonda Dynasty of Vijayanagar had terminated about this time in consequence of protracted civil wars.

Our space is too limited to deal with the many events of the

reign of the great Tirumala. In this sketch, however, we think it necessary to notice a reverse that struck Tirumala almost to the ground. It curiously happens that in the lives of most great men a crushing blow comes when least expected. As with men so with Empires. Tirumala's predecessors had always adopted a policy of strict isolation. But watching the course of events in South India the king resolved to be more adventurous; to enter into alliances with foreign powers; to take part in the political movements which were agitating the Peninsula; and thus to raise Madura to a higher position than it ever occupied in the eyes of the Hindu world. To attain his end the first step he thought necessary was to repudiate the vassalage that the Emperor of Vijayanagar as Lord Paramount claimed, and thus render the Kingdom of Madura independent in every respect. Tirumala to strengthen his rebellious position, induced the Nayakkan kings of Tanjore and Ginji to join him, so that the Narasinga, as the Emperor of Vijayanagar was called, soon found that of all his tributaries, the king of Mysore alone remained faithful to him. But the Nayakkan of Tanjore soon lost his courage, for the warlike attitude of the Narasinga alarmed him. He accordingly not only withdrew from the league without notice but also betrayed the plans of the confederates, after formally tendering his submission. Now the Narasinga immediately marched on Ginji threatening to lay siege to that strong fortress. But his plans were disconcerted by a politician he was not prepared for. Tirumala had entered on an offensive and defensive alliance with the Kingdom of Golconda. So, when the Narasinga turned southwards to begin his invasion, the Souba of Golconda invaded the Vijayanagar territories, desolating them with fire and sword. This diversion compelled the Narasinga to re-trace his steps. He came up with his enemy, fell on him and drove him across the frontier with some loss. But the Souba, not dismayed, gathered together a larger army with which he succeeded in defeating the Narasinga, who now perceived that he was utterly unable to cope single-handed with his powerful neighbours. Resolving, therefore, to throw himself on the generosity of his unruly southern vassals, he marched southwards to negotiate with the Nayakkans. They, one and all, decided to be his allies. Fair terms were arranged with the usual oriental accompaniments of large promises, numberless interviews and sumptuous entertainments. In fine, nothing could be more cordial than the relations between the Emperor and the three kings of the south, his vassals. But no warlike move was made by them for over a year. This gave the Souba time to consolidate what he had gained by force of arms, all fortresses being securely garrisoned. In the meantime ill-fared

it with the Narasinga: A succession of misfortunes, such as seldom fall to the lot of a powerful monarch, overtook him. Jealousies and dissensions having sprung up amongst those he was most anxious to conciliate, neither friends nor power had he. And when he attempted to entrench himself in the jungles north of Tanjore, then in the possession of the tribe of Kullars, his misadventures increased. Forsaken by his courtiers, the few troops left him quickly dispersed. In privation and hardship he spent the next four months, till he, at one time the mightiest and richest of princes in all India, had humbly to crave protection of the Rajah of Mysore, till lately one of his vassals; and to the honour of the Rajah, be it stated that he was treated in a manner not unbecoming his rank and position.

Now the Souba of Golconda was bent on extending his conquests in the south. The Narasinga subdued, his tributaries too he determined to subdue. So straight on Ginji he marched. The craven Nayakkan of Tanjore submitted without a blow. Not so the Great Tirumala. He had marked out his policy for himself. Seeing that the Tanjore King had gone over to the Souba, he resolved to create a diversion by inviting Idal Khan, the Souba of the Dakkan, to come with his Muhammadans to assist him in defending Ginji. To the Muhammadan Prince he sent an embassy that was so far successful that it procured the despatch of 17,000 cavalry to the assistance of Tirumala, who with 30,000 infantry of his own hurried to the relief of Ginji. But what was his mortification when he saw the General in command of his allies going over to the foe and besieging the town he had been sent to relieve. Thus was Tirumala placed in a position of great danger and difficulty. Happily for him, however, at the time, some of the Narasinga's adherents had been levying troops and causing disturbances in the northern parts of his lost dominions. On this account the troops of the Souba of Golconda had to fall back and the siege of Ginji was relinquished. So the troops of Madura entered Ginji. Strong by nature and admirably fortified, with stores of artillery and ammunition, and provisions of all kinds sufficient for a siege of considerable duration, there was no possibility of an enemy taking it either by assault or by starving the defenders out. Thus Tirumala thought the treachery of his allies would be of little account. But his calculations were all too soon upset—and he himself was reduced to the greatest straits. Being of different castes his soldiers began to quarrel with those whom they had relieved at Ginji. So violent became their animosity that it burst out into an open riot, in the midst of which the gates were thrown open to the enemy, who poured in to secure enormous booty.

Quantities of gold and silver, heaps of rare pearls and precious stones of large size and the finest water rewarded the patience of the besiegers. And this success incited them to fresh conquests and more extensive invasions. In dismay Tirumala fled to Madura, and shutting himself up in that fortress awaited with anxiety the progress of events. What he devoutly hoped for was that Madura being so far away from the enemy's operations would not attract his attention. But he was disappointed. Flushed with victory the Muhammadan troops burst upon Tanjore, took it, and came upon Madura like a flood spreading in their train destruction and desolation. And now came upon Tirumala the days of evil. His courage forsook him; irresolution and fatuity doomed him: without a struggle he ignominiously gave up his kingdom. To the Muhammadan General he paid on the spot a large sum of money and promised besides a yearly tribute. Thus, without a drop of blood being spilt, in the days of the Great Tirumala, the greatest without exception of the Nayakkar Dynasty, Madura became once for all a dependency of Vijayanagar.

To their own country the Muhammadans now marched off laden with spoil, while Tirumala was left to chew the cud of bitter reflection. Be his reflections what they may, it is evident they were productive of no good. A Jesuit writer, speaking of the foregoing events, says that, instead of combining against the Muhammadans as they should have, the Nayakkar Rulers acted in the manner that the words quoted below disclose:—

“Ne peuserent ju’la tour mentes leurs propres sajets, que leur imprudence et leux lâcheté avaient déjà livrés aux horreurs de l’invasion Eunnemie Leur orgueil sembla se consoler des humiliations et des possesses, qui les avaient déshonorés, en appesantis sant le jong de leur despotisme sur leurs peuples. Les concessions les spoliations recommencèrent avec une telle cruauté qu’elles firent universellement regretter la domination des Mogols.”

With the varying changes in the remaining years of the Great Tirumala's reign our limited space will not permit us to deal. He died at Madura after a most eventful reign of six and thirty years, being nearly 70 years of age at the time. There is no authentic record of the actual cause of his death; but there are extant some curious and interesting traditions touching its circumstance. One is to the effect that Tirumala persistently favored greatly a pretended *guani* or sage, who was in reality a Christian Missionary in disguise. So extraordinary an ascendancy did this teacher gain over the mind of the king that it is said, he almost, if not quite, won

him even to Christianity, a sign of the change being the King's refusal to erect any more temples or spend any further sums in the performance of acts of religious charity. Taking note of this change the Brahmans, it is said, formulated their plans for the King's destruction. Some two or three of them went to the King secretly and mysteriously informed him of the discovery of great treasure in a vault under the Temple of Minakshi. They asked that he should go with them unattended, when they would point out the spot. Having no suspicion of foul play he acted in accordance with their wishes. Once in the vault over its mouth a huge granite slab was quickly placed and the king left to his fate. A good deal, *pro* and *con*, is said regarding this tradition. Some consider it childish and incredible, while others say that truth lies in it as deep as in a well. In the first place it is well known that the great Robert de Nobilibus founded an important Mission in the town of Madura during Tirumala's reign, and with the direct countenance and assistance of the king, after many years of labour, made a very considerable number of converts. Owing to the jealousy of his fellow-priests of another order, he was compelled, under directions from Rome, to leave Madura and proceed to a distant part of India, his departure being the signal for the sudden decline and death of his Mission. Robert de Nobilibus, be it noted, always professed to be a high-caste Brahman from Rome, and always dressed and lived up to that character. In the next place, it is not likely that the Brahmans would allow their crime to become a matter of history if they could possibly help it. Hence, the silence of native manuscripts as to the cause of the king's death. Then it must be borne in mind that the alleged manner of bringing about the king's murder was one of the few modes in which Brahmans could conscientiously commit that crime, as there was no flowing of blood. Further, it enabled them to translate the hero to heaven for the edification of his worshipping subjects. All the above has been urged in favor of this tradition. There is yet another story as to how the Great Tirumala met his death. It would appear that he had an intrigue with the wife of a Bhattam or priest of the temple, and carried on his amours after nightfall. Returning to the palace in the dark, after one of these interviews, he fell into an unprotected well and was drowned. The Bhattam finding out what had happened was so terribly alarmed that, to avoid suspicion, he filled in the well. Then informing the Brahmans of what he had done, the graceful translation to heaven was invented.

What is perhaps the most authentic report on record of the king's demise is that which occurs in a letter written just

after it took place by Father Proenza and dated Trichinopoly, 1659. In it there is a hint of a sudden death, but no reference to murder. We quote that portion of the letter which is interesting as it gives the writer's view of Tirumala's character—" Tiroumalei—Nayaken u'eut pas le temps de jouir de cette victoire; il fut appelé à rendre compte à Dieu des maux que sa perfide politique avait attirés sur son peuple et sur les royannes voisins. Il mourut à l'âge de soixante—quinze ans, après trente années d'égarement. On ne peut lui refuser de grandes qualités; mais il en ternit la gloire vers la fin de sa vie par des vices et des folies que rien ne saurait justifier. Son règne fut illustré par des ouvrages d'une magnificence vraiment royale; de ce nombre sont la pagode de Maduré, quelques édifices, publics, et surtout le palais royal dont les proportions, colossales et la hardiesse étonnante rappellent les anciens monuments de Thebes. Il aimait et protégeait la religion chrétienne dont il reconnaissait l'excellence; mais il n'eut jamais le courage d'accepter les conséquences de sa conviction. Le plus grand obstacle à sa conversion vint de ses deux cents femmes, dont les plus distinguées furent brûlées sur son bûcher, selon la coutume barbare de ces nations."

We might observe, in passing, that many natives of Madura point to his title of Sevari, as evidence in favor of Tirumala's conversion to Christianity. Learned pundits, however, question whether this is evidence for or against the fact, seeing that Sevari is the name of a certain Hindu god and might well be adopted by an orthodox Hindu, though amongst men of high-caste it was never a common title.

E. H. BROOKES.

ART. XII.—THE DOCTRINES OF JAINISM.

*Moksha (Salvation), Moksha Marag (The Way To It)
And Moksha Phal (Its Consequences).*

HAVING briefly shown that it is wrong to include Jainism under Atheism, I come now to the principal part of my subject, that is, the description of the Three Jewels, namely, Right Knowledge, Right Belief, and Right Conduct.

In the first place, let us see what knowledge is. Knowledge is the distinguishing attribute of soul. It is the Suvabhara (Nature) of soul to know. Knowledge is of five kinds, namely, Mati Gyan (sensuous knowledge), Shruti Gyan (inferred knowledge), Avadha Gyan (knowledge of bodies of limited times and places), Mun Parya Gyan (knowledge of what passes in others' minds), and Kaiwal Gyan (knowledge of all things of all times and places).

Mati Gyan is the knowledge which we have through our senses, such as the knowledge of colours, smells, tastes, sounds and the like. Shruti Gyan is the knowledge we gain through inferences from our sensuous knowledge. Avadha Gyan is the knowledge which soul has, not through the senses but by its own power, of bodies of limited times and of limited places, such as the Rishees have knowledge of the several past and future births of themselves and of others, or they have the knowledge of distant places. Shruti Gyan is Kaiwal Gyan, the knowledge which Rishees have of what passes in others' minds is the knowledge of all things of the past, however remote it may be,—of the present, and of the future, without any limitation, and of all places.

The three latter kinds of knowledge may not be within the two former kinds, but they cannot be inconsistent with them. Mati and Shruti Gyans are only part of the whole knowledge, hence they cannot contain all truth. As we have only two former kinds of knowledge; there may be truth of which we may not be conscious; but still, if it is consistent with our consciousness we cannot say that, as it is not within our consciousness, it is untrue.

These are the five principal kinds of Gyan (knowledge), but with reference to its fine increase and decrease, there may be many divisions. Every Sansari Jiva (worldly soul) has latent power of the fifth kind of Gyan; but as it is in bondage with Karmas, this power does not manifest itself. As Jiva gradually progresses, this power of Gyan manifests itself more and more. Animals with one organ of sense, have less knowledge than those with two; those with two have less than those with three;

those with three have less than those with four ; those with four have less than those with five ; and animals with five organs of sense have less knowledge than a man or God has. Again, man has various stages of knowledge ; the more he purifies himself from Rag Dwaish and the like, the more knowledge he has. He passes through the various stages of Mati, Shruti, Avadha and Mun Parya, till when he gets himself fully released from the influences of moral vices and of Karamas, Kaiwal Gyan illumines him and the whole universe to him, and he is exalted to the Highest.

The editor remarks that the principle that, when two things having different attributes combine, each tends to produce its own attributes in the other, and they form a combination which is something different from either, is inapplicable to the case of the interaction of matter and soul. In his opinion, the word "things" means only material things. In the first place, there must be some authority to assign such a limited meaning to the word. Is soul not under the category of thing ? Can we call soul a non-thing ? If so, it means that we do not believe in the existence of soul. Then that is another question which was not within the scope of my reply to the editor's note, there I was only explaining the interaction of matter and soul, taking for granted the existence of both of them.

The principle by which I explained the interaction of matter and soul is a general principle, being applicable to all kinds of Being. The principle is not an especial one, it is not such as to apply only to any specific class of Being, but it governs the whole category of Being. The principle will equally apply, when any Drabas (beings) combine, no matter whether they are matter and matter ; matter and soul ; soul and soul. Soul cannot be regarded as falling out of the category of Being. As soul and matter both fall under the same category, *viz.*, of Being, the principle which is applicable to the category of Being, must hold equally good with soul as well as with matter.

Draba is, in Jain Shastras, defined as that which has Sat (existence) as its Lakshan (distinguishing attribute), or that which has attributes and conditions to constitute it. Attributes are of two kinds, general and especial. A general attribute is that which is found in all the Drabas. Sat (existence) is a general attribute found in all the Drabas. Gyan (knowledge) is an especial attribute found only in Jiwa (soul). Saparash (touch), Ras (taste), Gandh (smell), and Barun (colour) are especial attributes found only in Pudgal (matter). As the general attribute of matter and soul is the same, the principle above enunciated will apply to both.

In understanding the doctrines of Jainism, it must be borne in mind that Jainism is not an absolute dualism. It is dualism as well as monoism. It is, as I have in a previous article said, an Unaikantic system. An Unaikantic system describes Being or Reality with reference to all its parts, aspects, conditions and relations. Whatever theory it inculcates, it does so not absolutely, but with a certain Naya (point of view). Now Jainism does not teach that Draba (Being or Reality) is absolutely one or two. Being is one so far as Sat (existence) is concerned, it is two so far as the especial attribute of Gyan (knowledge) is concerned. It is six with reference to other especial attributes. It is infinite with reference to its infinite attributes and conditions. The attribute or power of Sat or Drabatava Bhava is of course one, but it inheres in all Being, whether soul or non-soul. So far as this Drabatava Bhava or Sat is concerned, Draba (Being) is one and Jainism is monoism; but looking at soul and non-soul in which this power is manifest, Draba (Being) is two and Jainism is dualism. So far as the cause of the universe is Sat (existence), Jainism is monoism, but we find this Sat manifested in soul and non-soul which are composing the world, and consequently we are led to regard them as its cause, Jainism is dualism.

Jainism, in reality, comprises all religions in itself. It contains the doctrines of all religions, but with a certain Naya (point of view). It does not say that the theory of any religion is false. It is in peace with all religions, holding what they teach to be true, though not absolutely, but with a certain Naya (point of view). Jainism itself does not propound any doctrine absolutely, but whatever it teaches, it does so in a certain way.

Now, take for instance the doctrine that Parmata (God) is the cause of the world. According to other religions, this doctrine is absolutely true, God cannot be other than the creator. But according to Jainism God can be called creator only in a particular point of view. Jainism teaches that Atma and Parmatma are one; but so long as Atma does not manifest its real nature, and is under the influence of matter, it is Atma, but the moment it gets released from its influence, it becomes Parmatma. Atma even when in bondage with Karmas, is as regards its Suvabhava (nature) Parmatma. Now cause of the world is soul and non-soul, but as soul is an important factor, and as we do not, in practical life, take notice of minor factors, but speak only of important ones, we are justified to hold Parmatma as the cause of the world.

Further the editor remarks that I confound two distinct questions, *viz.*, the question of the effect produced by the interaction of soul and matter, and the question of the way in which that effect is produced. Now the effect of this interaction is, brief-

ly speaking, the Sansar (the world). By this interaction soul is infected with Rag Dwaish and Moh (love, hatred) and ignorance). It is by this interaction that matter is animated. It is the result of this interaction that we find our bodies different from the dead matter of a stone. All the various conditions of Jiva in this world are owing to this interaction. All the conditions of Jiva—from insect to man or God, are caused by the interaction of soul and matter.

Now as regards how that effect is produced, the reply is, that it is produced by the conformance with this general principle that when two things having different attributes combine, each tends to produce its own attributes in the other and they form a combination which is something different from either.

Again the editor also observes that for the proof the way in which the effect is produced, we must look elsewhere, than to our experience of the interaction of matter and matter. The meaning of this observation clearly is, that we admit a principle in the case of the interaction of matter and matter, because we are capable of knowing matter through our senses, but we do not admit the same principle in the case of the interaction of soul and matter, because we are not conscious of soul through our senses. It is not other than saying that we should not believe in anything beyond our sensuous knowledge. Now this proposition is most assuredly antagonistic to all religious systems in the world. When we find a principle holding good in the case of the interaction of matter and matter, what warranty have we got to say that it will not apply in the case of the interaction of soul and matter? When both soul and matter are under the same category, that is, when both of them belong to the category of Being, why should we doubt that a law which we find applicable in the case of the interaction of matter and matter, will also apply in the case of that of soul and matter? Of course the latter experience is not within the former, but at the same time it is not inconsistent with it; and its consistency with the former tells more in its favour.

There is a difference between a thing being beyond, and inconsistent with, the sensuous knowledge and its being beyond, yet consistent with it. In the first place, we of course have little ground for belief, while in the latter we cannot do but believe unless we have something awfully strong in favour of disbelief. A thing may be beyond our sensuous knowledge, but if it is consistent with it, we are justified to say that it is warranted by our sensuous knowledge and we have more reason to believe it.

The editor further remarks that I, while referring to the testimony of our consciousness, am reasoning in a circle. I do not see how I was doing so. When in my reply to the editor's note, I was describing the interaction of soul and matter, I was not proving their existence, but I took them for granted.

The very existence of consciousness indicates the existence of soul. In order to understand the matter more clearly, I must ask what is consciousness? Is it not the knowledge of what passes in one's minds? If consciousness is knowledge, then to whom if not to soul does this knowledge belong? You speak of being conscious, then who, if not soul, is conscious? If I admit the existence of consciousness, I must necessarily admit the existence of soul.

It comes to this that consciousness is an attribute of soul and this attribute has in itself its own changes. Then I ask by what, if not by some second entity, these changes are caused? These very changes show that there exists, besides soul, some second entity.

As Jiva is as regards number infinite, the surrounding objects comprise both soul and non-soul, there being little doubt that what we perceive by our senses is matter.

We have, under the present development of our nature, only two kinds of Gyan (knowledge), namely, Mati Gyan (sensuous knowledge) and Shruti Gyan (inferred knowledge). We of course are not, in our present situation, able to compare matter and soul completely, but we can compare them as far as our sensuous and inferred knowledges are concerned. It is too bold to assert that we are altogether unconscious of matter and soul. Besides this, soul and matter are compared by those who had attained Godhood and who had Kaiwal Gyan (pure entire knowledge), and Jain principles have their source in their teachings.

Now it may be, here, remarked that, when not only Jainism but all religious claim to Revelation from God, how can we test their veracity. The reply is that true Revelation is that which stands to reason and which is, though not within, yet consistent with, the sensuous and the inferred knowledge. Jain precepts may not be quite within Mati and Shruti Gyans, but still they are not inconsistent with such Gyans.

The Jain doctrine of differentiating Being into soul and matter, or properly speaking into soul and non-soul, though not thoroughly proved by sensuous and inferred knowledge, is still supported by such knowledge and is not repugnant to common sense.

It is admitted by the editor that we know ego and non-ego subjectively and objectively respectively. No matter how we know them, but it is certain that, to some extent, we know them, and consequently we can compare them as far as our knowledge goes. And the results of our comparisons, far from being inconsistent, are rather in conformity with the Jain principles and hence we have little ground to doubt them.

RICKHAH DASS JAINI, B. A.

ART. XIII.—SHAKESPEARE AND ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

THE story of the magic horse in the Arabian Nights, says Burton, may have originated with the Hindu tale of a wooden Garuda (the bird of Vishnu) built by a youth for the purpose of a vehicle. It came with the Moors to Spain, and appears in "Le Cheval du Fust," a French poem of the thirteenth century. Thence it passed over to England as shown by Chaucer's* "Half-told tale of Cambuscan (Janghíz Khan?) bold," as

The wondrous steed of brass
On which the Tartar King did ride ;

And Leland (Itinerary) derives "Rutlandshire" from a man named Rutter, who rode round it with a wooden horse constructed by art magic.

Lane (ii. 548) quotes the parallel story of Cleomades and Claremond which Mr. Keightley (Tales and Popular Fictions, chap. ii) dates from the thirteenth century.

The writer of an article on the Thousand and One Nights in No. 47 of the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, alluding to the voyage of as-Sindibád, observes that a singular poem contains some highly curious coincidences with these voyages and 'with some other portions of the Arabian Nights. "They tend at the same time," he adds, "to prove the antiquity of these particular stories, as it is improbable that the eastern story-teller should have been indebted to the writer of a German metrical romance of the twelfth century. The romance alluded to is Duke Ernest of Bavaria. It was composed in German Rhyme by Henry of Veldeck, who flourished about 1160; and a Latin poem on the same subject by Odo, appeared about the same time. A prose version of the outlines of the story is still popular in Germany. In this singular romance we find the æronautic excursion in the second voyage of Sindibád with no material variation; the pigmies and cranes as well as the adventure borrowed from the Odyssey in the third voyage; and the subterranean voyage in the sixth. We have likewise the magnetic mountain, occurring in the story of the Third Calendar, which has also been transplanted into the miraculous legend of the Irish Saint, Brandanus."

From this it will appear that stories of eastern origin were current in Europe as early as the twelfth century and we should not be surprised if we come across stories current in the

* Canterbury Tales—the Squire's Tale.

East bearing striking resemblance to some of the plots of Shakespeare's plays.

The source of the *Tempest* is doubtful, and no novel or play has been discovered from which Shakespeare can be conclusively shown to have derived his plot. Although we may easily believe that the essentials of the story were of his own imagination, the Story of Sindibád of the Sea and al-Kazweenee's *Ajd-eb-ul-Makhlookat*, being carried to Europe by the German story-teller, may have furnished Shakespeare with some hints. Indeed the whole plot of the *Tempest* savours of the Land of the Thousand and One Nights.

Antonio's putting "one midnight fated to the purpose," Prospero and his infant daughter Miranda, into a leaky, unrigged boat, instead of putting them to death immediately; their miraculous escape and the final reconciliation between the two brothers; the mention of Afric, Argiers and Tunis, which were under Moorish domination; all these point to an eastern origin of the story. The 'delicate Ariel' reminds one of the slave of the lamp or of the ring who could work wonders and who could assume any form that of handsome *memlooks* or beautiful slave-girls. And we have Caliban's counterpart, so far as external appearance goes, in the Old Man of the Sea mentioned in Sindibád's fifth voyage. Ibu-ul-Wardee and al-Kazweenee* give the following account of Yakoob Ibu Ishák's adventure with a water-man which will give an idea of his appearance:—

"Being then secure from them, I journeyed over that island, night and day, and came at last to trees bearing fruits, beneath which were men who had no bones in their legs. I sat, and I understood not their language, nor did they understand mine; and I was not aware of it before one of them mounted on my neck, wound his legs round my throat, and urged me to rise. So I rose with him, and strove to release myself from him, and to throw him down from me; but I could not! and he began to scratch my face with his sharp nails. I therefore proceeded to carry him about among the trees, and he ate of their fruits, and fed his companions, who laughed at me. But while I was bearing him about among the trees, a thorn of a tree entered his eye, and he became blind. Then I pressed for him some grapes, and said to him, Stoop. And he stooped; whereupon his legs became loosened from me, and I threw him down from my neck, and departed, and God saved me by his grace."

Al-Kazweenee also mentions in the conclusion of his work, that in the island in which is a people with faces like the faces of dogs, that is, the island which is said to have been the scene

* Al-Kazweenee flourished in the latter half of the thirteenth century, and Ibu-ul-Wardee about the middle of the fourteenth.

of the adventure above related, "there is a people in the form of men like the handsomest existing, and there is no bone in their legs." He adds: "They drag themselves along; and when they find a man walking, they leap upon his neck, and fold their legs upon that walking man; and if the latter strive to throw down the man upon his neck, he scratcheth him upon his face, and he curbeth him as one of us curbeth his beast."

But in another place, in his account of animals of water, he gives a somewhat different account of the "Old Man of the Sea," as follows:—"The water-man resembleth a man, saving that he hath a tail. One of them was found in our time dried, and was shown to the people, and his form was as we have described it. It is related that, from the Sea of Syria, sometimes, there cometh up from the water to the abode of men (a creature in) the form of a man, having a white beard, and they name it the Old Man of the Sea, and it remaineth some days without descending; and when the people see it they rejoice in expectation of plenty."

Does not Sindibád's description of the water-man that never speaks but expresses his meaning by gesticulations, that has sharp nails and long leathern legs resemble the description of the monster half fish and half man, "legged like a man and his fins like arms"?

In *Tempest*, iii, 2, 1 30 we find the following passage:—

Cal.—Be not afeard; the isle is full of noises,
Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not,
Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
Will hum about mine ears, and sometime voices
That, if I then had waked after long sleep,
Will make me sleep again; and then in dreaming,
The clouds methought would open and show riches
Ready to drop upon me, that, when I waked,
I cried to dream again.

In al-Kazweene's description of the Island of Bartáil occurs the following passage:—"In it also are mountains whence are heard by night the *sounds of the drum and tambourine*, and disturbing cries, and disagreeable laughter; and the sailors say that ad-Dajjál* is in it, and that he will come forth from it." The Island of Bartáil is supposed to have been not far from modern Borneo. Hole suggests (p. 38) that the roaring of the waves amidst its hollow rocks might, not improbably, have resembled the sound of drums; and afterwards (p. 41) he remarks: "Bartholomew Leonardo de Argensola, a learned divine, employed by the president and council of the Indies to write a history of the discovery and conquest of the Moluccas, observes, that near Banda is 'a desert and un-

* The Antichrist of the Muslims.

inhabited island, called Poelsetton, infamous for stronger reasons than the Aerocerannian rocks. There are cries, whistles, and roarings, in it at all times, and dreadful apparitions are seen, etc.; and long experience has shown that it is inhabited by Devils."

Steeven also thinks that many of the incidents of this scene may have been borrowed from a translation of the voyages of Marco Polo, the old Venetian Voyager, from which he quotes, "—You shall heare in the ayre the sound of *tabers and other instruments*, to put the travellers in feare, etc., by evill spirites that make these sounds, and also do *call deverse of the travellers by their names*," etc.

The only difference between me and Steevens is that I hold the brief for the Arabian traveller and he for the Venetian.

In *Tempest*, iii, 3, 44, Gonzalo says:—

Faith, sir, you need not fear. When we were boys,
Who would believe that there were mountaineers
Dew-lapped like bulls, whose throats had hanging at 'em
Wallets of flesh? Or that there were such men
Whose heads stood in their breasts? Which now we find
Each putter-out of five for one will bring us
Good warrant of.

Compare *Othello*, i, 3, 144, 5, "The Anthropophagi and men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders:" on which passage Malone remarks that Shakespeare there as well as in *The Tempest* probably "had Hackluyt's *Voyages*, 1598, in view; 'on that branch (of the river) which is called Caora, are a nation of people whose heades appear not above their shoulders; they are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouthes in the middle of their breasts.'" "In the Island of Jábeh," says al-Kazweenee, "is a mountain whereon is seen a great fire by night from afar, and by day, a smoke: none can approach it. In it also are aloes-wood and the banana and the cocoanut and the sugarcane. Its inhabitants are a tawny people, in the form of men, save that *their faces are in their bosoms*."*

Blue-eyed (i, 2, 269), for which Staunton conjectures *blear-ey'd*, has been explained as referring to what we now call the blackness, the livid colour, seen under the eyes of those who are in ill-health. Dyce compares A. Y. L. iii, 2, 393, "a *blue eye* and sunken."

But I think 'blue-eyed' would be better explained if we keep in view the Arab prejudice against blue eyes which associates them with sorcery and witchcraft. *Aerak-ul-Ain*

* In the above quotations from al-Kazweenee I have frequently availed myself of Lane's notes to his excellent translation of the Arabian Nights.

ازرق العين "blue of eye" is still a term of reproach with the Arabs. This reminds me of the story Larká al-Yamáma, the blue-eyed maiden of Yamáma which in itself presents a striking analogy (to which attention has been called by Baron Carra de Vaux) with the coming of Bernan Wood to Dunsinane in *Macbeth*. I give the story in full from the *Essai sur L'Histoire Des Arabes* by M. Caussin de Perceval, vol. I, p. 101.

Il (Hassân Tobbâ) acheva la destruction de la tribu de Djadís, déjà décimée, ainsi que celle de Tasm, par Dhon-Habchân. L'on a vu précédemment que la tyrannie d'Amlouk, issu de Tasm, et roi des deux tribus avait fait naître un complot formé par la famille de Djadís, qui avait massacré celle de Tasm, à l'exception d'un certain Ribâh, fils de Mourra. Celui-ci, échappé au fer des meurtriers, se réfugia auprès de Hassân Tobbâ, et l'excita à faire une expédition contre la tribu de Djadís.

Hassân rassembla des troupes, et se mit en route. Larrqu'il fut parvenu à trois marches de Djaw, lieu où étaient les châteaux forts des Djadícites, Ribâh, fils de Mourra, lui dit : "J'ai une sœur mariée à un homme de Djadís : elle se nomme Zercâ-el-Yemâma. Elle a une vue si perçante, qu'elle distingue les objets à une distance de plusieurs journées de chemin. Je crains qu'elle n'aperçoive votre armée, et qu'elle ne mette les ennemi sur leurs gardes, Commandez donc à vos soldats de prendre de grandes branches d'arbre, de les tenir devant eux, et de s'avancer en se cachant derrière le feuillage." L'ordre fut donné et exécuté. Malgré cette précaution, Zercâ-el-Yemâma découvrit de loin les troupes du tobba. "*Je vois, dit-elle, des arbres qui marchent ; derrière sont les Himyarites*" on ne la crut pas. "Je vais, ajouta-t-elle un soldat qui raccommode un de ses souliers." On se moqua d'elle, et l'on ne songea à la défense que lorsqu'il n'était plus temps. Hassân surprit les Djadícites, les extermina tous, et rasa leurs châteaux. * * * * Quant à Zercâ-el-Yemâma, le tobba lui fit arracher les yeux. On remarque dans leurs globes des fibres noires. Interrogé sur cette singularité, elle l'attribua à l'usage qu'elle faisait d'un collyre de poudre d'autr'noine. Elle fut, dit-on, la première femme arabe que se servit de ce collyre l'est de son nom que l'ancien pays de Djaw a été appelé Yemâma. En fin c'est à l'excellence fabuluse de sa vue que fait allusion le proverbe : *Plus clairvoyant que Zercâ-el-Yemâma* — ابصر من زرقاء اليمامة. For the benefit of those who do not understand French, I quote below the above story as given by Chenery in his excellent translation of the Makámât Hariri (vol. I, p. 381) :—

"It (blueness of eyes) seems to have been connected with

the idea of a piercing sight in the legend of 'Auzal Yemamah, commonly called Zarká 'l Yemamah, the first woman who used *Kohl*. She was a woman of the primeval tribe of Jedis, and when Jedis had destroyed the tribe of Tasm, all but Ribáh bin Murra, this solitary survivor fled to Hassán ibn Tobbá, King of Yemen, and sought vengeance on Jedis. The Himyarite army set forth, and in order that its numbers might be concealed from Jedis, the king commanded that each soldier should cut down the bough of a tree and bear it before him. This is, perhaps, the original of the story in Macbeth.

Zarka ascended an *أُكُم* a fortress or tower, and though the army was three days' march distant, she saw it, and called out, "O people either trees or Himyar are coming against you." They would not believe her, and she then exclaimed, in the metre *rejiz* :—I swear by God that trees creep onward, or Himyar bears something which he draws along. She then described what she saw a man mending his sandal. The tribe still disbelieved, and in the end were surprised and destroyed. The legend is told in various ways : cf. proverb "More keen-sighted than Zarka'l Yemámeh ; Ar. Prov. 192." *

The same story is given in Sherisi's (of Xeresin Spain) commentary of the Makamát Hariri (50th Makámah, vol. II, p. 359, Egypt ed.) :—

اما الزرقاء فكانت تبصر على مسيرة ثلث ليال وكانت من جديس * * *
 وهرب من طسم رباح بن مرة فأتى حسان بن تبع لينصرة * * * فتجهز معه
 بجيش فلما صاروا من جديس على ثلاثة ايام صعدت الزرقاء على مناركان لها
 لتنظر الجيش وكان رباح قد قال لهم ان الزرقاء تبصر على ثلث ليال ولكن ليقطع
 كل رجل منكم غصناً من شجر فيحمله لتشبه عليها فلما رأتهم قالت قوم انكم
 الشجر * او انكم حمير - فلم يصدقوها فقالت -

اقسم بالله لقد دب الشجر

او حمير قد اقبلت شيئاً تجر

ونذبوها وقالوا كل بصرى وضعف * * * فنها * * * ونوا بحديثها حتى صبحهم
 حسان فاجتأهم فاخذت الزرقاء فشق عيناها فاذا فيها عروق سود من الاند
 وكانت اول من اكنحل -

Of all the plays of Shakespeare the *Merchant of Venice* had certainly an eastern origin. About the Bond Story Mr. Deighton says that an apologue in the Māhābhārata turns upon a similar point. But I see no resemblance between the Bond Story and the Story of Sibi Raja, Indra and Agni con-

tained in the *Máhábhárata* beyond the fact that Sibi ransomed Agni who had assumed the form of a pigeon and was pursued by Indra in the form of an Eagle by giving Indra the pigeon's weight of flesh from his own body.

The exact analogue to the Bond Story of the Merchant of Venice occurs in a book called *al-Faraja ba'ddash shiddah*—ease after difficulty—by Kazi Abu Ali at-Tanukhi. I do not know exactly when the author flourished, but there is no doubt as to the antiquity of the book. The author of the *Jami-ul-*

Hikáyát, Muhammad 'Ufi, mentions *الفرج بعد الشدة* as one of the sources of his history. He resided under Altamsh (A. H. 607, A. D. 1211).^{*} Again there is an allusion to this book in one of the *Makamáhs* of al-Hariri (b. 1054, d. 1121 A. D.). The contents of this work has been discussed at length at p. 254 of the *Cat. Lugd. Batavi*, vol. I.

If I remember right a writer in the *Athenæum* gave a translation of the story as contained in the Turkish version of the book and tried to show the possibility of the story being transported from Turkey to Venice on account of the maritime intercourse between Turkey and Venice in those days. Unfortunately the Arabic original is not accessible to me, and I content myself by quoting below the story as given in a Persian book of wit and humour:—

“A man named Fareed had a beautiful wife with whom a Jew was in love. The husband being poor and without any occupation, remained for the most part in his house, and the Jew could not get any opportunity of laying siege to the affections of his wife. So the Jew began to devise means of getting the husband away from the city, and accordingly one day said to him, ‘my friend, why do you remain idle here? Why do you not travel in order to become a successful trader? The little money that I have acquired was by travelling from place to place, bartering the commodity of one place for that of another, and so on.’ The husband replied, “it is all very well to say so, but you know trading requires money. And who is going to lend me the money necessary for the purpose?” The Jew hereupon good-naturedly offered to accommodate him, saying, “I will lend you gold weighing one hundred *misáls*, on the condition that you return it to me on the very first day of your return to town from your journey.” “But what security can I give to you?” asked Fareed. “None whatsoever do I need, but for form's sake, what say you to a hundred *misáls* of your flesh, which, on your feeling to make the payment, I should be at liberty to cut off from your body?” The condition was agreed upon

^{*} Elliot, vol. II, p. 156.

and Fareed with the money in his pocket left the town with the view of seeing the different commercial centres. On the road he was attacked by robbers, who stripped him of every thing valuable that he possessed and so he was obliged to return, almost naked, to the town. The Jew was very much vexed on seeing him back in so short a time, and demanded back his money. As Fareed had absolutely nothing and could not comply with the demand, he said: "Let us go to the Kázee, and let him decide on this matter." So the two took their way towards the Court of the Kázee.

On the road, they heard a donkey-driver asking* for help, as his ass had fallen into a pit, whence he was not able to take him out without the help of others. Fareed good-naturedly offered to help him, and while the owner took hold of the head of the ass, Fareed took hold of the tail, and the two began to pull when suddenly the tail of the animal came off in the hands of Fareed. The owner of the ass thereupon began to quarrel with him, and said, "come with me to the Kázee. You must pay me damages." So the three now took their way to the Court of the Kázee.

But as the Kázee's Court was situated at some distance, and as it was already night-fall, they determined to put up in a mosque for the night. Fareed was locked up in the mosque and the other two kept guard outside the gate. When it was near dawn, Fareed got up and going to the terrace on the hind part of the building, jumped down, and came plump on the head of a Fakir who was sleeping at the foot of the walls. The Fakir was killed. His son got up and laying hold of Fareed, charged him with the murder. The noise brought the other two persons who were near the gate, and so the four now took their way to the Court of the Kázee.

During the walk Fareed said to himself, "I wish the Court were soon reached; for I am afraid, the longer I am on the road the more will be the mishaps befalling. I had better move on with a quicker pace." And with this determination he walked faster, followed by his prosecutors. But on taking a turning at the end of a lane, he collided with a pregnant woman, who fell down with the shock, and miscarried. The husband of the woman caught hold of him and accused him of killing the child, and the five now took their way to the Court of the Kázee.

The Court was at last reached. The Kázee was in his private chambers, and so they all had to wait outside the room, but after a time Fareed getting afraid of another mishap entered the room alone. He found the Kázee drinking *wine*, and so he stood quiet for some time and then coughed to attract the attention of the Kázee. The latter turned with a start, and

asked him what he wanted, saying: "How long have you been here and what did you notice?" Fareed discreetly replied that he had merely seen the Kázee drinking *sherbet* (emphasizing the last word), and then related to him his adventures. "Well, well," said the Kázee, "we shall see justice done to you." They then came into the Court and the Kázee after taking his seat, asked the men what were their complaints.

First came the Jew who claimed his 100 *miscals* of flesh. The Kázee told him to cut it off but *neither more nor less than* the 100 *miscals*, otherwise he would have to undergo penalty of being bled to death. The Jew on hearing this decision of the Kázee wanted to withdraw his complaint, but this the Kázee would not allow, saying "You ought to have thought of that before hand. You ~~have~~ needlessly put this man to a deal of trouble, and as a penalty you must lay down here one hundred *dindrs*. On'y then I can allow you to go." So the Jew laid down his 100 *dindrs* and departed.

Next came the Son of the Fakeer who charged Fareed with the death of his father. The Kázee said: "You must take his life in return. Kill him in the same way that he killed your father,—by jumping down on him from the terrace." "But I might get killed myself, jumping down from such a height!", urged the young Fakeer. "I can't help that!" said the Kázee. The Fakeer then wanted to withdraw his complaint, but he was not allowed to do so till he had laid down 100 *dindrs*.

The husband of the woman now laid his complaint and charged the accused with the death of his child. The Kázee said to him, "It is but proper that the man should restore you the young life that he has taken. I therefore order that you should divorce your wife, and give her to this man in marriage. When she is again with child, he shall then divorce her, and you can take her back." So the husband too withdrew his complaint laying down 100 *dindrs*.

The owner of the donkey had meanwhile slunk away unperceived, saying, as he went, to the attendants in the ante-chamber, that as he had not the sum necessary for withdrawing his complaint, he was going to bring witnesses to prove that his ass had never a tail!

When the Kázee saw that there was no further complaint against Fareed, he released him, giving him as a compensation for his troubles, 100 *dindrs* out of the sum received.

A similar story, with slight variations, occurs in the famous and interesting autobiography of Lutfulla.* Although it is

* "Autobiography of Lutfulla," edited by E. B. Eastwick, F.R.S. (1857), pp. 154-164.

very tedious to relate the same sort of story over again in detail, but seeing that it will serve as a good specimen of oriental wit and humour, I quote the story in full as follows.

As civilization began to dawn in the third century of our blessed Prophet, about the time of Edward II, the Martyr King of England, Asiatic fables mention that there was a Kázee (or Judge) in the city of Cario, by name Mansúr Bin Músiá.

His affection for humility was so great that he even made a ridiculous alteration in his name by dividing it into several monosyllables, and substituting words of humbler meaning, of which he compounded a new name. It being Man Súr Bin Mú Siá (*lit.* Victor, son of Moses), he divided it into the following five syllables :—

Syllables of the original name.	Meaning.	Substitutes.	Meaning.
Man	{ Name of a heavy weight consisting of 40 lbs., or two Ratal	Ratal	Pound
Súr		Búk	Small bugle
Bin	A large trumpet	Abd-al	Slave
Mú	Son	Pashm	Wool
Siá	Hair	Páuzdah	Fifteen
	Thirty (in Persian)		

So the third column forms his name, "Ratal Buk Abd-al Pashm Páuzdah," Small-Weight-Penny-Whistle Slave-of-Wool-Fifteen, instead of Heavy-Weight-Trumpet-Son-of-Hair-Thirty.

During the time of this extraordinary functionary of justice, there lived a military man in poor circumstances, who had a very pretty young wife ; also in his neighbourhood resided a wealthy Jew, naturally characterised by his habits of extreme usuriousness, unbounded meanness, and greediness. This son of Israel having more than once clandestinely obtained a full view of the incomparable wife of his poor neighbour, conceived a passion for her, and to this degree that, having lost the command of his heart, he impatiently watched an opportunity to seduce her. He tried every means to accomplish his criminal desire, but invariably failed ; for a mind once properly fortified with virtue, can never be conquered by vice. The poor veteran being without employment for a long time, had been so overtaken by indigence, that he and his wife actually starved sometimes for two or three days. The pangs of poverty at last, being insufferable, the wife suggested a plan to the husband of bettering themselves, telling him that idling was the source of all miseries ; and he must therefore buy a hatchet and ropes and repairing daily to the forest bring a bundle of fire-wood,

which certainly would sell for something. On the other hand, she would take to her needle, and thus they would try to make themselves as comfortable as possible in the world.

The man approved of her suggestions ; but said he to her in a submissive tone, " I extol your plan highly, but I find it even difficult to procure the preliminary means to begin. At least a hundred *dirhams* are needed to purchase some linen and silk for your needle and a hatched and rope for me." To this the wife replied that the sum might easily be borrowed, and the Hebrew neighbour would certainly lend it if a prospect of good interest was held out to him. The soldier thought the matter over, but demurred at going to the mean Jew to solicit his aid. " No," said he to himself, " I would rather starve to death than be scornfully looked upon by a faithless Jew." But again he thought he must submit to the dishonour rather than see his lovely wife on the verge of the grave. So with mingled fear and hope, he betook himself to the Jew, to whom he represented his case in his soldier-like sincere but unpolished language. The Hebrew was delighted to think that he had nearly won the game, and that by sacrificing a piece, he would certainly circumvent the queen.

So at first he impressed upon the mind of his customer the importance of money in the world. He then said he was very sorry that he had no money of his own to lend him ; at the same time he could not deny having certain small sums in his house, but he dared not touch them for his life, " they being," observed he, " the deposits of other individuals of power and authority."

" Then am I to return disappointed ? " asked the veteran. " I cannot help it," returned the Jew ; " I will not stake my life and property for others ; so pray begone, and never trouble me again with such affairs." " Don't be angry," added he, " but suppose I lend you from the deposit which I am obliged to produce to the depositor for his satisfaction after two months from this day, and suppose I cannot do so, do you think my head will remain on my shoulders ? " " But it will not be in any way jeopardized," rejoined the veteran, " if I promise to pay you back in seven weeks." " But how can I believe you ?," quoth the Jew ; " what security can you afford ? " " As for security I can offer you none," replied the poor man ; " but I can assure you that I shall be punctual, and I can attach my signature to any penal bond you may be pleased to draw out." " Very well," said the Jew ; " then in that case, will you engage, as a matter of mere form of course, to give a pound of your flesh from your body in case you fail to fulfil your promise ? "

" With all my heart," rejoined the poor man, considering that he and his wife would work night and day and he would certain-

ly be able to liquidate the debt before the time prescribed. Upon this understanding the bond was formally written out, attested, signed, and delivered, and the money paid to the poor man. On the other hand the Jew was happy in thinking over the matter: "The bait," said he to himself, "is swallowed, and I must have patience for seven weeks when the game will be won." On further consideration he bethought himself that in the case of the man's being able to produce the amount at the time promised, which appeared to him more than probable he would manage to steal a part of the good coins and mix up some counterfeit over in their place; and thus he might easily render him unable to pay the debt, and, besides, might accuse him of cheating. So the horror of such criminal charges being brought to the notice of the Court of Justice, and the impossibility of his submitting to be maimed, could certainly cause the tree of his hope to be fruitful of success.

As for the poor veteran, he, on the receipt of the sum of money, purchased the materials of industry for his consort and himself; he also bought some provisions and necessities of life for the time being, and both of them set to work to release themselves from the torturing chains of poverty. They strained every nerve in working to make up the amount within the given time; but so far from it, they could not even save half the money required. When the time was finished, the Jew made his unwelcome appearance, seated himself, at the door of the poor man, and in most violent terms demanded payment. The poor veteran entreated him humbly, soliciting forgiveness, and telling him he was very sorry that all his labours to make up the sum were fruitless, and begged him to accept very nearly half the amount in ready cash and to grant him more time for the remainder; if not, he might take the money and the materials by selling which he might get something more than what he demanded. These supplications, instead of doing good, provoked the Jew's indignation, and he angrily shouted "frivolous excuses will not do with me; the time agreed upon has expired, so be brief; remember the penalty written down by yourself, therefore produce the money or prepare to stand the consequences." Upon this, the argumentation on both sides being carried on for sometime terminated in a regular scuffle, and the Jew getting the better of the poor man, caught hold of his collar and dragged him towards the Court of Justice, but the poor man releasing himself somehow or other from his grasp, took to flight and the Jew followed him. In swiftly crossing the first street, he came on a sudden in contact with a pregnant woman, who, being knocked down, unfortunately miscarried; and a relative of hers seeing this breach of manners followed to apprehend him. A little further,

a horseman was standing in his way ; he struck the horse to clear the road, and the blow unluckily put out one of the horse's eyes. This enraged the horseman, who likewise accompanied the two pursuers to catch the man and hold him responsible for the loss. The poor man by his quick turns and swiftness, got out of the city, leaving his followers some distance behind ; and seeing a stone quarry in front he determined to leap into it and hide himself. With this resolve exclaiming " Bismillah " (in the name of God), down he jumped. Now, where he leaped, there was a shed, under which an old man was lying ; and as he precipitated himself down upon the shed its weak rafters gave way, and he, coming down upon the old man, not only killed him, but sprained his legs and hurt himself so much that he could move no further until his pursuers joined by the old man's son, whom he had accidentally killed, came up and seized him. They beat him soundly, and tying his hands behind him dragged him to the Court of the Kázee Ratalbuk. As the culprit reached the Kázee's gate, he beheld some shops wherein forbidden liquors were publicly sold, and an old reverend gentleman with a long white beard staggering about shamefully intoxicated. Presently there passed a living man tied in a bier and carried to the graveyard to be buried alive, his lamentable shrieks being utterly disregarded by the remorseless bearers. The sight of these horrid scene enacted at the Kázee's gate, and evidently by his decree, filled the poor soldier with terrific forebodings.

He was soon, however, dragged to the Court, and trembled at the sight of the Kázee, whom he positively looked upon as a deputy of the angel of death. In the middle of the hall was a cushion backed with a large pillow, upon which squatted a diminutive fat person with a very small head and long black beard. He held a rosary in his hand, and kept moving his head in token of assent and dissent to the assertions of the persons about him ; and a few peons stood here and there in respectful postures, with instrument of torture in their hands. The new parties, being conducted to the edge of the carpet, were struck with awe and stood trembling. The charges made by the Jew, the relative of the pregnant woman, the owner of the horse, and the son of the old man were then taken down by the clerk. As for the soldier he told his unvarnished tale, adding, at the same time, that he had been very severely maltreated by his adversaries subsequent to his apprehension.

The matter then was thoroughly discussed by the lawyers in presence of the Kázee who listened with profound gravity to the arguments on both sides, and ultimately pronounced sentence as follows : " Let a sharp knife, a pair of scales and weights be brought forward and let the peons seize and hold

fast the soldier. Jew, there is a knife, cut off the man's flesh who has only himself to belame for having so foolishly signed the bond." The Jew gladly took the knife in his hand, thinking that he would have the merit of inflicting a mortal wound upon an enemy of his faith, whose wife would then fall an easy prey. Just as he was going to lay his hand upon the poor man the Kázee called out, "Hearken to me before you use the knife; the pound must be exactly one pound of flesh, without any skin or bone, etc., and you must sever it from his body in one cut, no additional torture to the man by plurality of cuts having been agreed upon in the bond. You must, therefore, neither exceed nor come short of one pound; if you do, you must abide by the law of retribution according to the sacred Kurán." The Jew hearing all this clearly saw the impossibility of the act being performed without endangering himself, offered to give up his claim. Upon this, the Kázee imposed a fine of five pieces of silver on him for his unreasonableness and dismissed him.

The Kázee then maturely weighed and considered the case of the pregnant woman and gave his decision as follows: "Let the woman be made over to the defendant, who must first employ a good physician to cure her, after her recovery must keep her with him in his own house until she is in the family way, and then she must honourably be restored to her former husband." The plaintiff, shocked at this sentence, begged to give up his suit if such were justice. But the Kázee observed he should not be permitted to do this unless he paid a fine of ten pieces of silver to the Court for having taken up its time.

The horse man next being summoned, his urged claim, stating that only a short time ago he had, by a very cheap bargain, purchased his noble horse for two hundred pieces of gold; and it has been seriously damaged by the loss of its eye, "so that the whole price," represented he, "should be paid me, when the soldier may take the animal, or compensate me, for the blemish by paying a moiety of its value."

Upon this his lordship duly considered his case and decreed as follows:—"Let a pair of sawyers be sent for to divide the horse longitudinally from the middle point of his head to the end of his tail; and this being done, the uninjured part shall be retained by the complainant, and the part with the injured eye be given to the defendant who must pay one hundred pieces of gold, being one-half the price, to the plaintiff as compensation for the damage." The owner of the horse, seeing that the loss of his animal would be greater than the compensation, begged to withdraw his claim which was granted to him with some difficulty on his agreeing to pay a fine of twenty pieces of silver to the Court.

Lastly, the son of the poor old man appeared, throwing dust over his head for the unnatural death of his venerable father, the cause of which swore was the rascally veteran's fall upon him, and therefore in justice he would have him impaled for the crime.

His lordship heard coolly all his excited statements, and what was said on the part of the prosecution, and on that of the defence, and weighing everything in the scales of his judgment pronounced the following sentence : " Let the offender be dragged to the same shedding, under which, with hands and feet tied, let him be placed at the identical spot where the old man was killed and then let his son jump down upon him from the brink of the quarry in revenge for his father's death." Hereupon the young man, foreseeing the danger of the undertaking, refused to execute the orders, offering to relinquish his claim and attribute his father's death to an accident ; but his lordship replied that he would not allow the precepts of the law to be disregarded, or the claim to be abandoned unless he paid a fine of forty pieces of silver to the Court for his folly in making an unbecoming charge. The young man then paid the fine and went off considering himself lucky in getting out of the scrape.

The hour of noon prayers by this time having arrived, the Court was cleared, and the Kázee having compassion upon the veteran, bestowed on him a handsome present and enquired if he was satisfied with the proceedings of the Court. The poor man in reply praised the Kázee's justice, and said, " God bless you, my lord ; I am entirely satisfied ; and my acknowledgments to your lordship during the remainder of my life shall be unceasing."

Having said this, he began to leave his lordship's presence with some hesitation, which being observed by the judge, he asked him if he had anything to say ; and the veteran answered he had something to represent, but it being beyond the bounds of respect, he would not do so unless permission were granted. " You should not be backward," observed his lordship, " in satisfying yourself about the law ; for if you leave the Court in suspense respecting any verdict, it may cause others to be misled, and the mischief may become too serious to be remedied." The veteran then humbly stated that he could not reconcile with his lordship's fair justice the forbidden liquor being openly sold at the gate of the Court where he found a venerable man drunk, nor the fact of a living man being carried to the grave. " I am glad," returned the Kázee, " that you have asked me these questions, as my answers to them will quiet your conscience. Pray harken unto me with attention. The liquors privately sold are adul-

terated with poisonous substance by the sellers to strengthen their effects, and have consequently proved injurious to purchasers who require strong drink as medicine, or as a narcotic for mental labour. Drinking is a crime certainly punishable by our blessed law ; but the same law strictly observes that forbidden things are lawful in cases of necessity ; so that by this toleration I have abolished a heinous crime, and have appointed a venerable man, of unquestionable honesty, to test the spirits that are brought here for sale, and the tasting, which is his lawful duty, may have disguised him a little. As to the person carried alive to the grave, that has been legally ordered by me, because six years ago his wife had been married to another man according to the decree of the law, two witnesses of a very respectable character having certified his death at Bagdad. The man, however, came before the Court this morning, pleading that he was not dead, and advancing his claim to recover his wife. I ordered the two witnesses to re-appear, and they proved beyond doubt, by other evidences, that they had attended his funeral at Bagdad where he was buried in their presence. From this circumstance it is easy to conclude that the man cannot be a real one, but the ghost of the former, and must therefore be laid to put an end to all future disputes respecting the woman." The veteran upon this, dissembling his misgivings, praised the Kázee's justice and retired.

ABDULLAH A. SOHRAWORTHY.

THE QUARTER.

SINCE our last issue a new century has dawned on us with several calamities to record, of which the principal must be reckoned the death of our beloved Queen Victoria. Her health had not been quite good lately, but the fact was carefully concealed, it would seem at her own request not to cause anxiety. The recrudescence of trouble in South Africa was felt severely by her; and almost the last public act she performed was to receive Lord Roberts on his return from the seat of war, and announce to him her giving him the Order of the Garter and raising him to the dignity of an Earl. Her funeral was a military one at her own request, most of the Courts of Europe being represented at it. The pageant was excessively grand and long-drawn-out, including London, the Solent through the assembled fleet, and Windsor, at which last place her remains were buried beside the late Prince Consort's at Frogmore. The proclamation of the new King, who took the title of Edward VII, followed immediately. Subsequently in this country he was also proclaimed Emperor of India.

China still occupies the chief attention of the world in foreign matters. After long-drawn-out negotiations certain points had been settled. By the latest advices, however, China refuses to do exactly what the Powers tell her, and has even again made an attack on Russia. Probably a great deal of the blame lies on Germany, and her Commander-in-Chief, Count Waldersee. The Emperor of Germany has shown an eagerness and vindictiveness in dealing with China quite in contrast to his behaviour in the matter of the Armenian massacres, when not a sword need have been drawn or a shot fired to coerce Turkey. Count Waldersee, too, however able he may be as a military tactician on a European field of war, seems to be entirely out of place in China. The Russian forces were always independent of his leading, as also the troops of the United States, but the Japanese, too, have since kept to themselves, and the French have openly disavowed his orders. All this cannot but be so. It seems now that he is meditating an extraordinary incursion 800 miles into the interior to the new capital Singan-fu, and offers the chief command to our own British General. We can only trust that Germany will not be allowed to make a cat's-paw of England to draw the chestnuts out of the fire for herself. The complication promises to be a most serious one, as, while England

could never have reckoned on Russia and France, by her following the lead of Germany she is alienating both the United States and Japan. An alliance, whether tacit or expressed, with Germany in Chinese matters may cost us too dear, and we in India cannot but be deeply interested in the question.

While, therefore, we have lost our beloved Queen at Home, and political complications of a most serious nature are threatened in China, a further calamity as we must view it has befallen us in South Africa. Lord Roberts may have made paper annexations of the Free State and the Transvaal, and left South Africa as he concluded with the military power of the Boers completely broken, but, as a matter of fact, we only held the country within the limited range of our guns, and the Boer Commanders Botha, De Wet, De LaRey and others were still in the field with thousands of desperate veteran soldiers operating in every direction. It was supposed that the forces we had in the field were sufficient to deal with them and bring the war to a speedy end. But—and this is the calamity we refer to—these Boer Generals have not only succeeded in inflicting repeated losses on our unsupported detachments, but have invaded Cape Colony to within only a few miles of Cape Town itself, destroying all the communications. As a necessary consequence, notwithstanding our large forces in the field, a call has been made for further reinforcements. This whole disastrous war might have been avoided had the Home Government, as was suggested to it, sent out Lord Dufferin with full powers at the beginning. As it is, were the Cape Dutch to rise in a body, and show the same grit, pluck, and back-bone the Boers have evinced, all reinforcements notwithstanding, South Africa is lost to England. It may not be yet too late to extend the olive branch, for all that Kruger asks for is a modified and innocuous autonomy, which we may safely, and even gracefully, grant. The Military Rule, and after that "Crown Colony" Government, are mere *doctrinaire* theories, inapplicable to the Boer race, and entertained only by people at a distance and who know nothing about them. Such theories will only eventuate, that is, if carried out, in that "worse Ireland in South Africa" predicted by Mr. Morley; in bitter and everlasting racial hatred; in vast military expense for a large garrison; and in future rebellions. The Boers, if understood, are as easy a race to handle as any, but it wont be by ignorant theorists at a distance or the clashing and committed interested Uitlander party of South Africa. We may note, in concluding this portion of our remarks, that President Kruger has been for some time in Europe. The populace in France, Belgium, Holland, and

Germany have been enthusiastical for him. The President of France and the Queen of Holland have accorded him visits, while the German Emperor, whose support of Kruger is known to have begun these troubles, backed out of seeing him even, as he well might. None of the Powers can give him any hope of interference in the quarrel, and will not even venture to mediate. The Russian Czar, lying nearly at death's door through illness, was also unable to see him. It is stated that he might visit the United States. In any case, he has made it public that the Boers only seek a disarmed, and modified, independence. It is a confession of defeat, and such independence it lies in our power easily to grant, thus obviating all those numerous dangers and evils we have referred to above.

Of other countries, martial law has been proclaimed in Spain, and there is a famine over an extensive portion of Siberia.

Coming to our own English-speaking countries, the result of the elections in the United States is that President McKinley is in for a further term. His opponent, Mr. Bryan, with his silver theories, had not the shadow of a chance. The war of annexation in the Philippine Islands is still being carried out and Aquinaldo remains unsubdued. He is proposing terms which seem possible to be accepted as a basis of peace, the only difference being that America is disinclined to give back Manilla, or to yield up the control of the Customs. All over the world, wherever we view it, peace seems to be essentially necessary.

Our own Elections at Home have resulted, as was anticipated, in a "Khaki" victory for the Ministerialists. Great dissatisfaction had been expressed against the *personnel* of the Cabinet, chiefly on account of the bungle of the South African War. A call was made by their own party for numerous changes and younger blood. Lord Salisbury accordingly transferred the Foreign portfolio to Lord Lansdowne, retaining only the premiership for himself, put in Mr. Brodrick as head of the War Office, Mr. Wyndham as Chief Secretary for Ireland, where some trouble again seems to be brewing, besides a few other minor changes. This has not satisfied the party, or the country.

Lord Roberts has assumed the Command-in-Chief.

Our Empire is a world-wide one; but owing to the state of war, disunion and uncertainty, all round, the ship of state is meeting with heavy seas, and there are even breakers in sight, and it well behoves those in charge to recognise the situation and the times—to be, in short, statesmen and not mere opportunists.

In the meanwhile, Australia has been Federated into a "Commonwealth," with Lord Hopetown for its first Governor-

General, and the Right Hon'ble Edmund Barton, P.C., Q.C., of Sydney, as its first Premier. The occasion was celebrated on New Year's Day with great rejoicings and numerous pageants, in which were represented some portions of our Indian army. An Australian poet, Mr. George Essex Evans, of Queensland, has given utterance to such finely-poetic and inspired lines that we enshrine them here :—

THE FEDERATION OF AUSTRALIA.

A FEDERAL SONG, 1900.

In the greyness of the dawning we have seen the pilot star,
In the whisper of the morning we have heard the years afar.

Shall we sleep and let them be
When they call to you and me ?

Can we break the land asunder God has girdled with the sea ?
For the flag is floating o'er us,
And the track is clear before us.

From the desert to the ocean let us lift the mighty chorus
For the days that are to be.

We have flung the challenge forward. Brothers, stand or fall as one !
She is coming out to meet us in the splendour of the sun,
From the graves beneath the sky,
Where her nameless heroes lie.

From the Forelands of the Future they are waiting our reply.
We can face the roughest weather,
If we only hold together,
Marching forward to the Future, marching shoulder-firm together,
For the Nation yet to be.

All the greyness of the dawning, all the mists are overpast,
In the glory of the morning we shall see Her face at last.
He who sang, "She yet will be,"

He shall hail her, crowned and free,
Could we break the land asunder God has girdled with the sea ?
For the Flag is floating o'er us,
And the Star of Hope before us,

From the desert to the ocean, brothers, lift the mighty chorus,
For Australian Unity.

As a fitting *finale* to the above, we may add, that the new Premier has at once brought in a bill to exclude Asiatics from Australia, and to raise the tariff as against all round. "Advance Australia !"

INDIA—THE QUEEN-EMPRESS'S DEATH.—Turning to India we find that a great variety of matters, all of considerable importance, mark the period of review. We have to give the first place here to the death of the Queen-Empress, the universal feelings of loyalty spontaneously evoked by the sad event, and the steps taken by the Viceroy and the public to erect a fitting Memorial to mark the most glorious and beneficent reign in Indian history. As at Home, so here, the news of the illness and the subsequent decease followed so rapidly one on the other, that it took some time

to realize the great loss the nation had sustained. There was mourning throughout the land among all classes and creeds, the Mahomedans vying with the Hindus in largesses to the poor and religious services. The Queen-Empress had indeed been a friend of India—a view of a particular side of her noble character and fulfilment of her high trust which remains to be depicted by a worthy pen—and it was determined to erect a suitable Memorial to mark her reign.

THE IMPERIAL MEMORIAL.—The Viceroy led the movement and calling for a public meeting at Calcutta gave expression to the views he took on the subject in an impressive speech. He would erect a building on a corner of the great Esplanade to contain such relics and remains of the past history of India as might be procured by donation or purchase. Lord Curzon is known to be a keen antiquarian and student of archæology, and his proposal showed the bent of his mind. As the Memorial would be in Calcutta, and beautify it as well as add to its importance, it took well with the Calcutta community. Immediate success was also apparent to the scheme when the leading Native Princes of India, in response to the Viceroy's call for a National Imperial Memorial, came forward so liberally as to astonish even the Viceroy himself. The Maharajah of Kashmir offered fifteen lakhs, the Maharajah of Gwalior ten lakhs, the Maharajah of Jeypur seven lakhs—of which, however, four lakhs were to be added to his previous well-considered munificent donation of sixteen lakhs for a Famine Fund—and so on. The local and provincial contributions, too, were liberal, though small compared to the donations of the Princes.

Lord Curzon, however, did not meet with the support of the outside large and important provinces and governments for his Calcutta scheme. Bombay, Allahabad, Lahore and Madras, each considered that Calcutta's claim to have the Memorial and take the whole of the money to be unfair and unjust. It was even suggested, and with considerable force, that Delhi, which had memorials of empire of three thousand years, which marked the centre of the continent, which had witnessed during the Mutiny the throes of the birth of the Queen's assumption of the direct government of the country, and subsequently was the selected place of proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India, should properly be the site of such an Imperial Memorial. Bombay and Madras, meanwhile, are raising their own subscriptions for their own Memorials, and it may be assumed that very little of their money will find their way to beautify Calcutta or add to its importance, which they consider is due to the adventitious circumstance—which, too, may be merely temporary,—of its being the seat of the Supreme Government during the brief cold season. The form

of the Memorial, too, has been taken to pieces ; and it is also questioned whether the Princes can afford to subscribe such enormous amounts. There can be no doubt that most of them cannot, and that some of them would be glad to be rid of the necessity of subscribing at all. At the same time, the form of the proposed Memorial would be understood by few ; while it stands a good chance of becoming merely a museum of curiosities. What will be ultimately decided on as fulfilling the conditions of the case, and as implying universal acceptance, it is difficult at present to say ; but there can be little doubt that such a Memorial—a Memorial of such a Reign—should be unique, simple, adapted to the genius of the country, calculated to last for ages, appealing to high and low alike, and placed in the centre of the Empire, or, as in the case of Asoka's pillars, which yet last and proclaim the glories of early Indian Empire three thousand years ago, placed—in *replicas*—in the several local capitals and the boundaries of the Empire. As such conception of the Memorial appertains to the region of high Art—and Nature—we are inclined to think that, being already provided with the funds, protests notwithstanding, Lord Curzon will carry his point, and his own scheme will be completed in Calcutta.

VICEREGAL TOUR.—Since our last date the "Simla Season" has come to its close, scattering its jaded, weary, and over-worked high officials over the plains for pleasure jaunts through the provinces for a couple months previous to their re-assembling together again in Calcutta. Combining business with pleasure, after a shooting excursion on the lofty hills of Chumba, the Viceroy has made a tour of the Western States of Gujarat, paid a visit to the Portuguese Settlement of Goa, and after visiting Cochin, Travancore, Mysore and Madras in succession, returned to Calcutta by the East Coast Railway lately made over in sections to the Madras Railway Company and the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Company. The usual number of speeches were made at the different Native Courts, good advice deftly given, and definite promises avoided—this last especially to the representations of public bodies and associations in our own territory. A visit was also paid to the Mysore Gold-fields. His amiable and gentle consort, who has won high praise in India, accompanied him through the most part of the journey. India is likely to lose her presence shortly, as she returns home ; but we trust it is only for a brief period, and in this we echo only the universal voice of the country, as well for herself, for India, and for the Viceroy who is apt to be officially "troubled about many things," (like Martha of old), and hence needs some corrective in domesticity and home life. The babies are the "angels" who really govern and rule the world, and keep it straight.

SIR A. HAVELOCK AND LORD AMPHILL.—Descending from Viceroys to Governors, Sir Arthur Havelock has retired after a quiet and unassuming, patient and strenuous, devotion to the duties of his high office as Governor of Madras, giving place to Lord Amphill, the son of the well-known European diplomat Lord Odo Russell. Lord Amphill has already created a very favourable impression, and exhibits all the tact and resource of his clever and able father. He yet remains to “prove” himself, but we believe he will acquit himself well, and be an acquisition to the Southern Presidency. Many things of even imperial importance demand his strenuous advocacy and attentions, such as a just and due apportionment of the provincial as distinguished from the imperial revenues, irrigation schemes, and others, and it is within his reach to make his mark as a high and broad-viewed statesman—and not a mere successful administrator—even in India. As we welcome his arrival, we also wish him every success. His two public speeches, one on the occasion of unveiling the statue raised by public subscription to the Hon’ble Rev. Dr. Miller, Principal of the Madras Christian College, and the other when inaugurating a Madras Memorial scheme for the late Queen-Empress, were both excellent—indeed, could not have been better, and he has already gone a long way to win the affections as well as the respect of all classes of the forty or fifty millions of people he has been set over to rule and lead. Let us add here, that the raising of the statue referred to is not only a testimony to the unselfish labours of a generation, and the high character of the reverend missionary, but speaks to the advanced sentiment and progress of the native community. Such a Memorial, raised principally by non-Christian natives, would have been impossible in any other part of India, except perhaps in Bombay, though the Parsees there have “out-grown” since the days of Wilson to whom they owed so much. And it will be long indeed before Hindu Calcutta will unite in raising a statue to Alexander Duff and ask the Viceroy to bless it. Of course, mission work in South India is very much older than in Bengal or Bombay. Yet there is something in the character of the South Indian races, less of bigotry, and more openness and liberality of sentiment, that seems to be wanting—let us trust only for a time—in the northern, western and eastern races.

THE FRONTIER PROVINCE AND THE FAMINE COMMISSION.—The period under review has also been marked by two high measures of state, both urgently demanded. The N.-W. Frontier districts have been separated from the Punjab, and formed into a separate Province under the Government of India; and a Famine Commission, under the presidency of Sir Antony

Macdonell, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, has been going over the country taking evidence. The headquarters of the new frontier province will be Peshawar, and Colonel Deane has been placed in charge. This consolidation of interests separate from Punjab Proper had long been called for, and does away with much circumlocution where its absence is especially needed. At the same time, Punjab Proper will be less over-weighted with cares foreign to its internal development. A great deal—almost everything—will depend on the officer administering the new province, and we can only trust that Colonel Deane will prove himself the right man in the right place. The credit of his selection lies with Lord Curzon. And here, in passing, we may note that both Lord Curzon and Lord Ampthill are showing much wisdom in following Lord Dalhousie's plan of making the personal acquaintance of subordinate officers in the services. Such intercourse raises the tone of the officers—who are the real rulers in their districts, as well as enables the best men to be seen and found out, and hence is of service to the whole empire, rulers and ruled alike. In the matter of the Famine Commission no better President than Sir Antony Macdonell, who has so distinguished himself by his success in famine operations—not less so during his long career than in other most important lines—could have been found. Essentially a "strong" man—a great virtue in an Indian ruler—his mode of procedure in examining witnesses has been cried out against by "rose-water" people, but the work is a most important one, and we may be sure that Sir Antony will do it well and with thoroughness. It is a pity that men like him, in the prime of their powers, and with the accumulated knowledge and experience of a lifetime, cannot be continued in high office in this country after their term. An example like that of Sir John Lawrence comes only once in a century, and he came only under the influence of panic and after he had actually retired. As a "Deputy"-Viceroy the charge of minor provinces, as Assam, the Central Provinces, and others—the interests of which are hardly supervised now personally by the Viceroy—it is simply impossible to do it—and are consequently neglected, might be conferred on such an high officer, and the services of men like Sir Antony retained in the country to its great advantage. Even Burmah—which some consider should be separated from India and united with the Straits Settlements into a separate Government—which has only lately changed from a Chief Commissionership into a Lieutenant-Governorship, suffers from this want of direct personal supervision of the Viceroy. India has indeed outgrown its bounds and is double the extent it was half a century ago, and some recasting of the moulds of Gov-

ernment may be necessary in the interests both of the empire, and the holders of the very highest offices. Orissa and Chota-Nagpur may well be taken away from Bengal, and the Central Provinces made less unwieldy. But this is another subject, though related to the alteration or creation of new high offices, and the relief of the Viceroy, as well as the betterment of governments.

NATIVE PRINCES.—Of these India has to regret the death of the “sporting” Maharajah of Patiala, one of the leading Sikh Princes. His stables were the best in India, and he spent a fortune on them. His personal expenses, too, were quite lavish; and he never troubled himself with the cares of his state. He married, among others, a European wife, but she died before him. It is reported among natives that he died of a broken heart owing to a rebuff he received from the Viceroy. He died comparatively young. The land on which Simla now stands was a gift of the Patiala State.

The Gaekwar of Baroda, the leading Prince of Western India, has returned from his travels abroad, let us trust with considerable added knowledge. At all events, he has shown a “new departure” for an Indian Prince. He has contributed an article to the *Century* magazine. When all the Indian Princes begin to write for the Home Magazines, it will be a bad time for less-favoured mortals who now figure as contributors to their pages. The Maharajahs of Gwalior and Jodhpur have also both returned from China, with added experience and knowledge of the extent and resources, as well as the varied responsibilities, of the British Empire. The Maharajah of Cooch Behar, one of the two or three independent Chiefs included in the Bengal division, has also returned after a very prolonged visit to England; and his Maharani, who had stayed behind in India, is now going Home for a term of years to personally attend to the education of her children. There can be little doubt that this example will be more generally followed in the near future by the leading Indian nobility. Finally, in regard to Native Princes, the young Maharajah of Mysore, the leading Prince of South India, has made a trip to British Burmah under the care of his European tutor, and is back.

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC MATTERS as affecting India, show a distinct advance during the period. Professor Ramsay, after recommending Bangalore—we should have thought Mount Aboo as possessing a drier climate—for the site of the proposed Tata Research College, delivered an address on Education in Bombay previous to leaving the country. He succeeded in making clear that education as at present pursued in India is not in line with what we find in Germany, France,

America and even England, and foreshadowed, or implied, a beneficial change in the near future, which was capped by Mr. Justice Candy, who presided, making a statement that orders had been received from the Secretary of State at Home not to receive the present Government University Examinations as tests for employment. This will have the effect of considerably reducing the present crowd for University passes. There will be other examinations, under a Civil Service Board—a welcome and much-needed change if real efficiency is to be considered. It may perhaps be in some connection with the above changes, foreshadowed in Professor Ramsay's address, and the action of the Secretary of State, that Lord Curzon, in his speech at Convocation of the Calcutta University, referred to placing educational matters on a better basis. There were also several reforms for the University itself. The following is the summary of his speech as received by wire:—

“Important suggestions for University reform were put forward by the Viceroy in the course of the speech he delivered to-day, on the occasion of the Convocation of the Calcutta University, of which he is Chancellor. These suggestions are ones which His Excellency is inclined to support, but regarding which his mind is still open. They include proposals that academic distinction should be required as a qualification for Fellowship of Indian as of Home Universities; that Fellows should retain their votes only so long as they are resident upon the spot, and consequently able to take an active interest in the institution; also that fresh life should be constantly infused by making Fellowships terminable after a period of years, the holders, however, to be eligible for re-appointment. Lord Curzon further explained that he had abstained from filling more than a small proportion of vacancies which had occurred amongst Fellows since he became Chancellor, owing to the unwieldy size of the body, which now included some 180 members. He also referred to the general educational scheme which he had in view, and regarding which he hoped to be able to take the Calcutta University more fully into his confidence next year.” Lord Northcote at the Convocation of the Bombay University spoke strongly for technical and agricultural education.

In our obituary list for the Quarter will be found the name of Professor Max Müller, and we have only to name him to show what a loss India has sustained in his death. While recognising this, and towering supreme in generalisations in the Science of Language, he fell very far short of the grammatical learning and accuracy of Bopp and other masters of Sanscrit and Languages in general. At the same time, his generalisations regarding religion, valuable as an intellectual exercise, both

trenched on the claims of Revealed Religion, and were useless for practical effect. Everyone, however, has his place and use in the wide arena of thought and learning, and as such, Max Müller occupied one that was very prominent. The great lucidity of his style was remarkable and, like John Stuart Mill in other subjects, made him so much more read than he would have otherwise been. In generalising about Language he stopped short with the three great families, though dimly seeing an ultimate Unity. To show this Unity we shall need a master who will unite in himself the linguistic ability of a Mezzofanti, the grammatical and comparative powers of a Bopp, and the enthusiasm and generalising faculty of Max Müller. We doubt extremely if such a person—the Newton of the Science of Language—will ever rise. In any case, we may conclude these observations by pointing out, that a close and particular study of Hebrew (Semitic) and Sanscrit (Aryan) radical vocables brings out the remarkable fact, that *words reversed, and implying the same thing, are identical*. That is certainly the first and most important step gained in this great study of Unity of Languages, and may even have some bearing in regard to the question as to the Sanscrit being a natural-grown or a Pandit-elaborated language, and also throw some light Confusion of the Languages at the Tower of Babel. To return :—Orthodox Mahomedans, who do not believe in Aligarh, and consider it unsuited to, and too far off from, Bengal, have held a largely-attended and enthusiastic meeting in Calcutta to establish a College or University of their own, in which the genuine Koran-aroma and traditional Moslem feeling shall be preserved. Whether so, or not, it is a sign of the progress of the times, and we welcome it. In contact with a learned and tolerant Christianity, and with high western civilisation—some might even say the highest modern metaphysical speculations—Mahomedanism is showing curious and most interesting developments in India at the present time, the most advanced section almost touching the height of Christian truth—we refer to Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, of Kadian in the Punjab, who has collected adherents to his semi-Christian teaching even as far south as Madras. We feel assured he will not stop short in his upward progress to “the Light.” Meantime, Mr. Theodore Morrison has come forward with a most able paper on the “advanced” Mahomedans, of another class, in the columns of a Home journal. His description of the changes now going on is perfectly accurate. He has also entered into a public controversy in the press regarding the politics of the late Sir Syed Ahmad, and the relations of Mahomedans with the “Congress.” This is quite another subject. We have no space at present than to refer to it, and

to add, that Mr. Morrison is imperfectly informed in regard to the late Syed's politics and other matters, including the foundation of the Aligarh College. We may have occasion to clear these up on a future opportunity. A scientific expedition, under Professor Stein, has proceeded from Europe to Khoten in Chinese Central Asia. The object is to examine the remains of ancient buried cities in that direction, which cities, it is pretended, have only just become known. They were referred to nearly forty years ago in the columns of the then *Friend of India* in a leading article which was written, as we happen to know, by an early, and at the time well-known, great Asiatic traveller, who is yet alive, and whom Sir Henry Rawlinson and the late Mr. Bates, Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, in vain urged to publish himself. In the same leading article, we may add, the existence of remarkable and prolific gold mines is noted. When these mines are come upon—if they are come upon—it will in like manner be announced as a “new discovery!”

Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., of Calcutta, are announced shortly to publish a selection from the more important speeches of Lord Curzon since his appointment as Viceroy. They deal with a great variety of subjects connected with the administration of India, and will prove a valuable work of reference. We trust it will have as full a “selection” as possible; indeed, for our part, we should wish the work to be as complete as possible, with the full text, of every speech. This may enlarge the book; but in the “selection” much will depend on who makes it. Let us hope nothing essential in regard to Lord Curzon's views, policy, and promises, so abundantly thrown out in his many speeches, will be omitted. Mr. C. E. Buckland, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, has issued the first volume of “Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors,” which includes the periods of office with Sir Frederick Halliday in 1854. The second volume will bring the work down to 1897 with Sir Alexander Mackenzie. Mr. Buckland comes of a literary family, and we welcome his work, the more so as it will be a pleasant, as well as useful, reminiscence of the early rulers of Bengal to those who knew them, as we do. We remember Bengal when the Governor-General himself was the Governor of the province, and we met Sir Frederick Halliday in the fifties on the occasion of his first tour into the interior as Lieutenant-Governor, a portly and magnificent presence, accompanied by his thin and tall Secretary Mr. Cecil Beadon, who became afterwards also Lieutenant-Governor. We believe Sir Frederick Halliday still lives, somewhere over ninety years of age.

A number of great prizes, open to all the world, are
VOL. CXII.]

announced for competition this year ; and as there are several eminent men of science now working in various parts of India, we give the notice due prominence, taking the following extract relating to the prizes from the *London Globe* :—

The great Nobel prizes are for (1) the most important discovery or invention in the domain of the physical sciences ; (2) the most important discovery or improvement in chemistry ; (3) the most important discovery in physiology or medicine ; (4) the most remarkable literary work in the sense of idealism ; (5) to the person who has rendered the greatest service in the cause of international brotherhood by the suppression or reduction of standing armies, or the establishment and furtherance of Peace Congresses. The prizes are open to all the world and to be awarded yearly. The Board of Education have received through the Foreign Office copies of the regulations which they are sending to the Universities, learned societies, libraries, and journals of the United Kingdom. The first competition will be held next [this] year.

Finally, in regard to advances made in science in India we are enabled to state, that the efficacy of Dr. Calmette's antivenin has been conclusively proved in the matter of cobra poison by Doctors Hanna and Lamb, of the Research Laboratory, Bombay, who record in the *Lancet* a case of cobra-poisoning and cure where the identity of the snake was without doubt. As the subject is of the highest scientific interest and the greatest importance in this country, and, besides, we have been furnished with additional especially valuable original matter, which is necessary for everyone to know who has to deal with cases of cobra-poisoning and the employment of the antivenin, by Dr. Hanna,—to whom our acknowledgments are due,—we specially make room not only for the *Lancet* report, which is necessary for a true understanding of the subject, but for Dr. Hanna's Original notes, as well as the *Instruction pour l'emploi du Serum Antivenimeux* issued by the *Institut Pasteur*. We thus furnish a complete and thoroughly reliable guide to all and sundry in regard to cobra-poisoning, and its treatment. The following is the *Lancet* paper (as will be seen from Dr. Hanna's Original notes below, another paper is also promised) by Mr. W. Hanna, M.A., M.B., R.U.I., D.P.H., Cantab., and Mr. George Lamb, M.B., Glasg., Captain, I.M.S., of the Research Laboratory, Bombay :—

"The following record of a case of cobra-poisoning is of interest inasmuch as the identity of the snake was without doubt. All the symptoms were carefully noted from the beginning, and the only treatment employed was the injection of Calmette's antivenine.

"On the 6th October 1900, one of us was assisting in the extraction of poison from a full-sized cobra. Before proceeding to compress the glands in order to expel the poison the operator was clearing away some mucous secretion from the

neighbourhood of the mouth. This was being done with a small piece of cotton-wool held in the naked hand. The snake at the time was firmly held just behind the head in the hand of an experienced native snake-man. By some means or other the snake buried its right fang through the cotton-wool into the point of the operator's right thumb. The thumb was withdrawn practically instantaneously, but, as the after-history will show, not before a considerable quantum of poison had been injected. It is worthy of note that immediately afterwards four large drops of venom were pressed from the left gland, while none was obtained from the gland of the opposite side. As the wound was at first considered to be a trifling one, and as the snake was not believed to have injected any poison, no local treatment was employed except sucking the wound. This was done thoroughly and free bleeding occurred.

"On the advice of Mr. Haffkine, at from 20 minutes to half-an-hour after the bite, 18 cubic centimetres of Calmette's anti-venomous serum were injected, half into each flank. This serum, which was from four to five years old and had been in Bombay as the property of the Bombay Natural History Society for about four years, was the only serum available at the time. It may be stated here that some experiments on rats, made by us some few days previously to the accident here recorded, had shown this serum to have deteriorated to such an extent that it only retained about one-fourth of the neutralising power which Calmette's standardisation had ascribed to it. These experiments, along with others which are at present in progress, will form the subject matter of another communication. About two and a half hours after this dose of serum had been administered some general symptoms of cobra-poisoning referable to the nervous system set in. In chronological order these were as follows. There were first disinclination to work and lethargy, and then followed nausea and vomiting, accompanied by slight paresis of the legs. While these symptoms were still present some fresh serum, dated the 8th May, 1900, was procured. Ten cubic centimetres of this were at once injected into the left flank; that is, about three and a half hours after the bite. Nausea and weakness of the legs continued for some time. From two to three hours, however, after the second dose of serum all symptoms had passed away.

"Locally at the moment of infection there was much pain at the site of the wound. This pain increased and was soon followed by considerable swelling of the whole of the thumb, which in a few hours became exceedingly tense and very painful. There was much extravasation of blood into the tissues around the puncture, while a bloody exudation oozed out from the wound for 24 hours at least after its infliction. During this

time also there were pain and tenderness along the tract of the median nerve into the axilla ; tenderness was especially well marked at the bend of the elbow and in the axilla. There was also some anæsthesia of the anterior surfaces of the three and a half outer fingers, the superficial finger distribution of the median nerve. There was neither enlargement nor tenderness of any of the lymphatic glands. It soon became apparent that a slough was going to form round the site of inoculation. This slough became demarcated in a few days. It was of the size of a threepenny-piece. It came away in about three weeks' time and left a hole a quarter of an inch deep. This wound has gradually granulated up and now (six weeks after the accident) it is nearly healed.

"The case is an interesting one and worthy of record as one in which the identity of the snake was beyond doubt ; and further, the case was under observation from the first, and symptoms, both local and general, were carefully noted as they appeared. It also points to the efficacy of Calmette's serum when fresh, even when general symptoms have appeared and in spite practically of no local treatment, not even a ligature.

"The following conclusions can be drawn :—1. That great care is required in handling poisonous snakes. 2. That the puncture of a fang of a passive snake is not to be neglected, as a considerable amount of poison may be forced out from the gland through reflex action, initiated by simple pressure on the fang. 3. That thorough sucking of the wound is of little avail as a local treatment ; the poison lies deep, is viscid, and the bleeding in all probability takes place from superficial vessels. 4. That it is advisable to keep a stock of *fresh* antivenomous serum in dispensaries in India, and the use of this serum is not to be neglected even after general symptoms have set in."

The Original notes received by us from Dr. Hanna are as follows :—

"The freshest serum can be obtained direct from M. Calmette, L'Institut Pasteur, Lille, France.

"Occasionally you can get fairly fresh serum from Messrs. Phillips & Co., Bombay [and we may add, from Messrs. W. E. Smith & Co., Madras].

"A paper in French has all the necessary directions accompanying the bottles. [It is this paper we subjoin below*.]

*** INSTRUCTION POUR L'EMPLOI DU SERUM
ANTIVENIMEUX.**

INSTITUT PASTEUR
DE LILLE

(Nord-France)

Le sérum antivenimeux est du sérum de cheval immunisé contre le venin des serpents. Il conserve ses propriétés indéfiniment, si on prend soin de ne jamais

"The following are the chief points to attend to :—

1. At once ligature strongly the bitten limb with a handkerchief or other suitable means as near as possible to the bite.

2. *Bathe the wounds abundantly* so as to make them bleed freely.

3. It is *useless to cauterise* with heat or chemicals.

4. *Avoid* the administration of *ammonia or alcohol*, as these only accelerate the circulation of the poison and do not give the serum which is being absorbed, a chance to act upon the venom circulating in the blood.

5. Inject the serum into the flank with a 10—20 c.c. sterile syringe.

"There is one point to which we should like to draw your attention. Calnette recommends 10 c.c. for the smaller snakes and 20 c.c. for the larger, such as the cobra. We recommend the injection of at least 30 c.c. of the serum.

déboucher le flacon qui le renferme et de le maintenir à l'abri de la lumière. Il n'est al'é par la chaleur qu'au dessus de 60 degrés centigrades.

On l'emploie en injections hypodermiques dans tous les cas de morsures de serpents venimeux ou de scorpions. Le sérum empêche les effets des venins provenant de toutes les espèces de serpents de l'Europe, de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, de l'Océanie et de l'Amérique.

La dose à employer est de 10 c.c., c'est-à-dire un flacon entier, pour les enfants et pour les adultes, lorsqu'il s'agit d'une morsure du vipère d'Europe ou d'un serpent de petite espèce des pays chauds.

Dans les cas de morsures par des serpents de grande taille, tels que le *cobra capel* de l'Inde, le *naja haje* d'Egypte, les *bothrops* de la Martinique et de l'Amérique du Sud, les *crotales* de l'Amérique centrale et de l'Amérique du Nord, il sera préférable d'injecter simultanément deux doses, soit 20 c.c. en une seule injection.

Il faut intervenir le plus tôt possible après la morsure, car certains serpents, dans les pays chauds, tuent l'homme en quelques heures. Même dans les cas les plus graves, on pourra toujours empêcher la mort et arrêter l'envenimation si on injecte le sérum dans un délai de quatre heures après la morsure. Il n'y a aucun danger à en injecter de grandes quantités ; **le sérum ne renferme aucune substance toxique et ne cause jamais d'accidents.**

Les injections sous-cutanées de sérum doivent être faites dans le tissu cellulaire du flanc droit ou gauche de préférence, parce qu'elles ne sont pas douloureuses à cet endroit.

On doit les pratiquer avec une seringue stérilisable, à piston de caoutchouc ou d'amiante, de 10 ou 20 c.c. de capacité. Avant l'injection, on fait bouillir la seringue pendant cinq minutes dans de l'eau additionnée d'une petite quantité de borax. (Cette substance empêche les aiguilles d'être attaquées par la rouille). On lave avec soin la peau du blessé avec du savon et de l'eau, puis avec une solution antiseptique. On introduit alors l'aiguille profondément dans le tissu cellulaire, on pousse l'injection en une ou deux minutes et on retire brusquement l'aiguille. Le sérum se résorbe en quelques instants.

Ces précautions de propreté sont utiles pour ne pas produire d'abcès. On peut s'en dispenser si le temps presse et que la vie de la personne mordue soit en danger immédiat. Dans les cas très urgents on peut injecter le sérum directement dans une veine superficielle, telle que la veine dorsale de la main.

Le sérum antivenimeux préparé à l'Institut Pasteur de Lille ne renferme pas d'acide phénique. Son pouvoir antitoxique peut toujours être vérifié de la manière suivante : Si on injecte 2 c. c. dans les veines d'un lapin pesant environ deux kilogrammes, ce lapin doit pouvoir résister cinq minutes après à une dose d'un venin quelconque calculée pour tuer en vingt minutes les lapins témoins, de même poids que le lapin qui a reçu le sérum préventivement.

"You will see from a paper which we are publishing in the *Lancet* in a month or six weeks, why we have come to this conclusion.

"From other experiments which are being conducted here by us, and which will appear later, I am afraid you will find that Calmette's serum is useless against the bites of *Viperine snakes*, such as Russell's viper which is very common here and probably on the Madras side also.

"The serum has *undoubted value* against colubrine snakes such as the Cobra and Krait.

"Please try to *identify the snake*, if possible,—this is very important."

THE THREE INDIAN BISHOPS.—The Metropolitan has been taken to task by a portion of the press for having, in a Missionary sermon at St. Paul's, Calcutta, expressed the very Christian hope that the Holy Scriptures would be studied in the public schools and colleges in India before the conclusion of this new century. We don't see what reason there is against even the hope being expressed that the *Vedas* should come to be studied. As a fact, we believe, Bishop Butler's immortal *Analogy* is a text-book for "Honors," and even a Hindu taking it up, would have to study the scheme of Revealed Religion as laid down in the Bible. The forcible, or insidious, conversion of India to Christianity is an exploded bogey even among the natives, and the best educated among them are always found to be those who have closely studied the Bible—more closely than 90 per cent. of even European "Christians." The Bishop of Madras in a speech has commented on the godlessness of the present system of Government education, and the loss thereby to the youths themselves and the country. Meanwhile, the Hon'ble and Rev. Dr. Miller—who is as great in his Church as any Bishop, and is held in the greatest affec-

Un léger précipité albumineux dans les flacons n'est pas un indice d'altération.

La première précaution à prendre, aussitôt que l'on est mordu par un reptile est de serrer le membre mordu à l'aide d'un lien ou d'un mouchoir, le plus près possible de la morsure entre celle-ci et la racine du membre.

On doit, autant que possible, laver abondamment la plaie produite par les crochets du serpent en la faisant saigner, et l'arroser ensuite avec une solution récente de chlorure de chaux à 1 gr. pour 60 d'eau distillée ou avec une solution de chlorure d'or pur à 1 gr. pour 100. Ces deux substances détruisent très bien le venin qui reste dans la plaie. On peut faire ensuite un pansement antiseptique ordinaire.

Il est inutile de cautériser le membre mordu avec un fer rouge ou avec des substances chimiques. On doit éviter d'administrer de l'ammoniaque ou de l'alcool qui ne pourraient qu'être nuisibles au malade et au traitement par le sérum.

TRAITEMENT des MORSURES VENIMEUSES chez les Animaux Domestiques.—Dans certains pays, beaucoup d'animaux domestiques (bœufs, moutons, chevaux, chiens) sont tués chaque année par des reptiles venimeux et occasionnent ainsi des pertes considérables aux agriculteurs. L'emploi du sérum antivenimeux permet d'éviter ces pertes. On en fait usage exactement comme pour l'homme et aux mêmes doses. Les injections aux animaux doivent être faites de préférence sous la peau du dos, entre les deux épaules.

tion and esteem by even the Hindu community of Madras, whom he has done so much to elevate and raise—has entered the fray and quite convincingly shown that Lord Halifax's famous Education Despatch, as well as "neutrality" in religion, does not operate in regard to the teaching of the Bible in Government Colleges. This is an extraordinary view; but he clearly and conclusively proves his point. No one has yet ventured to controvert his position.

The good Bishop of Bombay is not troubled with such matters, but in delivering his first "Charge" to his Clergy, drew attention to a variety of points in which he finds the Clergy in India falling short of their clear and absolute duty—especially in the matters of regular daily Church Services—which even Hindus and Mahomedans carry out for their respective faiths—and visiting their flock. His words are so weighty and true, that we regret we cannot do more at present than just refer to them, and to say how true they are. And our Chaplains have not the slightest excuse for such laziness and neglect of their duties. They are put to shame not only by the hard-worked Roman Catholic Clergy; but, as stated above, even by the heathen!

LEGISLATION AND OTHER MATTERS AND OBITUARY.—The Select Committee's Report on the Assam Labour Bill recommends the enhancement by eight annas in the minimum wage of indentured coolies in their second and third years, but only Sir C. Rivaz, Mr. Raleigh and Mr. Bolton sign it without reservation. Messrs. Buckingham and Henderson and Sir Allan Arthur append independent riders protesting in the strongest manner against raising the wage at a time like the present, when the tea industry is face to face with a crisis, and urge that no case for it has been made out, and that it can only operate, not only to the detriment of the industry, but also to that of the cooly himself, since it will make it more difficult for the employer of labour in the tea districts to give employment to the labourer. Mr. Cotton, on the other hand, appends a long rider urging that the wage should be raised, not by eight annas, but by double that amount from the commencement of service, his argument being that the minimum wage as actually paid is insufficient to keep coolies in health and strength, and that to raise it would not only reduce the death-rate amongst coolies but would actually relieve the planter, since it would enable him to obtain labour without having to pay the present high premiums for collecting it, which premiums now go into the hands of middle-men. A protest meeting has been held.

There have been seasonable and plentiful rains in South India, but some parts further North and West will yet have

to pass through another period of Famine. Mr. Digby has a cure for Famine, and it is a pity he does not come forward and show what it is. There has been extreme cold in the North, while the South of India has been warmer than usual. Meteorological science is as yet only in its infancy and first beginnings, and cannot explain much of what happens—much less predict what is to happen. The Plague has again gained ground in Bombay in certain districts, is increasing in the Punjab, has diminished in Mysore, and is raging violently in Behar. The serum, too, for inoculation has been proved to lose its efficacy after six months. Finally,—and it is about the best news for India, press and public alike,—there is now every chance of the high charges for the cable from Europe being materially—by one-half—reduced. The prospect of this reduction comes not from the Indo-European Telegraph Company, but from the new cable to be laid across the Pacific from Canada.

Our obituary list includes Thomas Faed, R.A.; Sir William Stokes; Sir John Adye; Professor Sidgwick; Rev. Archdeacon Gorton (late of Madras); The Marquis of Bute; Sir Henry Acland, M.D.; Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C.; Professor Shuttleworth; Sims Reeves; Sir John Cowan; Professor Max Müller; Prince Christian Victor; Professor Hughes; Maharajah of Patiala; Professor Armstrong (Edin.); Sir Arthur Sullivan; Oscar Wilde; Henry Russell (song writer); Sir John Couroy, F.R.S.; Field Marshall von Blumenthal; Sir Thomas Clark; Dowager Lady Churchill; Lord Armstrong and W. H. Grimley, late B.C.S.

THE EDITOR.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

I.

Pioneering on the Congo. By the Rev. W. HOLMAN BENTLEY.
2 vols. (Religious Tract Society, 1900.)

THIS is a noble book, interesting and instructive. The writer of this Notice is familiar with the history of the Region, and has watched the enterprise for the whole period of its being undertaken, and is intensely interested in the motives and objects, which are had in view. But no outsider coming fresh on such a narrative of Regions previously unknown can fail to be thankful, that such a book has been written. Perhaps it is too long to attract the general reader, and some of the anecdotes might have been omitted, or greatly reduced in length; yet anyone, who has an interest in the philosophic study of Mankind, as still existing at the close of the nineteenth century, cannot fail to find much to admire, and ponder over. It does not in the least resemble the story, which a Missionary would give of a twenty years' sojourn in British India, or China, or even in South Africa, or Eastern Equatorial Africa. It gives a picture of an environment, which had existed before the contact of the black races with the Mahometan and Christian invaders.

The period of years which the narrative covers is from 1878 A.D. to 1900. Henry Stanley had just completed his great stride across Africa by the valley of the Congo River, and had returned to Stanley Pool to introduce order under the authority of Leopold King of the Belgians. The Missionary Society, of whose agents we read the achievements, was the Baptist Missionary Society of Great Britain, and the author of the book is the Rev. W. Holman Bentley, one of the most efficient of the Missionaries of that Society, and well known in the Literary world for his admirable dictionary and Grammar of the Congo Language, and his translation of the New Testament into the same form of speech.

The appearance of the book is most opportune for those, who were interested in the great enterprise and really desirous of some official Progress-Report, and the degree of success, or the contrary, which had attended the first twenty years of the operation. Much time, even amounting to years, was lost in the necessary material-preparation for the task. This has been surmounted, and the real Missionary work of converting souls,

and building up a Native Christian Church, is progressing. Herein lies the great contrast between a Mission started in Central Africa or in British India. In the latter country the new arrival finds a population of quiet people grouped in towns and villages in a certain degree of culture, under a strong and civilized Government, with all the necessities of life available ; Missionary work can commence at once. In the Congo Region it was entirely the contrary, and must remain so for many a long year ; but still a firm footing has been established.

Mention is made of the languages spoken in the Region : one only, the Congo, has as yet been thoroughly studied, others only slightly, many not at all : here is work for the scholars of next century. The people in the Region are not ' Savages,' but must be classed in the higher stage of ' Barbarians ' : their religion is of the lowest order : they recognize dimly the existence of a God, but are saved from the course of a Priesthood, and apparently there are no temples. Many of their customs are most abominable. Slavery exists in its most atrocious forms : among some of the tribes Cannibalism prevails, and a chief is mentioned, who had eaten seven of his own wives. Polygamy exists to an enormous extent, and forty wives are mentioned as nothing unusual. Cruelty, contempt of human life, and tribal feuds, render a civilized life impossible. Witchcraft is a custom of peculiar malignity : every death is attributed to witches at the instigation of some enemy, and the survivors of the deceased think it their duty to secure vengeance with most frightful consequences.

Still, in spite of this extremely bad collective character of the tribes, instances of nobility of character of individuals, gentleness, fidelity, and a readiness to accept Christian Truths are repeatedly quoted, showing that there is a soil for planting the new Religion of Christ not in name only but reality ; and some few most promising conversions have been made.

The Baptist Mission is not the only Protestant Mission in the Region. Several other societies of different countries have sent their agents, and good feeling and harmony prevail. The Church of Rome is represented also, but has no dominant ascendancy. The cost of exploring the country and building stations has been very heavy, and as the work expanded, some stations have had to be abandoned ! The seagoing steamers are now able to enter the lower Congo, and are in communication with the railway, which conveys the Missionary and his heavy stores to Stanley Pool ; Stanley Falls are fifteen hundred miles further Eastward, and the course of the river lies in a gigantic curve to the North of the Equator, and great unknown streams flow into the Congo both from the North

and South, coming from Regions inhabited by different races speaking different Languages. Two river steamers have had to be maintained for service above Stanley Pool.

The loss of life of Missionary Agents, both male and female (for women have not been absent in this warfare), has been very heavy, and it is a sad story to read, but to preach the Gospel is part of the duty of a great Imperial Christian Nation and the object is a worthy one, *viz*, "to bring souls to Christ": the same cannot be said of the wicked wars, which the English have waged in every part of Africa, the thousands of poor natives who have perished to gratify our earth-greed, or swell the profits of the dealers in alcoholic drink in Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. If we send blessings in this form of holy women and men, we send curses in the shape of gunpowder and gin to a much greater amount. After ages will comment on these features of the character of Englishmen in the nineteenth century.

To carry on a Protestant Mission in a country belonging to a group of Roman Catholic States involves difficulties unknown to the easy-going Missionaries in British India. But on the whole the Portuguese Government, and the Portuguese Missionaries of the Church of Rome, have acted fairly and kindly; with the French Government North of the Congo there has been very little contact, and nothing but praise is recorded of the King of the Belgians and his officials. The Missionaries of the Past and Present have behaved very judiciously. May their successors adopt the same policy! There may be a change of front: there may be great dangers ahead to the Mission from the unconverted Heathen, and the Romish Civil Authorities.

There is no metallic currency in the Region: all payments are made in cloth, or brass rods, or such like: this requires an accumulation of combustible stores, and one great fire has already caused a serious loss, and inconvenience, as it is a far stretch from Liverpool to Stanley Pool, though there is steam communication by ship or rail the whole distance. The objectionable practice of presents hampers all social intercourse: it reads like a joke at a man taking offence because the usual present of a pig is not made to him.

In this volume the reader recognizes to a certain extent the presence of that peculiar Dialect of the English Language, known as "the Missionary Dialect." It evidences bad literary taste, if nothing worse. At pp. 60, 61, vol. ii, the Divine name appears six times in about the space of one page. The blemish is much less in these volumes than in ordinary Missionary Reports from the field, and one of the alleged reasons for the extreme unpopularity of the subject of Missions in

certain classes of society is the style of the language adopted. The work is a great and a holy one. Why cannot a Missionary Campaign be described, as regards its worldly and human incidents, like any other Campaign? Men lay down their lives nobly in this form of service : so do others in other forms of service, *and God overrules all*. Tell the story simply, and, as it is always a noble story, the heart of the reader rises in admiration, and does not require conventionally pious expressions, or Scripture quotations.

Not much real Missionary work has been done : the Seed has been laid below the ground, and the harvest is in the Future. The enterprise is a noble one, and honour is due to the Committee of the Baptist Society for conceiving, and so far carrying out, a noble idea. The area is enormous, and perhaps it would have been wiser to have commenced with a smaller area, and then, as years went on, expanded operations by annexing new kingdoms. This was the policy adopted with success in British India. When some of us went to India in the Forties, how little we dreamed of the Missionary stations in the Panjab ! Of the Author of these volumes we can only speak in terms of love and admiration long entertained for himself and " his good helpmate." May their lives long be spared ! This Mission may well be classed among the ' Heroic ' Missions of the World.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

- Indian Currency*, an essay. By William Fowler, LL.B. London : Aberdeen University Press. 1899.
- The Indian Magazine and Review*, No. 360, December 1900. London : Archibald Constable & Co. 1900.
- Anthropology*, Bulletin, Vol. II, No. 3. Kadirs of the Anaimalais ; Malaialis of the Shevaroy's ; Syllabus of Demonstration on Anthropology ; The Dravidian Head ; The Dravidian Problem. With seven Plates. By Edgar Thurston, Superintendent, Madras Government Museum ; Correspondant étranger, Société d'Anthropologie de Paris. Madras : The Superintendent, Government Press. 1899.
- Memorandum on some Indian Questions*. prepared for the Right Honourable Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy and Governor-General of India. By John Murdoch, LL.D. Madras : S. P. C. K. Press, Vepery. 1900.
- The Bombay Law Reporter*, a fortnightly Legal Journal. Vol. III, No. 1, January 15th, 1901. Bombay : Printed at J. B. Marzban & Co.'s Steam Printing Works, Mint Road. 1901.
- Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India*, Nos. 7, 8, and 9, for the months of October, November and December 1900, and No. 10 for the month of January 1901, and for the ten months, 1st April 1900 to 31st January 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1898-99 and 1899-1900. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.
- Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries*. Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8, for the eight months, April to November 1900, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1898 and 1899. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.
- Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*. Vol. XXX, Part 2. Calcutta : Government of India Central Printing Office, 8 Hastings Street. 1900.
- Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India*, for the year ending 30th June 1900. Bombay : The Bombay Government Press. 1900.
- Report on the Administration of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the Penal Settlements of Port Blair and the Nicobars*, for 1899-1900. Calcutta : Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.
- Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency*, for 1899-1900. Madras : The Superintendent, Government Press. 1900.
- General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal*, for 1899-1900. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1900.
- Resolution reviewing the Reports on the Working of the District Boards in Bengal*, during the year 1899-1900. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1900.
- Report on the Cawnpore Experimental Farm*, for the Kharif and Rabi Seasons 1899-1900. Allahabad : North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1900.

- Report of the Honorary Committee for the Management of the Zoological Garden*, for the year 1899-1900. The L. H. Press. 1900.
- Agricultural Statistics of the Lower Provinces of Bengal*, for 1899-1900. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1900.
- Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and its Dependencies*, for the year 1899-1900. By J. Sime, Esq., LL.D., C.I.E., Director of Public Instruction, Punjab. Lahore : The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press. 1900.
- Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Lower Provinces*, for the official year 1899-1900. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1900.
- Resolution reviewing the Reports on the Working of the Municipalities in Bengal*, during the year 1899 1900. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1900.
- Report on the Administration of the Stamp Department of the North Western Provinces and Oudh*, for the year ending 31st March 1900. Allahabad : The North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1900.
- Annual Progress Report of Administration North Western Provinces and Oudh, Forest Department*, for the forest year ending 30th June 1900. North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1900.
-

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXII.

April 1901.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

CALCUTTA :
PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY
THE CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET
MESSRS. THACKER, SPINK & CO., GOVERNMENT PLACE, N.
AND TO BE HAD OF ALL RESPECTABLE BOOK-SELLERS IN CALCUTTA.
MADRAS: MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & Co.
LONDON: MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co., Ltd.
PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHANCERY CROSS ROAD, LONDON, W. C.
All Rights Reserved.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CCXXIV.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
ART. I.—QUILON, AN INDIAN PORT OF FORMER DAYS	201
„ II.—EASTWARD HOME WITH TRIPS TO COREA, SIBERIA AND NEWFOUNDLAND ...	213
„ III.—POSTAL REFORMS ..	244
„ IV.—LIFE AND WORK OF GENERAL SIR ARTHUR COTTON, R.E., K.C.S.I. ...	248
„ V.—DARJEELING ...	263
„ VI.—EXPERIMENTAL FARMS FOR THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. ...	269
„ VII.—COLONIAL POLICIES: ASSIMILATION AND AUTONOMY ..	278
„ VIII.—EASTER MORNING ...	284
„ IX.—SOME SIGNS OF THE TIMES ...	291
„ X.—A RETURNED EMPTY ...	295
„ XI.—HERBERT SPENCER'S PHILOSOPHY ...	319
„ XII.—THE EVOLUTION OF A BRITISH COLONY ...	335
„ XIII.—THE CAUSE AND CURE OF CHOLERA AND SCARLATINA ...	350
THE QUARTER ...	367

CRITICAL NOTICES:—

I.—GENERAL LITERATURE :—

- 1.—The Imperial and Colonial Magazine and Review. Illustrated. Vol. I, Part I, November, 1900. 1s. nett. Edited by "Celt" and E. F. Benson. London : Hurst & Blackett. India : Thacker, Spink & Co., Bombay Thacker & Co., A. H. Wheeler & Co. Bookstalls ... vii
- 2.—Rue with a Difference. By Rosa Nouchette Carey. 3s. 6d. London : Macmillan's Colonial Library ... ib.
- 3.—Modern Broods, or Developments Unlooked for. By Charlotte Mary Yonge. 3s. 6d. London : Macmillan's Colonial Library ... ib.
- 4.—The Attache at Peking. By A. B. Freeman-Mitford, C.B. 3s. 6d. London : Macmillan's Colonial Library ... ib

CRITICAL NOTICES—

1—GENERAL LITERATURE:—

	PAGE.
5.—The Increasing Purpose. By James Lane Allen, 3s. 6d. London : Macmillan's Colonial Library ...	viii
6.—Eleanor. By Mrs. Humphrey Ward. 3s. 6d. London : Macmillan's Colonial Library ...	ib.
7.—Kindergarten Teaching in India. Part I. Infant Standard, Part II. First Standard, and Part III. Second Standard. Eight annas each. By Mrs. Blander, Inspectress of Girls' Schools, Northern and Central Circles, Madras. London, Bombay and Calcutta. Messrs. Macmillan & Co. ...	ib.
8.—The Fauna of British India, including Ceylon and Burma. Published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Edited by W. T. Blanford. Arachnida. By R. I. Pocock. London : Taylor & Francis ; Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. ; Bombay : Thacker & Co. ...	ix.
9.—Authorised Guide to Lee Warner's Citizen of India. By Rev. A. Tomory, M. A., Professor of English Literature, Duff College, Calcutta, Macmillan & Co., Limited ; London, Bombay and Calcutta, 1900. Price twelve annas ...	ib
10.—The Authorised Guide to Sir Roper Lethbridge's History of India. By Isan Chandra Ghosh, M.A., Head Master of the Hughli Training School. Macmillan & Co., Limited ; London, Bombay and Calcutta, 1901. Price twelve annas ...	ib.
11.—Supplement to Nesfield's Idiom, Grammar and Synthesis Book IV, consisting of appendices on Accent, Pronunciation, Structure of Sentences and Structure of Paragraph as required by the Matriculation, or Entrance and First Arts Courses of Indian Universities. Macmillan & Co., Limited ; London, Bombay and Calcutta, 1900. Price three annas ...	ib.
12.—Macmillan's Atlas for Primary Schools in India. Macmillan & Co., Limited ; London, Bombay and Calcutta. Price eight annas ...	ib.
13.—The Indian Penal Code. Act XLV of 1860 (with all amendments to date) and Notes, Analysis and Commentaries thereon, by Reginald A. Nelson, MA., LL.M., of the Inner Temple, Barr at-Law, Principal of the Madras Law College, and Advocate of the High Court of Madras. Third Edition. Madras : Srinivasa Varadachari & Co. ; London : Sweet and Maxwell, Limited, Law Publishers, 3, Chancery Lane, W. C. 1901. [All rights reserved] ...	x
14.—A School History of Ancient and Modern India. By Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E. With Illustrations and Maps. Macmillan & Co., London, Bombay and Calcutta ...	ib.

15.—A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar). A Contribution to the History of India By Robert Sewell, Madras Civil Service (retired), M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1900. Price 15s. ...	xi
16.—Açvighosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana. Translated for the first time from the Chinese version by Teitaro Suzuki, Chicago. The Open Court Publishing Company. London Agents : Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co. 1900 ...	xiii
17.—The Tiruvāṅgam, or 'Sacred Utterances' of the Tamil Poet Saint and Sage Mānikka-Vāṅgar : the Tamil Text of the fifty-one Poems, with English Translation, Introductions, and Notes ; to which is prefixed a summary of the Life and Legends of the Sage, with appendices illustrating the great South-Indian System of Philosophy and Religion called the Āiṇva Siddhantam. With Tamil Lexicon and Concordance. By the Rev. G.U. Pope, M.A., D.D., Balliol College and Indian Institute, Oxford. Pages C+440, Royal 8vo., cloth. Price 21s. Net. Printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford. London, Edinburgh and New York ...	ib.
Acknowledgments ...	xviii

WORKS BY A. MACKENZIE CAMERON,

EDITOR *Calcutta Review* :

1. The Child's Xmas and New Year Box.
2. The Financial Policy of Government.
3. Logic in Theology.
4. Letter on Christianity.
5. A True Education Policy for India.
6. Borneo, &c—Cassell's *Illustrated Travels*.
7. Identity of Ophir and Taprobane, from the *Greek, Hebrew and Sanscrit*, £1.
8. Handy-book of Practical Astronomy, £1.
9. The Progress and Resources of New South Wales, a *Government Prize Essay*.
10. Manures for Indian Crops An *Agricultural Prize Essay*.
11. Economic Cultivation of the Sugar-cane, a *Queensland Prize Essay*.
12. Economic Products of the Grape Fruit, a *South Australian Prize Essay*.
13. Fruit Cultivation in Natal, an *Agricultural Prize Essay*.
14. The Australian Doctor, 700 pp., £2-2s.
15. School and College Text-book of Geology.

INDISPENSABLE TO RESIDENTS ABROAD.

WILKINSON'S



ESSENCE OR FLUID EXTRACT OF RED JAMAICA

Established over
60 YEARS.

SARSAPARILLA.

Pronounced by the HIGHEST MEDICAL AUTHORITIES the most

**WONDERFUL PURIFIER
OF THE HUMAN BLOOD**

SAFEST *and most* **RELIABLE Remedy for**

**TORPID LIVER, DEBILITY,
ERUPTIONS, WEAK & LANGUID
FEELINGS, &c.**

It is asserted on the
best authority that a
little taken daily is
the **BEST**
PREVENTIVE of
ILLNESS



WILKINSON'S SARSAPARILLA **CLEANSSES THE BLOOD OF
ALL DANGEROUS HUMOURS**



IMPORTANT EVIDENCE.

"We cannot speak too highly of it."—**LANCET.**

"We recommend your **RED JAMAICA SARSAPARILLA**"—**MEDICAL REVIEW.**

"The only Preparation for removing what may be called the *sequela* of a mercurial course."—**SIR R. MARTIN.**

The late **LORD CLYDE**, writing for a further supply of **WILKINSON'S SARSAPARILLA**, says, "I am never without it, for when feeling depressed or out of sorts from anxiety or fatigue, a dose or two animates me."

"Your **ESSENCE OF RED JAMAICA SARSAPARILLA** cured me of a Torpid Liver when all other medicines failed."—**EARL OF ALDBOROUGH.**

WELL KNOWN AS

"A superior preparation that may
always be relied on,"



FOR OVER SIXTY YEARS.

CAUTION

**BEWARE OF AND REFUSE ALL IMITATIONS
AND SUBSTITUTES.**

WILKINSON'S BROCHIC-THORACIC LOZENGES.

Invaluable to Public Speakers, Cle gymen, Barristers,
Vocalists, &c.

MAY BE TAKEN BY CHILDREN WITH THE GREATEST SAFETY.

WHITMORE'S COMPOUND LINIMENT of ARNICA

A specific for the cure of Rheumatism, Lumbago, Sciatica, Sprains, Weakness of the Joints.

The above are sold by all Chemists and Dealers in Medicines.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 224—APRIL 1901.

ART. I.—QUILON, AN INDIAN PORT OF FORMER DAYS.

WHEN Lord Curzon, in his recent vice-regal tour in Southern India, visited the beautiful native state of Travancore, whose "exquisite scenery, old world simplicity and Arcadian charm" seem to have so attracted his lordship, the first glimpse he had of the natural beauty of the country was at Quilon, a thriving third-rate port on the middle of the Travancore seaboard, and the proposed terminus of the new Travancore Railway. Apart from its natural beauty there is at present but little at Quilon to arrest the gaze of the passing traveller; but in point of historical interest the city has a record which few seaports in India could surpass. It was a place of note ever long before the voyage of Da Gama linked together the destinies of the East and the West. When Calcutta was a marshy jungle infested by wild beasts and Bengal ruled by a line of Hindu kings who held their Court at ruined Gaur, Quilon was one of the chief centres of Eastern trade. Eleven centuries have almost rolled by since it gave its name to the Malabar era current in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. In the middle ages it was an important centre of the Nestorian Christians, and was often visited by Catholic missionaries from the West who came so far to bring the erring Nestorians back into the orthodox fold. It was the seat of the first bishoprick which Rome founded in India. The land locked lagoon with its "fairy landscape" where a few days ago rival snakeboats flew over the waters to make a vice-regal holiday, was in the days of Friar Jordanus, the first and perhaps the only occupant of the See of Columbum;* crowded with the shipping of all the East from Yemen to Cathay. Ibn Batuta, the Arab traveller, found the port one of the largest in the world and its markets the finest in India.

A brief, albeit fragmentary historical sketch of the place

* The Latin form of Quilon. In Sanskrit also Quilon is called Kolanbani.

would be interesting, and would, I believe, have more than academic interest, as it is possible that with Railways and other modern conditions, and the great natural resources of Travancore, Quilon might attain a high position among the commercial centres of Modern India.

The Malabar era called after Quilon Kollam Era (Quilon is simply Kollam *anglice*) begins with 824 A. D., and the town is commonly supposed to have been founded about that date, to commemorate the beginning of a new era. But this view is not correct. The origin of all old towns is lost in obscurity. They grow up naturally in the East as elsewhere, and are deliberately founded and started on an urban career only in rare cases. A conqueror like Alexander founds them at strategic points with great natural advantages to cement his conquests and to spread the influence of a new civilization; or a Sultan like Mahomed Taglak founds a city and peoples it under compulsion in sheer wantonness of unbridled power. Quilon does not seem to have had any similar origin, and we have clear evidence to show the city was in existence long before the date of its alleged foundation. The first mention of Quilon we find in a document of the seventh century A. D. In an episcopal letter written by Jesu-Jabus of Adiabene, the Nestorian patriarch of Babylon to Simon, metropolitan of Fars (the old name of Persia) charging him with neglect of duty, he says "not only is India which extends from the coast of the kingdom of Fars to *Colon*, a distance of 1,200 parasangs deprived of a regular ministry, but Fars itself is lying in darkness."* This patriarch Jesu-Jabus died in 660 A. D. Quilon must thus have been a place of considerable importance and a centre of Nestorian Christians even at that early date. These Christians, the ancestors of the prosperous Syrian Christians who form a large and influential community in Cochin and Travancore, originally came from Persia before the fifth or sixth century A. D., and settled down in the leading maritime towns of Western India. Quilon must have been in existence for a century or two earlier before it could attain the celebrity of a geographical landmark of India in those days when voyages were so slow and risky.

The Malabar era beginning with 824 AD. was founded according to tradition for the convenience of the people, and was called after Quilon, probably because the formal agreement of the Malabar Chiefs to adopt the new era, was entered into at Quilon which was undoubtedly at the time, the premier city in Malabar.† The city seems to have thriven fast, and

* Yule's Marco Polo. See note on Quilon.

† Malabar is used in the wider sense including the District of Malabar and the Native States of Cochin and Travancore.

fresh colonies of Nestorian Christians came there attracted by the trade. In 822 A.D. two Nestorian Persians, Mar Sapor and Mar Peroz arrived in Quilon with a large following and settled there. Two years after, in 824 A.D., King Sthanu Ravi Gupta anxious to secure pecuniary assistance from the rich Christian merchants in his efforts to repel an invasion of Malabar by the Rahakutas granted the copper-plate grant known as the Second Charter. In this grant the king gave permission to Mar Sapor to transfer to the Tarasa Church and community at Quilon, a piece of land near the city with the hereditament usual at the time of several families of low caste slaves attached to the soil.*

Quilon had already become one of the most important ports in India. The merchant Soleyman of Siraf in Persia who visited Malabar and the East in the first-half of the ninth century A.D. found it was the only port in India touched by the huge Chinese ships on their way from Canton to the ports on the Persian Gulf. The Chinese whose intense conservatism and hatred of all foreign influence have given rise to the most serious political problem at the dawn of the twentieth century were, in those days, an enlightened and pushing race, and the ocean trade of the East was entirely in their hands. Civil dissensions in China led to its decay for a time, but it rose again to pre-eminence under Kublai Khan and other energetic Emperors of the Mongol dynasty.

Soleyman in his book called *Chaine de Chroniques*† written about 852 A.D., says the Chinese ships on their homeward voyage left Siraf on the Persian Gulf for the Coast of Oman. They touched at Muscat whence they sailed with the monsoon across the Arabian Sea to Quilon. With a moderate wind the journey from Muscat to Quilon took thirty days. At Quilon the Chinese ships paid a heavy port duty of 1,000 dinars. The Chinese ships though large were flat bottomed and required only a small draught of water. They could with ease cross the bar at Quilon and enter the lagoon which formed so fine a harbour. Ibn Batuta gives a good description of the Chinese craft. "Chinese ships only," says Ibn Batuta,‡ "are used in navigating the Sea of China. There are three classes of these : (1) the large which are called *Junks* ; (2) the middling which are called *Zao* ; and (3) the small called *Kakam*. Each of the greater ships has from twelve sails down to three. These sails are made of bamboo laths woven into a kind of mat ; they are never lowered and they are braced this way and that as the wind may blow. When these vessels anchor

* Rae's Syrian Church in India.

† Reynaud's *Voyages par les Arabes et les Persans*.

‡ Extract from Ibn Batuta by Deffremery and Sanguinetti Paris.

the sails are allowed to fly loose. Each ship has a crew of a thousand men, viz : Six hundred mariners and four hundred soldiers among whom are archers, targetmen and cross-bowmen to shoot naphtha.* Each large vessel is attended by three others which are called respectively the *Half*, the *Third* and the *Quarter*. These vessels are built only at Zayton† in China and at Canton. This is the way they are built. They construct two walls of timber, which they connect by very thick slabs of wood, clenching all fast, this way and that with huge spikes, each of which is three cubits in length. When the two walls have been united by these slabs, they apply the bottom planking, and then launch the hull before completing the construction. The timbers projecting from the sides towards the water serve the crew for going down to wash and for other needs. And to these projecting timbers are attached the oars which are like masts in size, and need from ten to fifteen men to ply each of them. There are about twenty of these great oars, and the rowers at each oar stand in two ranks facing one another. The oars are provided with two strong cords or cables; each rank pulls at one of these and then lets go, while the other rank pulls on the opposite cable. These rowers have a pleasant chant at their work usually singing La! La! La! La! The three tenders which we have mentioned above also use oars, and tow the great ships when required.

"On each ship," continues Ibu Batuta, "four decks are constructed; and there are cabins and public rooms for the merchants. Some of these cabins are provided with closets and other conveniences, and they have keys, so that their tenants can lock them, and carry with them their wives or concubines. The crew in some of the cabins have their children, and they sow kitchen herbs, ginger, etc., in wooden buckets. The Captain is a very great personage; and when he lands, the archers and negro slaves march before him with javelins, swords, drums, horns and trumpets."

The Chinese trade with Quilon which had been languishing in the tenth and eleventh centuries revived under the vigorous rule of Kublai Khan, and naturally gave rise to some kind of diplomatic intercourse between the King of Quilon and the Chinese Emperor. From the Chinese annals which have been translated by M. Pauthier we learn that in 1282 A.D. some envoys from the King of Quilon landed at Zayton, the chief port of China at the time.

They brought various rarities as presents to the Great Khan,

* I think a kind of Greek fire was used by the Chinese.

† Zayton the chief Chinese port at the time is identical with modern Chienchifu in Fokein.

including a "black ape as big as a man." The Emperor had thrice sent to Quilon an officer of rank called Yang-Tang-Pi. The Chinese annals say the King of Quilon was called Penate, *i.e.* Venadan, the lord or ruler of Venaud, a name still applied to the kings of Travancore. The royal residence was called Apu'hota.*

Marco Polo himself visited Quilon on two occasions, once while he was a Chinese mandarin in the service of Kublai Khan, and afterwards on his way home to Venice in 1294 A.D.

From Polo we find that the commerce of Quilon had made the king powerful and his kingdom extended to the mouth of the Tamraparni, including the southern part of the present district of Tinnevely. The chief articles of export from Quilon were brazil wood, indigo, ginger, the best kind of which was called after Quilon *Columbine* ginger and pepper, which was in great demand all over China.

The city of Kinsay, the largest Chinese city at the time, alone required about 43 loads of pepper, each load weighing about 200 lbs. for its daily consumption.† The Chinese shippers charged freights which came up to 30 per cent. of the cost price and the Khan levied a duty of 10 per cent. In spite of these heavy charges, the merchants, says Polo, realized large profits on the pepper trade.

A few years after the departure of Polo the saintly John of Montè Corvino, the first Roman Catholic Missionary to China, who became afterwards the first Archbishop of Peking, touched at Quilon on his way to the Far East.

From his letters home which have come down to us we find the Mahomedans, or as he calls them, the Saracens had already acquired great influence in the port; there were Christians and Jews, but they were of comparatively little weight. The first band of Mahomedans who settled at Quilon came there to preach their new faith rather than to make their fortunes in commerce. But their descendants adopted a commercial career and were so successful that the trade of the port was almost entirely in their hands for a few centuries.

The origin of the Mahomedan settlement in Malabar is wrapt in the mists of tradition.

Both Hindu and Moslem accounts speak of the conversion of Cheramau Perumal, the last of the Perumals, who, on embracing the new faith, went to Arabia and thence despatched missionaries to Malabar with letters of introduction to the Governors of the leading ports. We have an account of the tradition in the *Lusiad* (I am quoting from the quaint translation of the late Sir Richard Burton).

* Yule's Marco Polo note on Quilon.

† Polo bases his calculation on the customs returns.

" Hight the last king was Sêrama Perumal,
 Who 'neath one sceptre held the kingdom all.
 But as this region there and then was sought
 By other races from the Arab Bight,
 Who Mahometic worship with them brought.
 It hapt their wisdom and their prayers so wrought
 Upon the Perumal, and lit such light
 That to the faith convert with fervour high
 He only hoped a saint in it to die.
 He mans his ships and loads with merchandise
 And many an offering, curious rare, and rich
 And there religious life to lead he hies,
 Where lies our Prophet who our Law did preach."

Canto. VII, 32-33-34.

One of the early missionaries sent by Cheraman Perumal from his death bed at Zaphar was Malik Ben Habeeb who went from Cranganore where he had landed with the rest of the party, to Quilon. He built a mosque and settled there, and with Quilon as his centre went on preaching expeditions to all the cities around.

This according to Zeenudeen was the origin of the Mahomedan Colony at Quilon, who soon displaced the Chinese and almost monopolized the trade of the port until the arrival of the Portuguese.*

In 1324 Friar Jordanus of Severac, afterwards Bishop of Quilon or Columbum, the first Catholic See in India, came to Quilon and spent some years in mission work among the Nestorians. His interesting work *Mirabilia descripta*† written on his return home after his first journey to the East, gives us a glimpse of the country at the time. The King of Quilon was a Nair Lingayet, and the commercial wealth of the port had made the kingdom powerful and extensive. Jordanus found several Nestorian Christians at Quilon and other towns on the coast. He built a Church, St. George's Church, at Quilon, and had a congregation of two or three hundred Nestorians whom he had brought back to the orthodox faith. Like most early missionaries he is rather hard on the Nestorians:

"In this India,‡" he says, "there is a scattered people one here, another there, who call themselves Christians, but are not so, nor have they baptism, nor do they know anything else about the faith! Nay, they believe St. Thomas the Great to be Christ." Jordanus pays a noble tribute to the rulers of Malabar for their toleration. "And let me tell you, among the idolaters, a man may with safety expound the word

* See Zeenudeen's *Toh-ful-uhl* Miyahdeen translated by Rowlandson.

† Yule's *Wonders of the East* (Hakluyt Society).

‡ He means Malabar.

of the Lord, nor is any one from the idolaters hindered from being baptized." He gives a favourable account of the character of the people. "The people," he says, "are clean in their feeding, true in speech, and eminent in justice, maintaining carefully the privileges of every man according to his degree as they have come down from old times." Jordanus also mentions the system of inheritance prevailing among the ruling military caste. "In this India never do the legitimate sons of great kings or princes or barons inherit the goods of their parents, but only the sons of their sisters." Jordanus does not like Polo, give details of the trade of the port, but says simply it was extensive and consisted chiefly in pepper, cinnamon, ginger and brazil wood. No trace exists now of the Church founded by Jordanus, but Missionaries and Friars who visited Quilon in the latter part of the century, lived and preached there, and this was probably the building which the Portuguese are said to have visited on their first arrival at Quilon in 1502 A. D.

After speaking highly of the astrologers and physicians of Malabar, Jordanus says in a letter written in 1323 "The people are in continual expectation of the Latins here, which they say is clearly predicted in their books. And they are continually praying the Lord after their manner to hasten the wished-for arrival of the Latins." This belief seems to have been prevalent all over Malabar. Gaspar Correa, the chief historian of Portuguese India, gives a similar story in his *Lendas da India*. A Kanian, *i.e.*, a member of the astrologer caste in Malabar, who lived at Cannanore about three or four hundred years before the arrival of the Portuguese, had so great a reputation that several of his prophecies were reduced to writing and preserved. One of these related to the arrival of Europeans from the West who, he predicted, would attain to supremacy in India. This, says Correa, was the secret of the favourable reception the King of Cannanore gave Da Gama on his first voyage, and the belief no doubt helped the Portuguese to a certain extent in their wars with the Zamorin.*

In the Easter week of 1347 A. D. Quilon was visited by another Friar, the Papal delegate, John Marignolli of Florence, who afterwards became the Bishop of Bisignano, and who was a friend of the Emperor Charles IV. He was on his way back from China where he had been sent by the Pope in response to a request from the Christian Alans, who formed part of the army of the Great Khan "for a legate wise, capable and virtuous to care for their souls." He lived for over a year at Quilon and preached in the Church founded by Jordanus, and

* See Correa's *Three Voyages of Da Gama* (Hakluyt Society).

the Christians at Quilon were prosperous enough to give him a monthly tithe of 100 gold fanams, and a thousand when he left. Marignolli who was a bit of a *gourmet* gives a ravishing description of Malabar fruits and pickles. He was an ambitious man and was particular the people of Quilon should never forget his name. "To emulate the glory of Alexander the Great" he says, "When he set up his column in India, I erected a stone as my landmark and memorial, and anointed it with oil. In sooth it was a marble pillar with a stone cross upon it, intended to last till the world's end. And it had the Pope's arms and mine, engraved upon it with inscriptions in both Indian and Latin characters. I consecrated it and blessed it, in the presence of an infinite number of people and I was carried on the shoulders of the chiefs in a litter or palanquin like Solomon's."* Human vanity often defeats its own end. The monument seems to have lasted for some centuries, but did not keep fresh the name of Marignolli. The climate and the seaside air soon wrought havoc on the inscription, and as it often happens in India, a tradition soon arose investing it with a halo of antiquity. The pious Christians at Quilon attributed it to St. Thomas, the founder of their Church, and revered it as a standing proof of the visit of the great apostle of the Indies, to the shores of Malabar.

A few years before Marignolli, Quilon was visited by one of the great travellers of history. Abou Abdalla Mahomed, better known by his surname of Ibn Batuta, the traveller, was the greatest traveller of the Arab race. Born at Tangier in Morocco 1304 A. D.; he went on his Haaj (pilgrimage to Mecca) at the age of 21 and thus commenced his extensive travels. His wanderings show how widespread was Moslem influence at the time. He travelled for twenty-eight years at leisure with the usual retinue of a rich and sensual Arab all over Asia, Africa, and European Russia, not rushing through cities with the feverish haste of the globe trotter, but spending a considerable time in each country, studying the people and their ways, and even contracting marriages in most of the countries he visited. He crossed the Hindu Kush, passed through Central Arabia, penetrated into the heart of China, and sailed down the Niger from Timbuctoo, a good traveller's record even in these days of fast travelling. He was a cultured man of the world, full of vital energy and enjoyment of life and endowed with boundless curiosity and daring. He had charming manners and an assurance, by which he won his way into the hearts of princes. His coming to Quilon itself forms an interesting episode in the Indian history of the time. In 1333 he passed over from Afghanistan to the Court of

* Yule's Cathay and the way thither.

Mahomed Taglak at Delhi, in the company of some adventurers all hurrying thither to shake the pagoda tree. His success was instantaneous. He received a present of 1,200 dirhems, and was made Chief Judge of Delhi on a similar annual salary. He filled the post for eight years, during which period he "hung like a perfect horseleech on the king's bounty."* His curiosity led him to pay a visit to a learned Sheik who was out of favour at Court. When this reached the Sultan's ears, Ibn Batuta was dismissed from office and cast into prison. He saved his neck however by a prudent gift of all his wealth to the poor, and by the timely adoption of the Fakir's robe. Soon after an Embassy came from China seeking permission to re-build a Buddhist temple in the Himalayas, frequented by Chinese pilgrims, and Ibn Batuta was selected by the Sultan to return an answer. He left Delhi in 1341 A. D. with costly presents and a large retinue. The party, accompanied by the Chinese ambassadors returning home, embarked in country ships in the Gulf of Cambay, and landed at Calicut, where the ambassador, Ibn Batuta, spent a few months as the guest of the Zamorin, who had made arrangements for their voyage to China in Chinese junks. When they were about to start, a sudden storm arose, the ships were obliged to put out to sea, leaving Ibn behind. He travelled almost alone by back water to Quilon to catch the ships which were almost certain to touch that port. But the storm had destroyed them, and Ibn who did not like to return to Delhi spent three years wandering in the Malabar cities and the neighbouring islands. The journey by back water from Calicut to Quilon took ten days. On the tenth day he arrived at Quilon, "one of the finest cities in Malabar, with magnificent markets and very wealthy merchants." The King of Quilon was a person called Attrewery† eminent for his strict and terrible justice. Quilon was the port most frequented by Chinese ships, and Chinese merchants, but Mahomedans had already succeeded in wresting a considerable portion of the trade from their hands. The Mahomedans lived here as in other cities of Malabar in a separate quarter, under the rule of their own Kazi. The chief officer of the port or Bender was also a Mahomedan. The mosque built at the sole expense of a private merchant was an admirable building. Ibn Batuta gives an interesting picture of criminal justice at the time. "During my stay at Quilon," he says, a Persian archer, who was wealthy and influential, killed one of his comrades and then took refuge in the house of one Alâwedji. The Mussulmans wanted to bury the dead body, but the officers of the king would not allow them to

* Yule's Catbay and the way thither.

† Thiruvadi means literally the royal body. It is a term applied to kings.

do so, until the murderer was seized and punished. The officers of the king took the dead body in a bier to the gate of Alâwedji and left it there to rot. The smell soon compelled Alâwedji to hand over the murderer to the officers of the king, who refused a large bribe offered by the Persian, and had him forthwith tried and executed. The body of the victim was then buried." This barbarous custom seems to prevail even now in China and might for aught we know have been introduced to Quilon by the Chinese. I may give an equally interesting account by the Italian traveller Varthema, of a custom he found in the Malabar ports by which the administration of civil justice was considerably simplified. The king had 100 scribes, and in case of debts evidenced by deeds in the handwriting of these scribes, the law provided a summary remedy. "If the debtor promising many times, fails to pay, the creditor not willing to wait any longer nor give him any indulgence, takes a green branch (of a palm) in his hand, goes softly behind the debtor, and with the said branch draws a circle on the ground surrounding him, and if he encloses the debtor within the circle, says to him these words three times 'Brahmanananè rajavinane purath pokalliè, *i.e.*, I command you by the Brahmins, by the king, not to depart hence (until you have paid the debt).' If the debtor left the circle without paying the debt, he was liable to the penalty of death."* The green branch of a palm, says Ibn Batuta, was also used by the officers of the king to help the collection of the royal dues from the merchants. If the merchants did not pay the royal dues, an officer of the king came with the green branch of a palm and suspended it in front of the shop. No person could buy or sell until the branch was removed.

We learn from Ibn Batuta that Calicut had already become a rival of Quilon. The decline of the Chinese trade and the rise of the influence of the Mahomedan merchants, whom the Zamorins attracted to their Capital, by the grant of special privileges, soon made Calicut the chief port of Malabar. Even after the trade with the West, Arabia, Egypt and Venice, was absorbed by Calicut, the trade with the East, Bengal, Malaccas remained with Quilon. But the decline of the Chinese trade in Malabar was rapid. We learn from Joseph of Cranganore, a Syrian Christian, who visited Portugal in the beginning of the sixteenth century, that the Mahomedans with the assistance of the Zamorin massacred the Chinese in the leading ports. At the time of Vasco Da Gama's arrival, Chinese trade was a matter of tradition, confirmed only by the presence of Chinese temples and Chinese half-castes in the principal ports. Though these have perished without leaving a trace we can even now detect

* Travels of Ludovico Varthema (Hakluyt Society).

Chinese influence in the prevailing type of domestic architecture in Malabar, and in the Malayalan names of several articles of commerce, *e.g.*, porcelain jars, sugar candy, and alum, &c., which were probably first brought to Malabar by the Chinese.

The Portuguese visited Quilon in 1502 A.D. during the second voyage of Vasco Da Gama. An envoy from the Rani of Quilon came to Cochin and requested Da Gama to send two ships to Quilon for pepper. Da Gama with the previous permission of the Cochin Rajah, which he obtained after some diplomatic manœuvring, sent to Quilon Fernandez Pereira and Francisco Marecos with the presents of a handsome mirror, corals and a large bottle of orange-flower water. The Rani received them with great honor, loaded their ships with pepper and sent Da Gama return presents of several silk stuffs of various colors, and very fine white stuffs of great width, all of local make. In the following year, Alphonso Albuquerque, the future Governor-General, visited Quilon, entered into a treaty with the Rani, and established a factory. Soon after his departure, the Mahomedan traders rose against the Portuguese and besieged the factory. Duarte Pacheco, the captain in command at Cochin, marched across the country with a mere handful of soldiers and raised the siege. In 1505 the Mahomedans rose again, stormed the factory and killed Antonio de Sà, the chief factor and twelve other Portuguese. A new viceroy, belonging to one of the most illustrious families of Portugal, had just landed at Cannanore, and Dom Francisco d'Almeida wanted to wreak a signal vengeance. He sent his son, Dom Lorenzo, a lad of 18, but one of the bravest and most daring men whom Portugal sent to the East in that age of derring-do. The young Lorenzo bombarded Quilon, routed the Mahomedans, and with the brutality which stained the annals of early Portuguese rule, sacked the city and massacred the inhabitants.* The blow was fatal to a declining port.

Varthema and Barbosa, who visited Quilon a few years after, found there were several traders of Bengal, &c. The King of Quilon was still powerful and had a large army, and the kingdom still included as in Polo's time the southern part of Tinnevely. But the fall was rapid. Though the Portuguese built a fort at Tangachery near Quilon they did not care to develop a port so near their base at Cochin; and the magnificent harbour inside the lagoon where the flat bottomed Chinese ships rode in safety, was closed to the Portuguese, whose ships could not cross the bar. The rise of the Portuguese power, and the ruthless way in which they put down all trade, which was not under their flag or with their pass, destroyed the Quilon trade with the Eastern

*Morse Stephen's Albuquerque.

ports. The Dutch Chaplain Baldaeus found it in the seventeenth century, the least among Malabar kingdoms. In 1662 the Portuguese fort and factory were captured by the Dutch; but that did not mend matters. Hamilton who visited it in the eighteenth century, found the trade was inconsiderable. The powerful kingdom of Quilon had shrunk to a petty principality, which was easily absorbed by king Martanda Varma, the founder of the modern state of Travancore. Fra Paolino who visited Quilon a few years after says there was little trade, but Quilon still contained a large number of "weavers and ingenious artists." The great Dewan Kesava Pillai, better known as Raja Kesava Das, who tried his best in the next reign to develop trade and attract Parsees and Cutchee merchants to Travancore, saw the difficulty, insuperable at the time of improving the Quilon harbour, and founded a new port where the mud banks of Alleppey afforded a comparatively safe anchorage in the open roadstead. Alleppey has since remained the chief commercial town in Travancore. The trade of Quilon has revived in the last thirty years; it has a few factories, and the coasting steamers call once a week during the season. The new railway would of course increase its local trade; but if an enterprising Government were to deepen the bar and open a free passage to the lagoon, Travancore would possess one of the finest harbours in India and Quilon might rise again to the rank it held in former days.

K. PADMANABHAN TAMBIL.

ART. II.—EASTWARD HOME WITH TRIPS TO COREA, SIBERIA AND NEWFOUNDLAND.

I.

ALMOST everyone once in their service in India takes the Eastward route home *viâ* Japan and Canada. This year I did the same, but, added to it one or two side journeys which greatly increased the novelty of the route, while adding but little to the expense. Some account of the trip may be of interest to others going Eastward. I left Colombo early in May by a North German Lloyd for Hong-Kong, and from my experience with the Messageries Maritime, the Orient and the P. and O. I have no hesitation in saying they are the best and largest ships that come to the East, and the comfort of the passenger is far more considered than on the other lines.

We called at Penang and Singapore on our way and at both places had time to see something of them. Penang is interesting as being the first place one comes across John Chinaman in force. Here he is coolie, riksha man and merchant, and, of course, opium contractor, that being much too profitable a business to leave to others. The Government gardens are beautifully situated at the foot of the hills and exceedingly prettily laid out. An hour in a sedan-chair carries one to the top of the hills to a fairly good hotel, and from here the view of the harbour and country is superb.

Singapore harbour has a most beautiful entrance, narrow and winding with wooded hills on both sides. The town lies far from the harbour, but there are cabs and rikshas in any number. Raffles' Hotel is certainly better than any Indian hotel, though the food leaves much to be desired, due, the residents say, to all beef having to be imported from India and to nothing keeping fresh more than a few hours. Apart from the town itself, which is well laid out, and has the marks of prosperity in its good roads, electric light and well-kept houses, the most interesting thing to see are the Government gardens, which are beautifully kept and have a wonderful collection of orchids, which, to any one interested in flowers, are well worth a visit.

The run from Colombo to Hong-Kong is from fifteen to sixteen days, and one can either proceed to Nagasaki and Yokohama by the German steamer, or tranship into the Empress Line for Japan and Vancouver, or one of the three lines for Japan, the Sandwich Islands, and San Francisco. The circular ticket from Colombo to Hong-Kong and so home *viâ* Japan and Canada or America and out either to Bombay or Colombo is £120, or only a trifle more than a 'P. and O.' return, though one is at sea for considerably more than double as long.

Leaving the 'Sachsen' at Hong-Kong I waited two days for the "Empress of China" to take me to Shanghai and Japan. One day I spent in seeing the sights of Hong-Kong and the other in a trip to Maçao. Unfortunately I had no time to see Canton. Hong-Kong is splendidly situated, overlooking the harbour, and is probably impregnable now that Kowloon on the opposite coast has been annexed and fortified. Englishmen regard its impregnability as assured, but, it is well known in the Far East that the Russian Admiral has boasted that with the present strength of the fleets in the Pacific he could land five thousand troops on the back of the island and take the place. When we remember that there is no fortification on this side of the island, and that there is only one field battery to repel such a landing, and also that the Russian fleet in the Pacific is both more numerous, more powerful, and more modern in sea-worthy boats, there is something to be said for his boast. Numerically our fleet is the largest, but it includes certain river-boats which would be quite useless, and also some antique relics of thirty years ago. The whole of the level ground in Hong-Kong is built closely over with many storied blocks, and houses clamber up the sides of the hill almost to the top, where houses again are clustered round the Peak.

House rent is a serious thing to residents of Hong-Kong, and there is no means of extension except by acquiring a piece of hill side and quarrying out space to build. Kowloon on the opposite side of the harbour will afford an outlet for the ever increasing population, but here Government are letting slip a golden opportunity in not fixing one part for European residents only. The result is that Chinese rabbit warrens are being built next to European houses and bazaars are mixed up with dwelling houses somewhat in the way that Madras is sported. The Peak, which is about one thousand feet above the harbour and reached by a rope railway, is decidedly cooler than below and affords a splendid view of the harbour and island. Unfortunately whenever there is any rain the whole Peak is covered in mist and nothing is to be seen. This was my fate. The other show place in the island is the Happy Valley with its race-course and graveyard lying cheek by jowl. The latter laid out round the hill sides and planted with trees and supplied with fountains, is as restful a place as the dead could wish for. Hong-Kong can boast as comfortable a Club as is to be found in the East, though the people of Shanghai will hardly agree, being inclined to patronise and to express mild astonishment at Horse Races being held there. In spite of this, the races flourish and all the fleets of the Pacific find urgent business there at the time, and all the Treaty Ports of China and Japan and even Singapore send contingents.

Maçao, an old Portuguese Settlement on the mainland, is only a few hours by comfortable steamers from Hong-Kong. The place is well worth a visit as the first European Settlement in China, and as the home of Camoens, whose house and gardens are still preserved. The drive along the sea front is fine and a visit to the gateway leading into China worth making. Maçao has the further attraction of being the Monte Carlo of the East; here the tables are managed scrupulously honestly and the odds are very fair, slightly in favour of the table of course, and a deduction of $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. from winnings is taken for the Government before paying the winners. When the table is too crowded to get near, one ascends to a gallery above and stakes are let down on to the table. There was a rumour that the Portuguese Government were going to prohibit gambling, but it is hardly likely as it is the sole industry of the place and the sole source of revenue! What will the gay youth of Hong-Kong do, if so, now that Kowloon has become British and the gambling houses closed?

The run from Hong-Kong to Shanghai is only two days. Large ships anchor at Woosung at the river bar and passengers go up in a river steamer—a very weary and often bitterly cold journey of three or four hours. The scenery is nothing but flat river banks with hardly a sign of life. When Shanghai is reached it might as well be London, for everywhere there are factory chimneys, ship-building yards, oil reservoirs and the like, while one side the river is lined with wharfs and the other is a long embankment with great flights of steps down to the water. All along the embankment are lawns and gardens, while across the road are thoroughly European houses, English Police in blue uniform in the road; the pavements are asphalt and there are electric lamps, just as in London. The only Oriental thing one notices at first are the rikshas in rows and rows. Afterwards one notices that there are Sikh Police, and Chinese Police as well as Peelers.

The whole settlement gives one the idea of a well-to-do suburb of London for the houses are built in the same way with a conservatory on one side, a small bit of garden in front with a short carriage drive and a larger garden at the back. The roads are utterly English with their water-carts and even their red letter-boxes. Go a little further down the embankment and one gets to the French Settlement and there is a marked change, everything is French, and there is a dead and alive look about the place while the roads are narrow and very much dirtier. A few yards further away from the bund and one emerges upon a foul and smelling ditch half full of green water and black slime. It is only the moat of the native town. Cross it and you pass under two low, narrow and filthy

gateways. You are now in China town and Europe is left behind. The streets are narrow with high houses on both sides with swinging signboards hanging from top to bottom, underfoot is unutterable filth and around are jostling Chinese crowds. You must either walk or go in a wheelbarrow, both means of progression are unpleasant but there is no other. The chief things to see are the Buddhist temples, very tawdry but often containing fine bronzes, the tea-house on the island reached by a zigzag bridge which possesses some really fine furniture and some unique scents from the sewer over which it stands, and the shops,—these latter are almost worth coming for, as the various silks, ivories, jade ornaments and carvings are superb though anything but cheap to buy.

The finest thing of all, and which everyone should see, is the Mandarin's house and garden. The quaintest and most elaborate little garden you can imagine with paths winding in and out and up and down over little bridges and up to little tea-houses and yet the whole in a space of less than half an acre. Fossil trees are a great speciality in Chinese gardening as being typical of something very old. The house also is interesting as showing how far the Chinese are in advance of the Hindu in studying bodily comfort. The furniture is handsome, carved ebony with marble seats. The tables and lounges and smoking divans are the same. On the walls are some excellent painted scrolls, as also specimens of Chinese writing, for the Chinaman ranks good writing on a par with painting, and as a matter of fact Chinese writing is painting, as every stroke is from the elbow and not from the wrist.

It is well to take a good look at everything in Shanghai City, so as to get a good idea of Chinese outward life, as it saves you ever wanting to go inside a Chinese town again, for the dirt and the smells and the horror of it, will never leave you. Shanghai is a good place to select, as you can always be back in civilization again in half an hour, and by the time you have finished lunch in the excellent club you will have got over your disgust more or less. I may mention that I saw the Chinese City on a damp rainy day, and after two days of rain. Possibly in sunny weather it may be better, but, I hardly like to think of the city moat and drain combined on a sunny day.

Shanghai to Nagasaki another two days, and cleanly smiling Japan is before us. Here I left the "Empress," and after waiting three days caught a Russian boat to Vladivostock in Eastern Siberia. While waiting I visited Moji, a pretty little sea-side place near Nagasaki and also the waterfalls, there are other interesting places a few stations down the line, and Nagasaki itself is worth two days with its Shinto and Buddhist temples and its curio shops and tortoise shell work. The temple of the

Brazen Horse, made famous by Pieno Loti in "Madame Chrysanthème," is well worth a visit and one could spend hours in Sato's curio shop. He has ivories, bronzes, cloisonné, satsuma, old blue china, gold lacquer, silks, embroideries, damascened work and carved wood work to please the most fastidious, and I saw with him things I was unable to get anywhere else in Japan. Then, too, the tortoise shell work is beautiful and not at all expensive, less than half what one pays in Italy or London.

II.

The trip to Vladivostock took three days by the boat I was on, a small 2,000 ton boat belonging to Kuntz and Albers the big merchants of Eastern Siberia. Besides this there is a fortnightly service of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Japanese Steam Company). These boats go *viâ* the Corean ports and take from five to six days and are excellent. Also there is about a fortnightly service of the Russian Volunteer Fleet from Odessa to Vladivostock, but they are nearly always full of soldiers, emigrants, and until recently convicts in cages. They take only two days and are fine boats, especially the 'Khersow' of 8,000 tons and 17,000 horse power, but, only as an experience should they be tried, as the ways of the Russians are different to our ways, and two meals a day at 11 and 5-30 are all you get.* Cabins are large but not clean, and the ships are smelly if the wind is from the steerage. In the days when they carried convicts they were not at all to be desired, and if a convict gave trouble they brought him to his senses by turning on the steam hose into his cage. Still it was an experience to see Russian methods, and their upper and main decks lined on both sides with iron cages, in which the convicts were put at Odessa and never left till Vladivostock or Port Arthur was reached. Now, however, from January 1st, 1900, Russian year, the Czar has ordered no more convicts to be sent to Siberia, so the cages will presumably be removed. Another regular service to Vladivostock is the Eastern Manchurian Company which runs fortnightly from Talienwan to Vladivostock *viâ* Nagasaki—they are fair boats, but, seamanship is faulty. On our way up to Vladivostock, just sixty miles out from Nagasaki we ran into a fog and anchored. When it lifted we found one of this line had gone full steam into a rocky island—they refused assistance and had finally to be fetched off by the Russian battleship the 'Ruric' that happened to be at Nagasaki.

We reached Vladivostock on a Sunday and as it happened to be the Czar's Coronation Day, the medical officer

* And they ought to be quite enough. We never take more, and we work very hard. There is too much of eating altogether (and, we may add, of drinking) now-a-days. No wonder so many patent Pills flourish.--ED. C. R.

discovered that we were only nine days out from Hong-Kong and so must be quarantined and he and the other officials could go off to the reception and the fireworks. In vain it was pointed out that we were all from Japan,—that couldn't be helped, our papers showed us from Hong-Kong! We had a Baron of sorts on board with introductions to the Governor, and as we wanted to get ashore he wrote sending his introductions. These had to be sent through the medical officers, and the only reply we got was two Cossacks sent on board to see that none of us escaped. Next morning the letters were forwarded and of course we were allowed to land.

I myself went to stay with English friends in the place but, for others, there are two hotels of which the 'Pacific' is the best—a big imposing place with a large stage attached and also a winter garden, and next door to the theatre—the latter built by the Russian Government, and more or less subsidised, is a far better house than any other I have seen in the East. It is solid stone throughout and would seat at least 500 people. The play or opera generally lasts till midnight, then follows supper, and then the *café chantant* of the hotel goes on till six and then the audience sleep till noon or later.

The hotel is fairly comfortable and food not amiss, but, decidedly expensive, probably fifteen roubles a day all told (= 30 shillings). Also let the unwary traveller remember that when he agrees to two roubles for his room this doesn't mean that he will get any bedding or towels. Those are an extra he must carry himself or pay extra for. Most Russians carry their own bedding, as we do in India and hence the custom. This may not apply in the good St. Petersburg or Moscow hotels, but, in Siberia it certainly does.

Vladivostock harbour is magnificently situated, shaped like the letter E without the middle. One enters at one end between high hills and past a series of forts to get to the centre part, which is used for mercantile purposes, the inner portion being for the fleet. Besides this, in one part a canal has been cut through a narrow neck into a lagoon, which is used entirely for torpedo boats from which they can issue against an attacking fleet and in which they are safe. The whole harbour is surrounded by hills, and these again by a second range and along both ranges are fortresses and strong military camps. The garrison in and around Vladivostock, when I was there, was about 40,000 men of all arms. The forts are next in strength to Cronstadt giving the place some claim to its name which means "Possessor of the East."

The town lies round the mercantile and inner harbour and is built on terraces cut from the hill sides. The front is taken up by the Government buildings and leading merchants' houses.

Starting on the left are the Military Hospital, a huge barracks and fort, the Terminus of the Siberian Railway; the Docks of the Eastern Manchurian Company; the Russo Chinese Bank, a very fine building in white stone; Kuntz and Albers shops; the Admiralty; Government House; the Cathedral, which is a fine stone building; the Lutheran Church; a huge College and Gymnasium; the Military Courts; the Naval Club; and a whole series of naval barracks, torpedo yards, and dry docks. Behind this front row come the best houses, and behind again less good houses, while still higher up are the Corean and Chinese villages.

The powerful ice breaker in the harbour attracts one's attention, for with it the harbour is kept open throughout the year though the ice is often over six feet thick.

A thing that strikes one very much about the place is its absolutely un-Asian appearance, except for its Corean and Chinese coolies it is entirely European. The shops are kept by Russians, officials are all Russian, the cabmen are as Russian as in Southern Russia with their high boots, green velvet breeches and coat and red waistcoats and red coat sleeves. Their driving also is eminently Russian with their hands somewhere over their heads while they roll about on their seats and adjure their beasts by all the gods to try to break your neck, at least that is what it sounds like to one unlearned in the Russian tongue.

Almost all the houses are built of wood, a double frame work packed with earth or sawdust or bricks to keep the cold out. Outwardly they are very ornate or blaze with gay colours. Forwardly they are divided into small rooms which lead one into the other. None have of course a bath room, as Russians bathe but seldom, and when they do there are very good public baths; even other more necessary conveniences are often absent inside the houses. With the Russian want of sanitation this is perhaps a wise omission but, with the thermometer forty degrees below zero, it must be inconvenient. Inside the people herd together, and in a small house there are sure to be two families with probably two rooms apiece for from four to six people in each family. Furniture is of the red and gold type and ornaments are terrible in jangling glass or wax. Though Japan is only two days away where beautiful things can be got for very little, none find their way into the Russian's house, for in their eyes there is no taste so bad as the using of the "Japanese barbarian's" things. Gardens don't exist except one public garden consisting of grass plots, shady trees, and a few bushes, but no flowers. Russian meals are novel and rather trying, especially as their hospitality is offended if one does not drink level with them, which

would reduce one to drunkenness, before one had sat down to the real dinner, for first of all there is the 'sakuska,' just a snack at a counter or side table, of fresh caviarè, a little bit of salmon, some dried herring, raw sausage, onions, cheese, sardines, olives, anchovies, and a few more things washed down with many glasses of fiery vodka and other such drinks.* Everyone insists on your trying some particular thing and of course drinking with him. At last you feel you have got the edge off your appetite and you sit down in earnest to a sort of cabbage soup or its equivalent, then perhaps pork floating in fatty oil, then more strange dishes and so on and on with beer, champagne, hock, claret, port,—vodka hopelessly mixed. When you go away you must not be too steady on your legs or the host will be offended and think he has not entertained you well, nor must you be too unsteady or he will have to help you out and that is again rude. Altogether it is a very difficult job to get away without giving any offence, or at least to give the impression that you have had the best meal in your life. Be it understood these remarks apply only to the well-to-do middle classes, for the Russian nobility and well-bred Russians are equalled by none in their polished and refined way of living, but, these are not to be found in Eastern Siberia except possibly as the highest officials or as exiles, and in the latter case their means of enjoying life are strictly limited.

In Vladivostock itself there is little to do after once seeing the sights and the troops at drill and visiting the theatre or opera. There is riding, but, not good, for the roads near the town are in a terrible condition with huge stones lying about and ruts often a foot deep. The Russian horse is wonderfully clever at avoiding these pitfalls, but it detracts from the pleasures of riding. Moreover the whole country is hilly and the ghaut roads are not of the easiest grade. One is perpetually going up or down with only here and there a level piece of road and that as likely as not spoiled by pieces of corduroy, or tree branches laid side by side over a bit of swamp. Once away from the town and the surrounding ports, however, the country improves, and towards Hilkofz, eighteen miles out, the riding is very fair and the scenery beautiful as it is situated along the sea shore. I never saw such a number of wild flowers in a small place as there were there, at the sides of the road, wild roses, lilies of the valley, big yellow lilies, marsh marigolds, forget-me-not, blue and white violets, red orchids, meadow sweet, and many others of which I did not know the names.

In Vladivostock itself a beginning has been made of

* Is the Russian's stomach lined with brass ?—E11. C. R.

laying out the roads and the method is delightfully simple. Government paves the road with blocks of stone and plants trees and then collects the amount from the householders whose houses face the road. On a rainy day the mud is often a foot deep and one sits with the apron of the carriage buttoned up to the level of one's eyes and even then huge splashes find their way in. If you are going out calling you arm yourself with a towel so as to protect yourself somewhat to remedy defects on arrival. About thirty miles down the line there is excellent woodcock shooting, and a hundred miles down is an enormous lake, Lake Kanka, with little inlets where millions of wild fowl breed, and many migrate, snipe also abound here. Still further up and slightly off the line are to be got a big kind of red deer, with a far larger spread of horns than the Scotch one. Ovis ammon akin to ovis poli have also been shot, and in the winter black, brown and polar bears. The Siberian tiger, when he can be shot, is a magnificent animal far larger than the Indian one, and covered with a splendid long coat. So good is the fur that even on the spot a skin sells for £20, and the Chinese will pay another five for the bones and fat to make into a medicine to ensure virility. The Amur Ussuri and Sungari and some of the other smaller rivers abound in salmon, but they do not readily take the fly. Anyone going to Siberia for sport, and many Englishmen do now annually, must be prepared to rough it as their quarters will be a peasants' hut and their food what they shoot, or catch or bring with them, and a little black bread and of course unlimited tea. They must also be prepared for a tribe of mosquitos, more venomous than anything they can imagine, large and striped, who settle in clouds in the broad daylight and will not be denied. Allowing for these disadvantages the sport to be got is good and the fine clear bracing air is superb. At night it is always cold but often in the day time exceedingly hot.

As I had some idea of going home across Siberia, I went some distance along the line to try it, but, from what I learned from travellers who had come across, it was not nearly ready for passengers and the discomforts were great. The line starts at Vladivostock and runs nearly due north to Kabarovsk on the Amur, about 600 miles, and takes twenty-six hours. Thence by steamer to Stretensk. This may be six days, or as in the case of some people who started while I was there, twenty-five days, but ten days is the average. If the river is very low only small steamers can ply, and then only in the day time, while, if the river is full, steamers run uninterruptedly. From Stretensk to the Baikal is three days and three nights. When I was there, there were no passenger carriages and people had to travel in covered wagons fitted with rough seats. Moreover they had

to carry their own food, but this has now been altered and proper trains run daily. Across the lake it is five hours and then Irkutsk is reached, and from here it is ten days by train de luxe once a week to Moscow. The latter part of the journey is comfortable, for the train de luxe consists of sleeping cars, dining saloons, a smoking saloon, and a library of English, French, Russian, and German books, and it is proposed to add a gymnasium car and Church, for the devout Russian must have a Church wherever he is, and the Government fully appreciates the value of the Church's influence, especially when that Church is subservient to the Government. The average time therefore across from Vladivostock to St. Petersburg would be twenty-four or twenty-five days, and the cost about £40, though, when the line is in working order, the time is to be reduced to fifteen days at a cost of £20. The original scheme was to join the railway between Kabarovsk and Stretensk, but, since Manchuria has been appropriated this is no longer necessary, and the line is to go direct from Vladivostock to Stretensk by Harbin and Tsitsihar. Even this will now probably be modified and Talienwan or Port Arthur will probably become the terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway as soon as Mongolia also falls to Russia. The Eastern Manchurian Railway is already being rapidly built by the Russians from Nikolsk on the line to Vladivostock via Kirin to Port Arthur. This was nominally a Chinese concession to Russia, but, as the whole line was patrolled by Cossacks and garrisons were planted at intervals, it was in reality an occupation of the country by Russia, and now, since the Chinese War and the rebellion in Manchuria, there is not a doubt that it will become part of the dominions of the Czar. This will give Russia a port on the Pacific free of ice in the winter and near to China, but even this is not sufficient, and the Russians have long fixed their desires on Neuchang, the best of the ports in the Pechili though at present all the trade is British. Failing Neuchang they have great schemes for laying out vast sums at Talienwan in docks, streets, electric light and public buildings and by making it a free port to draw the trade there.

Siberian trains are on the corridor principle and are not uncomfortable as sleeping berths are provided, and owing to the great width of the gauge, 5 feet, there is ample room. The line is laid in a rough and ready way, the metals being pegged down to the sleepers without chairs, and all tunnels are avoided by going round hills, regardless of distance. The pace travelled never exceeds twenty miles an hour, and generally much less, but they are creditably punctual in fair weather.

While I was in Vladivostock came the first rumours of the war and the place at once awoke to activity. The commandeering of horses was the first sign. An Officer and a Vet appeared

at the houses of all who had horses, and if they were passed fit for service, a receipt for them was given fixing their price at, from anything, up to £25, which was the maximum paid for a fine black Orloff bred horse, worth at least treble the amount. The owner does not however get the money down, but if at the end of the war the horse is not returned, he may then present his receipt and will perhaps by a judicious amount of bribery get something. Nothing apparently is done there without a *douceur*, railway contracts cannot be made, or provisions supplied to the army, or a Government cheque cashed without part finding its way to the officials. Moreover it is done in the most brazen way, as for example, when the Captain of a merchant steamer announced, that, he could not bring certain cargo, unless he was paid £30, as it would spoil his decks. There is no delicacy about these transactions either, for the money is paid over in the most brazen way, and many officials draw a monthly salary from people who have regular dealings with them, or else are made free of their food and drink in some merchant's house, or yet a more simple method is for them to be invited to play cards and to thus win large sums.

This is considered a most delicate way of arranging a little transaction. Just before I arrived there the Police had made a raid for Chinese passports, as every Chinaman has to pay ten shillings yearly to live in Russia, and of course they avoid this with all the cunning they possess. Two troops of Cossacks arrived at the Chinese quarters by night and in the early morning, all were turned out from the houses and marched off by one troop, to the Police to show their passports, while they were away, the other troop in the presence of the officers in charge, looted all the houses and took everything of value. It is hardly to be wondered that the Chinaman does not love his Russian master as is instanced by the constant house robberies and murders that there are, though this must not all be put down to the Chinaman, for though the death sentence is not in force in Russia, this has recently been repeated in Vladivostock, owing to the number of murders committed by convict murderers, who were at large in the town. Constant murders of Engineers and men employed on the Manchurian Railway took place and were followed by Russian revenge on any Chinese found handy. At the beginning of the war, so great was the feeling against the Chinese that many of them were murdered in broad daylight in the streets, and amongst these, the cook of the friends I was staying with, but, all this is nothing to the Blagovochentz massacres and the devastation of the Amur Valley. Such being the nature of the Rus it is hardly likely that for a very long time to come the Lion will wish to lie down

with the Bear, whatever the advocates of a friendly Russian feeling may say.

III.

Leaving Vladivostock with a friend our intention was to coast down to Gensan in Corea and thence strike across country to Seoul and Chemulpo. There we were to separate one to Pekin and the other to Nagasaki, to join the Canadian Pacific boat for Vancouver. At the last minute, however, when we had reached Gensan we found the Nippon Yusen Kaisha had, owing to the war, altered the sailings from Chemulpo, so as to just miss the Canadian boat. We had therefore to separate, and after seeing my companion on his way to the sacred Diamond Mountains and the Buddhist monasteries there, I continued *viâ* the coast ports to Nagasaki. I later learned that the journey across Corea took nine days and was accompanied with no great discomforts, and that the scenery, splendid climate and quaintness of the Coreans well repaid the venture. Before leaving Siberia, travellers must notify the Police of their intended departure, and if there is nothing against them, such as debts or being political suspects, their passports will be returned. Until they have these they cannot go on board any steamer, nor if they did, could they depart, for, every ship is searched by the harbour police.

Broughton Bay in which Gensan is situated, is a magnificent harbour many miles in circumference. It was in it at Port Lazaref that the Russians attempted to start a dock and coal dépôt ; which was nearly the cause of war with England. The Russians then gave way and Port Lazaref was deserted, but it is now the harbour used by our Pacific fleet when visiting Corea.

Gensan though Corean, gives one the impression of being Japanese, for there are Japanese troops quartered here, the Police are in part Japanese, there is a Japanese post office, and Japanese inn, and all the trade is done by the Japanese. After the Chinese war the Japanese got a footing in Gensan, Fusan and Chemulpo, and have revolutionized these ports. The streets are clean, the houses on the Japanese model, and there is an appearance of life and bustle about the street not seen in Corean villages. A rich Corean's house is artistic and his gardens charming with little ponds and summer houses and peeps of landscape for he is a born gardener. Stamp Collectors probably do not know that Corea has joined the Postal Union and that it has six varieties of stamps of its own, and also that there is a full issue of Japanese stamps with the word "Corea" surcharged on them. The Corean Post Office in Gensan is the most primitive of places and in one of the most out-of-the-way places, in the town, with no notice to signify that it is a

post office. It lies inside a little court-yard and consists of two little wooden rooms with a little wooden verandah. It took the whole office establishment of five, including the Post Master-General, to sell us four sets of stamps, and when they came to calculate the cost, all differed. Thinking to puzzle them, I insisted on registering a letter to England. After much talk it was settled how many stamps extra I must put on, and to my astonishment the Post Master gave me a perfectly formal receipt, written in French. I have kept this as a curiosity as it is No. 1 registered letter sent from Gensan Corean Post Office. Ordinarily letters are posted at the Japanese Post Office, worked on the most modern lines. The letter duly arrived in England but two of the Corean stamps had been removed. Here I first had to deal in cash, a horrible brass coin with a hole in it of which 640 went to a dollar of two shillings. The stamps are valued in Poons and Cheungs, but how many of these go to a dollar or what part they are of each other, we could not make out, as all transactions in Corea are done in cash. The dollar is said to be in force, and the yen and its divisions, but even at four miles from Gensan when I offered a twenty-five sen piece (= 6d.) in payment of some strawberries they would not have it at all, but a handful of cash worth perhaps two pence, were welcomed as princely payment.

We lived in a Corean inn on more or less Corean food, which was decidedly odd and unusual, including young dog, snails, aged fish and sea weed and millet cakes, but it might have been worse, and thanks to the Japanese the place was perfectly clean, and being summer they did not roast us at night. It is a common custom in the winter, to light a huge wood fire under the floor at night, and you sleep or rather suffocate on the top of this, and the more honoured guest you are, the hotter place you are given, and as rooms are tightly closed at night and are only six feet high by six or eight square the ordeal can be imagined. Afterwards we were the guests of the customs officer, a Norwegian, lent by the Chinese Customs, and with him we were back again in European life.

We explored a real Corean village free from Japanese restrictions, and a truly dirty place it was, built anyhow of mud and straw and filth unutterable in the gutters. The country is very hilly, range behind range, and generally they are almost bare of trees except in the more inaccessible ranges. The climate in summer at all events is superb, clear and bracing, and the scenery for ever changing, the land is extraordinarily fertile, and almost anything can be got to grow that we have in England. I say 'can be' advisedly, for there is little the Corean will grow that requires the slightest exertion, for he

is quite the laziest man in Asia. His costume is unique. A pair of huge baggy-padded cotton trousers, generally white, but also dark blue, tied round at the ankles with bandages. These garments are so enormous that the seat literally hangs down to his knees. Long I puzzled over these until the night I had to go late on board; the Customs' boat and crew were ordered to be waiting for me, but, so late was I they had gone to sleep, and when I reached the boat there appeared to be no rowers, but, at the bottom we discovered four white sacks, which on being kicked, awoke, and soon a head appeared out of a hole at the top, and then I discovered the uses of these lower garments. They were clothes by day and sleeping suits by night. You untied them at the waist, drew them up over your head and tied them inside and there you were comfortable for the night.

For coats they have a long white blue garment with huge loose sleeves tied in, under the arms. If the man is of any dignity at all, his coat is almost ivory colour from the beating it gets when washed. The head dress is quaintest of all. The hair is done up in a knot on the back of the head with a huge amber comb in it round the forehead, a very tight band of platted horse hair about an inch deep. So tight is this band that it draws all the lines out of the face. On top of this again a hat like our silk hat with a straight brim but made of platted horse hair to look just like a meatsafe. Add to this a very long pipe with a small bowl and you have the Korean gentleman, and all Koreans are gentlemen and men of leisure. The coolie does have to do some work for his food, but he does it in his own methodical way and no power on earth can hurry him. The amount that they can carry is something astounding, a load of 200 lbs. being quite common and this for a distance of 10 or 12 miles. The load is fixed into a queer sort of rack, like a glazier's frame in England in which he carries his sheets of glass, except that it has pegs on which to fasten the load.

Korean women do almost all the work, either they are cooking, or working in the fields, or cutting wood, and all their spare time is spent beating their lord's clothes with wooden clubs to get the right shine into them. Their costume is peculiar, a loose petticoat and a bodice cut off in front to allow the breasts to hang out. They are most decidedly not good looking, though some of the small children are pretty and of a pink complexion.

I had almost forgotten to mention the funeral hat. For a month or more the males of the family wear this after a death, and during that time of course do no work—for the biggest of 'mushroom topics' is as a toadstool in comparison. It simply

covers up the whole head and you have to look underneath to see what sort of thing it is that affects such a head dress.

From Gensan I went to Fusan, lower down the coast ; here there is a beautiful deep narrow well, sheltered harbour and a very pretty town built on a low hill. This is the Japanese quarter, and everything is just as if one were in Japan and the Corean town lies two miles inland on the side of a bare hill.

Here the chief import is vast quantities of dried and horribly smelly fish from Gensan. They are packed together in huge bales, and one requires a vast imagination to realise it is human food. Once a year comes a ship-load of sea weed from Vladivostock—almost its sole export in the year is this ship-load, but to show what an important stake they have in Corean trade, the Port Arthur steamer call fortnightly at Fusan, though it neither loads nor unloads any cargo for the simple reason that it has nothing but Military stores, troops and railway materials on board.

The only other export Vladivostock has, are its furs, for from here are shipped the finest sables, sea otters, grey foxes and silver foxes that are to be bought in the London auctions. All furs come to London, which is the market for the world and sables sell from £3 to £50 a skin and sea otters have gone as high as £640 for a single skin, from £100 to £300 would be a reasonable price for a fine skin. Silver fox skins also run into the hundred, in pounds. But valuable as the skins are, they are not much account as cargo, as a parcel of skins worth £5000 can easily be lifted in two hands.

The export trade of Gensan is chiefly bar copper and lead, egrets, and other feathers and some small quantity of Corean silk gauze. Gold is now also beginning to be found by two pioneer companies. Mentioning gold, reminds me of the curiosity on board The 'Tairen Maru' as to the occupation of a solitary Englishman and his mother who had bought a small island in Broughton Bay near Gensan and had settled there. The other passengers consisted of Russians, Japanese, Chinese, French, and Italian, and as I was the only Englishman, they all applied to me for information. Did I know who he was ? Why was he there ? What was he doing ? I told them who he was and that he was farming and that he was an amateur carpenter and metal worker, but this was much too prosaic. He could be at no good, as lights could be seen in his workshop after 9 P.M., when all decent folk were in bed, and no one would live by himself without an evil motive. The general opinion was that he was a coiner, making Russian roubles and Japanese yens and making a profit on the cheapness of silver. In the Far East no one credits Englishmen or England with anything but interested motives.

I must say a word for the Corean pony, for he is unique in vice. There is no villainy he is not capable of. In height generally under 12 hands; he has the teeth of a sixteen hand and his capacity for kicking is phenomenal. Nothing will he do in a reasonable way, not even eating his food. Give him his beans in a bucket and he will kick them about, but sink them here and there at the bottom of a trough of water and he will take three hours diving after them and trying to get them into his mouth. At about 1 A.M. he prefers his morning meal and by 4 or 5 he will have finished it and be ready to receive you. The Corean 'Yang baw' or landed gentry never think of riding without a servant holding each side of the bridle, and then he sits perched upon a sort of pack saddle very uncomfortable and very insecure.

IV.

From Fusan to Nagasaki is only twelve hours, but it can be very rough as was our fate, however, the Japanese managed their ship without the slightest fuss, though boats and fittings were swept overboard.

Japan is too well known to need describing, and I will merely indicate the tour that was sketched out for me, by a resident who knew the islands intimately. From Nagasaki I went to Moji by train, and here rejoined the "Tairen Maru" which coaled here. Moji lies opposite to Shimonoseki and is the beginning of the Inland sea. One has twenty hours of beautiful steaming through this sea, perfectly calm and with land on both sides. The first portion, which is very narrow, is the finest scenery, for later one gets too far from the shore to see distinctly, while just before Kobe is reached, it again becomes very beautiful, as the sea is scattered with small green islets, many of which have little Buddhist or Shinto shrines upon them. If preferred one can cross by the ferry at Moji and proceed by rail to Kobe, stopping at any places of interest *en route*. This railway is well arranged with sleeping berths, but the same cannot be said for the Nagasaki line or the lines to Tokio. They are huge long carriages, with seats down both sides and no means of sleeping or getting any food except such as the Japanese eat. But it is decidedly cheap travelling, not quite a penny a mile first class. In choosing a train too, it is well to note if it has first class carriages, for as often as not, they have not. I did not delay in Kobe, which is merely a modern Treaty Port with nothing of interest, and the Oriental Hotel is expensive and not good.

To Kyoto, the old capital, is about three hours, and Jami's Hotel is infinitely the best, but, part has recently been burned down, and one probably cannot get rooms. The Kyoto Hotel

is large, modern, and reasonable, but the food is decidedly bad, but, on the other hand, the managers do everything possible for you and will take you to the theatre, or a Geisha dance or a native dinner or a boxing competition, in fact anything you want to see. Kioto is a fascinating town and full of places of interest, while near it lie Nara, Osaka, Lake Biwa and the Rapids, all of which should be seen. The new canal from Lake Biwa is a marvellous bit of engineering, consisting of two tunnels, one which takes half an hour to go through, a slide for boats and a means of utilising the fall of the water for lighting with electricity and supplying motive power for the trams for the whole of Kioto. The shops of the town also are worth several visits, as here are made the best cloisonne ware, damascene work, bronzes, carved ivory, porcelain, gold lacquer, embroideries and brocades. Here one sees work such as never reaches the English market, of fabulous price and marvellous workmanship, for the rich Japanese will have nothing but the best and do not mind paying heavily.

Leaving Kioto I took a route not usually followed by tourists, for I alighted at Gifu and stayed at a Japanese inn in order to witness the cormorant fishing. This is exceedingly weird and worth a visit, but it can only be seen on dark nights. You hire a boat and are poled to the spot of the fishing; here there are several largish boats, each with a huge brazier of blazing wood hanging over the bows, while just behind it, stands a man holding seven or eight strings in his hand by which he controls as many cormorants who are swimming in the water, diving at the fish who come to the light. As soon as one of them half swallows a fish, he is pulled up and made to disgorge and then put back again and so on till a few dozen small fish are caught.

From Gifu to Nagya is only a few hours. Here there is a good hotel, and the castle and its golden dolphins are worth a visit. This is also a centre for the Japanese army and a very smart lot of men they show themselves to be; but, to our notions their cavalry is grotesque, mounted on ponies and without any seat, so that any unevenness in the ground throws the line out of order. Nagya has also some fine cloisonne work and a very pretty manufacture of China. Leaving Nagya by the night train I reached Gotemba, a small roadside station, at 5 A.M. This is the nearest station for the ascent of Fujiyama, but facing the opposite way I walked to the Otomitoga Pass, a stiff eight-mile climb from which the view of Fuji is unequalled and quite different from the aspects seen from Hakone or Denoshima or Yokohama. From the Pass to Miyanoshita the most delightful hill station in Japan, is six miles of up and down climbing, over very rough stony paths.

Japanese paths and roads cannot boast of their goodness except that the grade is good, for they are generally covered with loose, very sharp stones or else are made of river-worn pebbles and both are painful walking. The usual way to go to Miyanoshita is to take the train to Kozu and then the electric train to Yomoto and then a riksha up the ghaut. One's luggage in either case is carried by coolies and 100 lbs. is considered a reasonable load.

Miyanoshita has a good hotel in beautiful scenery, its great feature being its natural baths, hot, cold and sulphur water being laid on, direct from the hill sides into large deep wooden troughs. One's bath or baths were one of the features of the day. At six miles distance is Lake Hakone, a beautiful spot surrounded by tree covered hills, while in the distance is the snow-covered peak of Fujigama, which on a calm day is mirrored in the lake. The sulphur baths on an island are rather a feature, and one is rather surprised at first to find men, women and children all bathing together clothed in innocence. Another place to visit are the sulphur mountains, a more uncanny spot could not be found. Steam issues from cracks, in the ground, here and there are streams of boiling water and elsewhere great deposits of sulphur exude from the ground, while the ground sounds hollow and is hot to touch. Even here is the omnipresent tea house and kisin beer, a very good light Lager the Japanese make.

Descending to Yomoto, and thence by train to Kozu, I took a riksha to the sacred isle of Denoshima which at high tide is surrounded by water. The island is tree covered and rises high from the waves with one long steep street running up to the principal temple. Thence winding paths and steps take one to various temples and shrines, each of which commands a different view, and finally on the opposite side of the island one gets a grand view of Fuji. Below and covered at high tide is a huge cave running far into the rocks and now used as Buddhist temples and place of pilgrimage. From Denoshima I continued by riksha to Kumakura to see the great bronze Buddha. It is a magnificent figure and is situated in the middle of a charming garden. From here one goes by train either to Tokio or Yokohama, about two hours' run.

Yokohama is like Kobe with nothing of interest except its curio shops which are specially intended for the tourist and one pays accordingly. The Grand and the Oriental Hotels are both good in every way, but it is best to get on to Tokio, two hours by train. The big Tokio Hotel is bad and expensive, and if one can get a room at the Metropole, one is lucky, for the manager is a Frenchman, but, as a rule, it is full of the various Legation officials and their friends. Tokio is huge

and there is a good deal to see, and a good deal one cannot see without special passes from the Embassy, but Sheba and Neno Parks afford two days' amusement and the Yoshiwara is interesting as showing the way they manage such things in Japan.

Last of all comes Nikko, the jewel of Japan. It is 5 hours by train north of Tokio and is situated high up in the hills in the midst of lovely scenery. The old Shogun who chose this as his burial ground had an eye for beauty, and his countrymen in building his temple and tomb have tried to vie with nature in beauty. Iyeyasu and Iyemetsu, the two greatest of the Shoguns, lie buried here each with a temple as perfect as it can be made. Other temples are also here and a charming Japanese garden. Everything in Nikho is beautiful, and even the hotel is not bad. Seven miles and higher up in the mountains lies Chusenji Lake, a lovely spot with a little hotel and seven miles beyond the Yomoto Lake, still more beautiful, and on the road to each is a beautiful water-fall besides several at short distances. The climate at these two latter places is splendid owing to the elevation, except for the rainfall which is heavy.

From here I returned to Yokohama to catch the "Empress of India" for Vancouver. The railway goes right to the north of the island and the Sacred Islands, and the exploded volcanoes are well worth a visit, and so is Hakodate, the northern naval fortress.

My trip through Japan took me three weeks, during which I saw most of the most interesting places in the two islands. Everything in the country is pleasant, and one regrets leaving it in a way that one does not other eastern countries. Japan used to be cheap to travel in, but visitors must not expect this now, as after the war, the prices of everything have risen and heavy import duties have been imposed. Hotels are generally from 10 to 14 shillings a day, rikshas from two to four shillings or double if two men are required, as they are on hilly or long journeys. Ponies are cheap to hire and vile to ride. Guides cost about three shillings a day, but a riksha boy from a hotel talks enough English for practical purposes, and when I left Kioto behind I took a riksha boy with me as a sort of guide for half a crown a day. When I engaged a riksha he acted as second coolie, and at native inns he saw to my food and other requirements. I never employed the regular guide and do not think it necessary, if your boy is intelligent. I found £1 a day just covered expenses including rail, drinks, etc., but excluding curios that I bought. One word in favour of the people of Japan. Everywhere a stranger is treated with the utmost politeness, and no pains are spared to make his visit pleasant, and in return it is but fair that he

should not call the people to their faces 'Japs.' It may be a conveniently short word, but it is decidedly offensive to the inhabitants, and therefore to be avoided.

The best months to visit Japan are from April to the end of June, as the plum and cherry blossom is then in its beauty, followed by the azalias and the irises and wisterias. July, August, September and October are hot and wet, but so are most of the months, as half the days in the year are rainy. November to January are beautiful months, as the chrysanthemums are in full bloom, but they are cold and a Japanese house is a chilly place even on rainy days and with frost and snow about must be too cold to please an Anglo-Indian.

V.

From Yokohama one can either go to San Francisco by the American Line, or the Occidental Oriental or the Tokio Kisen Kaisha. The latter is a Japanese line of three excellent boats, one of which I went to see. It was in every way as good as the European boats, and the cabins were much better fitted than the boats that run to India, being larger and fitted with a chest of drawers and hanging cupboard. The menu if I may judge from a dinner was as good and decidedly less solid than the feeding on an English ship. If one wishes to go *via* Canada and not America, then the Empress Line takes one to Vancouver the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway. This is by far the quicker route, and the steamers are all that can be desired. Cabins exceptionally good, food good, and the whole ship kept spotlessly clean, the crew being entirely English and the stewards all Chinese. The run is thirteen days, and after the first two days it is very cold indeed and one sees little of the sun. During May, June and July one can count on a smooth passage, but however smooth the sea is, there is a constant steady swell which gives the ship a long slow roll. The ship touches at the quarantine station in British Columbia, and all Chinese passengers and crew are disinfected, and passengers for Victoria, the capital of British Columbia, and for the island generally are transferred into a small steamer. The run from the quarantine station to Vancouver is exceedingly beautiful, as the channel gets narrower and narrower, shut in on both sides, by fir-covered hills with Mount Baker towering up behind almost as perfect a peak as the great Fujiyama of Japan. For hours the snowy summit of Mount Baker is in view, and as the course changes many splendid views are to be got.

Vancouver harbour is completely landlocked and very beautiful as it is wooded on all sides and the town rises on a hillside overlooking the harbour.

Vancouver itself is well laid out with broad streets and some good shops and many churches of different persuasions, and still more banks; but the whole place had a sleepy appearance, as though waiting for business to arrive. Men were idling in their gardens or leisurely walking about the streets, a great contrast to the perpetual bustle of the more eastern cities.

There is an excellent hotel here, run by the Canadian Pacific Railway, in fact throughout their whole line wherever a hotel is needed they have built one, and they are all good and moderate in prices, and everything possible is done for the convenience of the Trans-Pacific passengers. Rooms are booked for him by telegraph at any of the hotels, or berths reserved on the trains, or an Atlantic passage engaged free of charge. Before leaving the steamer all baggage not required for the overland journey, is examined by the Customs Officers and checked through to New York, Boston, or Quebec, and there is nothing further to be done except to ask for it at the wharf at the other side of America. Baggage needed on the overland journey is examined in the station next day, but it is a mere farce for people holding through tickets. When, however, the passenger reaches Toronto or Montreal, if going thence to the States, he must have his baggage passed again by the American Customs, who are much more strict and give trouble over any trifling purchases in Japan or China; these therefore it is advisable to have checked right through from the steamer at Vancouver to the wharf in New York, and they are then not examined. Canadian trains are on the corridor system and of various classes called sleeping bars, first class, tourist, and colonial. The last-named is really our English third class and is about a penny a mile. They are plain wooden seats which at night can be converted into bunks, the passenger supplying his own bedding. There is also a cooking place in each car so that the passengers can, if they wish, cook their own food.

Tourist cars are almost similar to first class, but cheaper and only run on certain trains. First class are generally two pence a mile, though on mountain grades much more is charged. They are generally most uncomfortable to our notions. A long car with seats for two like the top of an omnibus down both sides. The seats are too narrow for two people especially on long journeys, there is nothing for your head to rest against, and there is no room even for the small bag—or "grip" as the Yankee calls it—which you are allowed to bring into the carriage. People walk up and down constantly and jostle you if you have the outer seat and generally it is not at all desirable. I tried the experiment from Quebec to Montreal, a five hours' run and I certainly shall not do it again.

Then there is the sleeping car, for this you pay first class fare, plus an extra charge of about £1 a day and night, for the day it is generally one or one-and-a-half dollars and for the night two or three dollars. These cars are exceedingly well fitted and look very luxurious but they are not really very comfortable. The cushions are thick plush or velvet, which is a horribly hot thing to sit on for hours at a time. Then too they have no means of keeping out the sun, except miserable blinds which refuse to keep down. Consequently the afternoon sun streams in and makes one side unbearable in the summer. The night arrangements, however, are the worst. Then your seat is converted into a bed and another one is let down from overhead. Curtains are hung down in front of these berths and your bag or bags are piled in the gangway as there is no room under the seats.

Once, therefore, your bed is made up you have no place to sit unless there happens to be any room in the smoking room at the end of the car, but that only holds five people and is also the place where everyone has to wash.

To undress, you must stand in the gangway and your clothes must be piled up on your bed as there is no place to put them. Over you, there may be a lady and a baby sleeping, or you may be over them, for there is no distinction made as to sex. Ladies have a little compartment to dress in, but men dress where they can, and you are lucky if the water has not run short by the time you want to wash in the morning. The American makes much of his railway trains, but, in my humble opinion, they are most undesirable and not to be compared to an Indian first class carriage. They are very big and gorgeous in plush, and inlaid wood and mirrors and a black porter to make your bed, sell you books and fruit and tobacco but, in privacy, decency, and the small comforts that are most essential in travelling, they are entirely lacking. And this is hardly to be wondered at, for very few but English travellers undress when they turn in for the night, or feel inconvenienced by want of water or privacy. The top berth in hot weather is a fearful place as it has no ventilations whatever and is on a level with the gas burners. The trains after the Rockies are crossed, have dining cars attached, open to sleeping car and first class passengers. The food supplied is good and very reasonable, but all liquors are excessively dear and water is the almost universal drink. Until the Rockies are crossed, meals are served at very nice hotels, built on the Chalet principle at places where the scenery is very fine and worthy of a visit—the three are Revelstoke and Glacier in the Selkirk mountains and Field in the Rockies. The food supplied is excellent, especially the fish, fruit and milk, but the

attendance is astonishingly bad. Should you ask for a wine list it will have to be hunted for, and when you have ordered what you want it is doubtful if it will be supplied before you have finished. This I noticed in every hotel I stayed in in Canada, and even at Banff, the best of the hotels of the railway, the waiting was so slow that an ordinary dinner took over an hour. I mentioned this to an American I was dining with and asked him if it was so in his country. "You should just stay at the Union Hotel, New York, two blocks down from the depôt, they give you ten courses in fifteen minutes. That is what we do."

I did not stay at the Union Hotel as this seemed too rapid for a new comer to start upon, but at Niagara I got six courses in five minutes! The plan is simple and is called "dining American fashion." The waiter brought me the bill of fare and asked for my orders. I chose soup, "Yaas and" So I chose a fish course. "Yaas and?" So I ordered an entree. Still the same, so I ordered the joint and finally game. Then I refused to go further. My friend ordered a complete dinner. Then we waited and at last our waiter dashed upon us. Soup, fish, entree, joint, and game were all put down in front of me at once, each on a small dish. After a pause my friend's dinner arrived complete even to the ice! This accounted for a dinner in fifteen minutes. I afterwards watched feeding going on round me and noticed that three courses are frequently eaten at one and the same time. After this I dined "English fashion," but the delay was terrible and the waiter made a favour of the whole thing. To get any dinner at all it was necessary to give him a shilling to lead off with each meal. The only two exorbitant expenses in America and Canada were, so far as I found, tips and cab fares. Nothing under a shilling, or 'a quarter' as it is called, was accepted and for any reasonable service double. A cab fare was seldom less than ten shillings. From Boston City Hotel to the steamer wharf possibly a mile-and-a-half was twelve shillings, and this I learned was correct. Of course no one uses cabs as trains go everywhere, but with luggage one is compelled to, unless you send it all by a Transfer Company at two shillings a package, but there is a risk of its not arriving in time.

The journey over the Rockies was through lovely scenery and I broke the journey at Glacier House, Field and Laggan and Banff at each of which there is an abundance of beautiful scenery to see and a very good hotel to stay in. Glacier is well worth a halt to climb the Glacier and to see some of the magnificent peaks surrounding the place. Field also is exceedingly beautiful and has several excursions, one to a fine natural bridge over a torrent, another to a beautiful lake

with a fir-covered island in the centre and the snow-covered mountains on the other side and a still finer side is to a magnificent cascade. The trails are cut through thick fir and spruce forests and are always cool even at midday. Sure footed ponies can be hired at the hotels which canter all day over the most astonishingly bad tracks without coming down ; though, to walk along them is penance owing to the roots and stumps.

Laggan is a charming little Chalet, high up in the Rockies, on the edge of a beautiful lake in which are reflected the snow mountains in front and the fir woods on both sides. Higher up is another beautiful lake, and still higher, at 7,000 feet, a third just on the margin of the snow line. The view from here is superb in every direction.

Banff is the show place of the Rockies and has a splendidly situated hotel on the Bow River. To my mind it is not as beautiful as the other places, but is much larger and is a social centre and visited yearly by the Governor. Prices here are much higher than elsewhere, and if one place had to be left out I should advice this one.

From Banff we went straight to Port William on Lake Superior. Here we left the train and went on board the 'Manitoba,' one of the railway steamers that run across to Owen Sound and so by rail to Toronto.

These steamers are very comfortable and a delightful break from the rail journey, and for no extra fee one is fed and given a cabin for the two days' run.

The cause of this was that when the Canadian Pacific wanted to join up their line at North Bay with Toronto they were prevented from doing so, as the Grand Trunk Line already ran from Toronto to North Bay ; they therefore could only get running powers over the Grand Trunk. To avoid the loss they built their line to Owen Sound and from there to Port William they run a thrice weekly steamer service each way and in order to get all the passengers carry them from Port William to Toronto inclusive of food and cabin for the same rate as first class by rail from Port William *via* North Bay to Toronto. For once the quarrels of railways have benefited the public. The two days on the steamer through Lake Superior and Huron are very pleasant and the scenery is frequently beautiful. The Locks at Sault St. Marie between the two Lakes are magnificent works and will take a 5,000 ton boat. They are free to all ships, two being owned by America and one by Canada. The town of Sault St. Marie had nothing of interest in it except perhaps an astonishing number of bars.

• The quickest route to New York or Montreal is of course by rail direct to Montreal and thence to New York, the whole

journey from Vancouver to Montreal taking 100 hours with twelve more to New York. An alternative to New York is by rail to North Bay and so to Toronto and thence *viâ* Buffalo to New York by the "States Express" which is the fastest and most luxurious of the American trains.

For travellers not in so great a hurry, however, the Lake route to Toronto is far preferable, as Niagara can then be reached by steamer across Lake Ontario and up the Niagara river. This is a very pleasant route, and from Niagara the journey can be continued by rail to Buffalo and so to New York, or by returning to Toronto, there is rail to Montreal or better the Richlieu Steamers which go down the St. Laurence as far as Quebec.

The town of Toronto is well situated on the shore of the Lake and is laid out with wide well-planted streets. The houses and gardens are large and well kept, and the whole town has an air of prosperity and an abundance of trade. The public buildings are exceptionally fine and stand in well-kept gardens. Niagara is half Canadian and half American and the Canadian side is decidedly the best to see the Falls from, though the American side is the better for seeing the gorge. One can cross from Toronto in the morning, go by the electric railway along the Canadian side, see the Falls for an indefinite time, cross over to the American side, see the gorge, lunch and return to Toronto by the evening boat, without any hurry at all. The trip down the St. Lawrence is exceedingly beautiful especially the Thousand Islands and later when the Rapids are reached. There are a long series of these of which the Lachine are the finest and one feels the steamer glide down the fall. Montreal is reached in the afternoon and Quebec next morning. Montreal has a fine appearance thanks to the Mountain—a ridge that runs at the back of the town and on which are some of the finest houses and gardens. This is the favourite drive and there are views in every direction. The streets of the town are not nearly so fine as Toronto, but there is ample business. The only, at all fine part, is the Queen's Square in which is the Station and a fine Church and the Queen's hotel. The best hotel is the Place Viger run by the C. P. R., but it is far away at their other station; however, the Queen's is not to be despised and it is close to the Central Station. From Montreal I travelled by C. P. R. to St. John's and Halifax on the extreme East. Both are interesting towns and have fine scenery, but there is nothing striking about them. Then by the Inter-Colonial Railway I went to North Sydney in Cape Breton Island. The scenery is quiet grass-land with low hills and small fir forests until this Island is reached. Then the line runs along the Bedeck Lakes—lovely

water and hill scenery. These Lakes are salt water and practically divide the island from North to South.

VI.

Cape Breton Island and the country round New Galloway has fine trout and salmon fishing and Morse deer shooting but, all good water and land has got into the hands of American Sporting Clubs and there was no chance of any sport. I therefore went on to North Sydney and there crossed by the 'Bruce' in seven hours to Port aux Basques, the southern port of Newfoundland, and the terminus of the new railway which now runs from end to end of the island—Port aux Basques to St. John's, the capital of the island. The total length is nearly 500 miles and was built by a contractor, Reid by name, for the British Government, as an attempt to help the island after the terrible commercial crash which had bankrupted all native industries. The line was handed over to the Newfoundland Government and they sold it, with certain restrictions to Reid for one-sixth of what they had paid him to build it. He has to run a certain number of trains, three goods and three passenger each way per week and charge only certain rates.

In addition he has a line of steamers which visit all the ports of the island, and run to Labrador and by them and the railway he has a monopoly of the carrying trade of the island. The whole politics of the island are now, leaving alone the desire to be severed from England and united to the States, a struggle between Reid and the party now in power, who fear the monopoly of everything in Reid's hands will bring the island back to as bad a condition as after the crash. Reid's party claim that by letting the railway be turned into a company, there will be money to open up the forests, the lumber trade and the mines; their opponents would prefer to see Reid crippled and the money found elsewhere for opening up the undoubted wealth of the island in minerals and timber. So, meanwhile, nothing is done and excessive import duties are levied to pay for the working of the island. These duties are simply prohibitive, especially if there is any industry in the island which might be affected. There is one man in St. John's who makes a limited quantity of very inferior jams, to protect him, a duty of 80 per cent. on English jams, 1s. levied. On Egyptian cigarettes which cost me one dollar a hundred in Egypt (4s. 2d.) I had to pay 10s. duty, and similarly on cheroots (60 per cent. duty *ad valorem* plus four dollars a pound).

The 'Bruce' steamer, named after the Governor of the Island, is as comfortable a boat as could be desired, good cabins, good saloon and powerful engines. On landing at Port aux Basques, the customs are vexatious, unless one mentions that one is on

a sporting tour. Guns, rods, cartridges, and provisions will then be passed in, duty free. It is well here to take out a license to shoot caribou, as, otherwise, one is liable to much delay, the Magistrates being few and far between. It is impossible to avoid this tax as no heads can leave the island without the license being produced. A fine of forty dollars a head is levied for any caribou shot without a license.

The railway is narrow guage and very rough travelling and the corners sometimes alarmingly sharp, but the line runs through most beautiful scenery from end to end and there is perpetual change of scene. Generally it is through spruce and larch and fir and birch forests, but at intervals beautiful lakes are skirted, of which I may mention specially St. George's Pond, about six miles long by two wide, The Red Indian Ponds, over sixty miles long by ten feet broad, and the Great Deer Pond, over fifty miles long. These are surrounded by forest with either tree clad hills rising behind, or else the bare red 'Bartens' rising in the distance. These are huge uplands free of timber but covered with ferns, bracken and moss, the haunts of the caribou and of grouse. At other times the line approaches the coast and runs past beautiful harbours such as St. George's Bay or Bay of Isles, the latter as beautiful a fiord as could be found anywhere. For some miles the Humber River, famous for its fishing, is skirted, and again later on some strange-shaped ranges of hills well named, Top Sails, and Main Top. The Journey from Port aux Basques to St. John's is 26 hours and the travelling not uncomfortable, as the train has an excellent sleeping car attached, and there is also a dining car where food of a plain kind can be got at the old-fashioned hours of dinner at 2 and supper at 7. No liquor is procurable, but fortunately Newfoundland Water is particularly good and one soon becomes resigned. So far as I discovered the only places in the Island where one can buy a drink is at St. John's, though of course if staying at the Log Cabin one can get anything one requires.

The Log Cabin is a most delightfully situated shooting box on the edge of St. George's Pond, about five hours from Port aux Basques and half way between St. George's Bay and The Bay of Isles, which are the nearest neighbours, distant twenty miles. It is owned by three young Englishmen, who came out originally for sport and to colonise, but who have now enlarged their house to take in twenty visitors. Here you can live in absolute comfort and get the only late dinner the island boasts of, except perhaps, at Government house. The house is a three storey log building with a lawn running down to the line and here all trains stop. On one side is a little trout stream running into the lake in front of the house. No better

situation could have been chosen and inside the house is equally pleasant, a good library of English novels and poets, a comfortable sitting room full of good engravings, and paintings, old China, silver, and curios from all parts of the world, and a large dining room with a well-kept table, bright with flowers and silver. The whole place is as unlike anything else in the island, as one could well imagine, for the ordinary inn or lodgings are primitive to a degree. The great feature of the Log Cabin is that it lays itself out for people seeking sport. The Harry's Brook which runs in and out of the lake, is as fine a salmon stream as could be wished, it can be fished in part from the cabin and lower down a small hut for two men has been built which gives access to the best pools. Across the lake and about twelve miles away are the Barrens. On these half-a-dozen or more huts, each for two sportsmen have been built, in the best places for caribou shooting. The cabin supplies first class guides, who cook and act as beasts of burden and track for you, and generally insure your getting good sport. Food is arranged for, from the cabin, and though not very luxurious, it is wholesome and one is always hungry enough to relish it, and until one has slept on a green spruce bough bed, one does not know what a good bed is.

I was at the Log Cabin and its forest huts a fortnight and got good salmon and trout fishing and excellent caribou sport. A caribou head is a splendid trophy, for he is the biggest of the reindeer, almost as large in body as the moose and with a spread of horn greater than the Norwegian elk or the wapiti. The skin also makes a fine rug, as it is covered with long grey-brown hair, and as leather for mocassins or boots, cannot be equalled. The flesh is particularly good and unlike most venison one does not tire of it. In the island it takes the place of beef during the shooting season. There is a good taxidermist in St. John's who sets up a head well and reasonably, and, thanks to the climate being cool, one runs little risk of the skin perishing before it can reach him. A good stag stands fifty-five inches at the shoulder and a spread of horn of forty-five inches, from tip to tip, width from thirty-five to forty-seven points, males and females alike carrying horns. Of course there are many other places in the island where sport is good and where accommodation can be found, for almost every house owner is willing to take in a lodger, but there is no place where one can be half as comfortable, or get as good sport as at the Log Cabin. Other places I may mention are kept by an Italian at Bay St. George, who always takes in sportsmen, but he is not particular how many he puts in one room. Here too the only sport is salmon and trout and sea fishing, as the Barrens are too far away. At the Bay of Isles there is a fairly comfortable inn and

several lodging places,—this is near the Humber River famous for its trout.

St. John's has a hotel and a very miserable place it is, but Reid is building a first class one, which, when finished, will be no doubt thoroughly good. At Placentia and Conception Bay there are places where lodgings can be got and also good fishing. Charges vary from six shillings a day at the smaller lodgings, to ten shillings at the cabin. A guide is four or six shillings a day and is invaluable, boats and canoes are about 1s. 6d a day, at least that is what was charged at the cabin. There are no other expenses except liquor, which, owing to the import duties, is expensive, roughly about double the English price or a little less perhaps.

The climate from May to September is beautifully clear and sunny and fogs do not exist, except on the coast. Rain there is in abundance, but a fisherman does not object to that. The best time for salmon is up to August, though after that they can of course be caught. Caribou shooting begins July 15th, but heads are not good before the end of August. There is a close time from September 15th, and after that is the best shooting up to the end of the year. Snow falls in October or November and by the end of December the place is frozen up, and then it is that the islanders do their shooting as they can get to close quarters on their snow shoes and can also drag away the carcass on sledges. August and September are beautiful months, with bright sunshine and a clear fresh air but the nights are always cold. The chief drawbacks are the mosquitos and sandflies. The former I did not mind but the latter are maddening, for they come in clouds after sundown and their bites are very irritating and they are too small to keep out with ordinary mosquito curtains. When fishing they and ordinary flies sorely try one's patience. The island has good ptarmigan shooting from August 15th onwards and in the winter, black and brown bears are not uncommon. Snipe of a very strong winged class abound, but they require a deal of shooting.

Anyone going to Newfoundland for sport should take his oldest, roughest clothes and very strong boots, as one is constantly wet through in the long ferns and going over bogs—mocassins are far more serviceable for walking in the woods, but they require practice to be able to wear. For fishing a pair of waders are a great comfort. Ammunition should be brought. This can be got in the Island, but the Scotch ones are all good. Jack Scot and "the Doctor" and a local one being the best.

For those not anxious for sport Newfoundland is more than worth a visit, for it is beautiful from end to end and the

air acts like a tonic. The steamers run round the island, are new and comfortable and intended for passenger traffic. All the fiords with which the coasts abound are entered, and each is beautiful and many of them grander than the Norwegian ones. The same steamers cross over to Labrador, which from all accounts is a sportsman's paradise, and during June, July and August the climate is good.

Leaving by the 'Bruce' I crossed back to North Sydney and visited the iron smelting works recently started there, owing to the discovery of a very high class iron in Belle Island near to St. John's. From a small port the place is rising by leaps and bounds into a large town and I found a room could not be hired for under a pound a day. Leaving in the evening by a small steamer I went through the Bedeck Lakes, which divide Cape Breton Island from north to south. The scenery is exceedingly fine especially at the Grand Narrows. The next evening one arrives at Mulgrave at the south of the island and rejoins the train. Travelling *via* Truro and the Inter-Colonial Railway I reached Quebec in twenty-four hours. This railway is purely Canadian State property and runs entirely in Canadian soil, having been built at the time of the last American scare. It runs from Halifax to Montreal with branch lines to Cape Breton Isle, Prince Edward's Isle and New Brunswick. The train lands one at Lewis on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence to Quebec and one is ferried across, thus getting a splendid view of the two places which rise grandly from the river and by their forts command the St. Lawrence. Nothing could be finer than the situation of Upper Quebec, situated as it is on the cliffs and it would be hard to find a more beautiful picture. Lower Quebec lies along the river under the cliffs and is dirty and built of narrow streets and lacks the busy appearance of Montreal—due so Canadians say to its inhabitants being Canadian French—certain it is one hears hardly a word of English spoken and only very unintelligible French. The Upper Town has some fine streets, notably the one in which the Houses of Parliament are. The Canadian Pacific Hotel, Chateau Frontenac, on Dufferin Terrace on the face of the cliff overlooking the river is very fine in appearance and comfortable inside.

The Falls of Montmorency some distance down the river are fine and well worth a visit. These and the Plains of Abraham are the show places.

Leaving Quebec by the C. P. R. I travelled to Montreal and so direct to Boston and left there by a new Cunard boat, the "Saxonia," 14,000 tons. This Boston Line has much to recommend it, the ships are very large and being heavily loaded, travel very smoothly in bad weather, and being driven only to

17 knots do not roll and vibrate in the way the mail boats do. They are exceedingly comfortable, the cabins being good and food excellent, and the run is only one day more than the Liners and the fare less.

The direct route from Newfoundland would have been either by the Anchor Line direct from St. John's, but the boats are small, old, and slow. Otherwise by rail to Quebec or Halifax for the Dominion, Anchor or Beaver Lines, all of which have new and large 12,000 ton boats, or else direct to Boston or New York *via* St. John's (U. S.) by the Boston and Maine Railway.

The whole journey from India and back *via* the Suez Canal took me six months and inclusive of steamers, hotels, trains and all extra, cost under £300 which is cheaper than for what one could live comfortably in England.

F. A. COLERIDGE.

ART. III.—POSTAL REFORMS.

IT may be said in preface, that when making suggestions for reforms, it is not intended as an inditement against the Indian Post Office, for that Department is not directly responsible for the tariffs which are settled by the Government of India. There are also other matters besides tariffs which may be recommended by the head of a department, but not sanctioned by Government. For instance, some years ago, the British Post Office recommended the introduction of the "cash on delivery" system, another name for our Valuable Payable Post, but this was not sanctioned by the Treasury. And, although admitting that the Indian Post Office is one of the most progressive postal systems, and is wonderfully well managed considering the poorly paid staff with which it is worked, yet it will not be denied that there is still room for improvement and simplicity, and this perhaps has merely to be pointed out to be adopted. Mr. F. E. Baines, C.B., late Assistant Secretary, in his work *Forty Years at the Post Office* pays the following compliment:—"The Indian Post Office is a branch of Government to which one has always been insensibly drawn by the prompt and intelligent hold it takes of official questions. Such, at all events, has been my experience; and although Anglo-Indian administration rather lends itself to forms, indents and similar devices, yet the Indian Post Office is singularly free—more so, perhaps, than we are at home—from anything approaching the obstruction of routine or pedantic insistence on the letter, rather than the spirit of an agreement. Hence, both the cordial co-operation of the delegate, Mr. James, and the high administrative qualities of the chief, Mr. Faushawe, are not easily forgotten."

When considering reforms, the point of primary importance is the tariffs, and the present brief article will be confined to a consideration of this subject. By turning to the *Postal Guide* it will be seen that there are six inland rates, namely those for (1) post-cards, (2) letters, (3) packets, (4) registered newspapers, (5) registered parcels, and (6) unregistered parcels. These are condensed in a formidable schedule of sixteen columns. Let us examine each separately.

The quarter anna post-card is the cheapest in the world. But what can be said in favour of having two different sizes of post-cards? If one wishes to send a post-card by the inland post, the dimensions must be $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches by 3 inches, whereas one sent by the foreign post must be $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It would be more simple to have only one size, that adopted

for international correspondence. This has been recognised in England, where it has been agreed that the inland post-card shall be manufactured the same size as the international one.

A half anna letter rate is also cheap, and the low charge suitable for a poor country like India, but the half tola allowed for the half anna is very light, and the incident of increase one and a half tolas for each anna is not the simplest for calculation. Compare this with the more liberal allowance in England, namely, 1*d.* for 4 ozs. (1 anna for 9·7 tolas), and for each additional 2 ozs. $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* ($\frac{1}{2}$ anna for each additional 4·8 tolas). A half tola is too small as an initial weight for modern ideas. It may suit natives who use small scraps of flimsy paper and the embossed small half anna envelope, supplied merely at the cost of the stamp by a paternal department, in order to induce the natives to adopt a sufficiently large covering, for recording the address and to allow space for the post marks. But it does not allow the indulgence of European ideas as to the use of substantial writing paper, and it is also too small for most commercial communications and invoices. A rate of half an anna for each tola would be almost an ideal one, suitable to all classes of the community and very simple for calculation. Probably the time is not far distant when this desirable reform will be conceded by the Government. The three columns now given in the schedule to explain the letter rate, could then be reduced to one column, namely, " $\frac{1}{2}$ anna per tola"—almost as simple as it could well be made.

The present packet tariff, half anna for each ten tolas, is very suitable, but why not assimilate the rates for registered newspapers, and place this latter at half the packet rates? At present, a registered newspaper weighing four tolas, can be sent for quarter of an anna, and one weighing twenty tolas for half an anna, these being half packet rates. The exception is in the case of registered newspapers weighing between four and ten tolas. It is not understood why four tolas has been selected as an initial limit of weight instead of ten, except merely to benefit unreliable native prints to the exclusion of the more reliable English ones. It is recognised that newspapers are a necessity to present conditions of civilisation, and that they exercise an educational effect on the people, so in some countries, as for instance New South Wales and Tasmania, they are allowed to be sent inland free of postage, while in the majority of others they are carried at rates which just pay for their handling. In France newspapers weighing less than fifty grammes, or 1·7 ounces, may be sent within the department (district) in which they are published for one centime, or one-tenth of a penny, or about one pie.

It would simplify matters if the tariff for registered newspapers was simply—"half packet rates." There is one point which is difficult to understand, and that is why the Government is so culpably negligent in making use of its own resources. Section 20 of the Post Office Act, prohibits the sending by inland post, a newspaper having on it any words, marks or designs of a seditious, scurrilous, threatening or grossly offensive character. It would not be practicable for the Post Office to have every newspaper read before it was allowed to circulate through the Post, and so this prohibition is really ignored. But a copy of every newspaper is sent to Government and is supposed to undergo some scrutiny, and should any editor persist in indulging in sedition after warning, it would be a very simple matter for the Local Government to direct the Post Office to stop the circulation of that paper by the aid of Government machinery. This would mean extinction for the paper, and be more effective and simple than a troublesome and expensive prosecution, enabling the editor to pose as a martyr before a sympathising native public. In England and the Colonies the use of the Post would have been withdrawn for the sending of lottery circulars and betting offers, if it had been feasible to have detected this baneful stuff in transit, and we have only to turn to the Criminal Code to see the relative condignity of sedition and betting in the eyes of the law.

Lastly, as to the two different rates for parcels, it would greatly simplify matters if the present cumbrous designation "unregistered parcels" and "registered parcels" was abolished. Have one rate for *all* parcels, as for *all* letters, and let there be a fee of two annas for registration the same as is now charged for registering a parcel under twenty tolas. The custom of charging two annas for registering a small parcel and four for a large cannot be defended, as the work involved in both cases is the same. The same fee is charged for registering a small letter as for registering a large one, and the present system of having two different rates for "unregistered" and "registered" parcels is not only absurdly intricate, but there is nothing to be urged on its behalf. The rate, four annas for half a pound for a "registered" parcel, and two annas for half a pound for an "unregistered" parcel is susceptible of improvement. Compare this with three pence for one pound, and four pence for two pounds, of the English Post Office. The present "unregistered" parcel rates might continue, and a fixed registration fee of two annas charged for any parcel that is required to be registered. Leaving out of consideration the excellent Value-Payable system, the parcel work in India has made comparatively little progress

since its introduction in 1854. The great parcel growth of the German Post Office between the years 1872-1882 is attributed to the remarkably cheap and simple rates of postage that were introduced. Increase the number of parcels and you incidentally increase the revenue in other branches. When the parcel post was introduced into Italy, the administration estimated that each parcel had given rise to two letters, or at least to two post-cards, and it was also found that the money-orders had increased, as the contents of many of the parcels were paid by money orders.

The wonderful progress made in all postal administrations within the last fifty years is due to improved facilities and more enlightened methods, and the lessons are patent to all. Many inconvenient, and to the public, senseless and irritating rules could be swept away, and the working of the Department would gain by the simplicity. The Postmaster-General, Cape Colony, in reviewing the results of some reforms, truly remarked in his annual report, that—"Simplicity and uniformity of tariff have even more effect on the growth of correspondence than cheapness itself."

ANGAREION.

ART. IV.—LIFE AND WORK OF GENERAL SIR
ARTHUR COTTON, R.E., K.C.S.I.—BY LADY HOPE.

THIS book, which gives a narrative of the life and work of one who was an enthusiastic advocate of irrigation and of navigable canals, comes appropriately at the present time. The value of irrigation has been brought into sharp relief by the shade cast by one of the most severe, most general, and most prolonged famines with which India has ever been afflicted.

As is natural, in a memoir of a father by his daughter, the work is not in any way a critical one. All that Sir Arthur Cotton did, or wished to do, is described as invariably right, while any opposition to his many schemes, is held to have always been unwise. It is perhaps just as well that this should be so, and that one side of the case should be fully stated.

At the same time it leaves room, and indeed calls for, an examination of some of those matters, or opinions, as to which Sir Arthur Cotton for many years occupied, to a certain extent, the position of a Don Quixote. And this, be it said, is meant in no depreciatory spirit.

The knight of La Mancha is always a gentleman, zealous and full of high endeavours, only wanting in the sense of proportion. Life would lose much, were there not some one, here and there, to lay a lance in rest, and to run a tilt at his adversary, without regard to the arguments or facts, which may appear, in the eyes of the more cautious on-lookers, to mar the cause which the knightly spirit has espoused.

The more strictly personal part of the memoir relating to Sir Arthur's boyhood, and to his home life after retirement, will be of interest chiefly to his friends and relations. What is of interest to the general reader is the description of the work which Sir Arthur Cotton carried out in Southern India, and the exposition of the views, which he so strongly held, regarding what should still be done throughout India generally.

It is stated in the preface that assistance has been given in the arrangement of the work by Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., and it would appear from the title page that some parts of it have been written by that gentleman. It is not, however, apparent in the text which are his contributions, and it may be taken that Lady Hope accepts all responsibility for the arguments used in support of her father's schemes, and for the criticisms, the opposition, or neglect with which some of those

were met. For the most part Sir Arthur Cotton and his biographer deal their opponents as sunk in the deepest error, but do not attribute improper motives to them. In two passages, however, more severe attacks are made. In a prefatory chapter we find the following:—

“Sir Arthur Cotton’s influence is ineffaceably stamped on “three portions of the eastern mart of the Madras Presidency. “What is true of this region might have been true, in a modified “measure, of many other parts of India, especially of some “of those provinces which now (July 1900) are the scenes “of awful suffering, had Sir Arthur Cotton’s ripe experience “not been over-borne by administrative jealousy and by “official unacquaintance with what could really be done by “means of irrigation in almost every part of India.”

Again, in the last chapter of the book the following occurs in a letter from Sir Arthur Cotton which is reproduced, and which relates to the vexed question of the comparative expenditure on railways and on works for irrigation:—

“I must tell you that it is now, I believe, a personal question “with the majority of the Civil Service. A lady said to my “wife, ‘I should think so indeed when the whole of our “property is invested in railways.’”

It is to be regretted that such allegations should have been allowed to appear in a work of this nature. It need hardly be said that they are mere allegations and are in no way supported by any facts.

The first great work done by Sir Arthur Cotton was the re-organization of the irrigation of the delta of the Cauveri and Coleroon in the Tanjore district. The chapter which deals with this part of his work might well have been fuller, and the account of the work carried out might have been clearer.

Lady Hope writes:—“(p. 59) In Tanjore and the adjoining district of Trichinopoly the indigenous works had proved “comparatively successful. They, however, only made use of “the river during the rains when the water was least wanted. “Our Engineer’s conception and intention was to preserve the “flood waters for the dry season. He did it.” Now of course he did nothing of the kind. What Sir Arthur Cotton did, was to restore the equilibrium of the two branches of the river by the construction of a weir across the Coleroon and to give effective control of the water in the two branches of the river. An ancient weir does not store water, or only to an infinitesimal degree. What it does is to control, and within certain limits, the level of the water in the stream, and to allow of the water being drawn off for canals or other channels as may be required.

The work done was in all respects excellent and was most successful.

Some years later Sir Arthur Cotton's great opportunity came, and was accepted, in the delta of the Godavari river. No praise can be too great for the work which he planned and carried out here. The anicut or weir across the Godavari was a much greater work of its class than had been yet attempted. The design adopted by Sir Arthur Cotton, though now accepted as sound, was at the time much criticised. He had rather to meet opposition than to receive support from the financial authorities. Skilled labour was scarce, and officers with any experience in such work were equally scarce. The enthusiasm with which Sir Arthur Cotton could invest a project could not have been better applied and it was rewarded. The Godavari irrigation and navigation works are second to none in India whether we regard the economy with which they were made, their effectiveness as engineering works, or their remunerative character.

It is no doubt the fact that the physical and climatic conditions of river and delta were all in favour of the scheme, which the cheapness of the skilled labour, at that time, allowed of its being carried out at a comparatively low cost. Still this in no way diminishes the credit due to Sir Arthur Cotton for appreciating the conditions, and for the skill and energy with which he overcame all obstacles.

Sir Arthur Cotton wrote often and strongly as to what he deemed the short-sighted policy of the administrators of India in merely endeavouring to extract a larger revenue* from the land while doing little or nothing to develop the country by irrigation works or by improved means of communication. In so writing he was rendering undoubted service to India.

In a country which is so dependent on agriculture for its revenue it is especially incumbent on the rulers of the State to do all that is possible to develop the latent capabilities of the soil. In England, we are so accustomed to such matters being dealt with by private enterprise, that we are apt to forget, that in India, the initiative must come from above.

It is only when we come to the particular works, or perhaps classes of works, which Sir Arthur Cotton advised or condemned, that there is room for differences of opinion.

It was perhaps only natural that he should have been affected by the great success of the irrigation works of the Cauveri, of the Godavari, and a little later, of the Kistna deltas, and that he should have been imbued with the idea that works of this class were what India required in all parts.

* Even Sir Thomas Munro saw and wrote long before that irrigation improved the value of land.—ED. C. R.

Lady Hope records that her father was accustomed to rank himself as a man of one idea. And while she rightly combats this limitation of his gifts, it is probably not incorrect to say that he was a one-sided man. That is, his nature was such, that when he espoused a cause he did it so completely as to make it difficult for him to see any flaws in it, or any merits in the opposition. So, when he became the advocate of works for irrigation and for navigation, and the opponent of railways, he was led into recommending schemes as to which he had not that accurate information, whether personal or acquired, which alone would have justified his assertions as to the necessity for them, or his predictions of the profits to be obtained from them.

The Kurnool Canal and the Orissa Canals are the most prominent instances of works undertaken on his recommendation and which have been financial failures. Lady Hope does not deal at any length with the share of responsibility which attaches to Sir Arthur Cotton in respect to these works, and this is not the place for re-opening a discussion which has been closed. In writing that these works have been financial failures regard has been had to the direct return to the State, which they yield. If we have regard also to the indirect value which they have to the community something may still be said in their favour.

This brings us to one point greatly urged by Sir Arthur Cotton, *viz.*, that the true value to the State, of irrigation and of the cheap transit afforded by navigable canals is much greater than that indicated by the direct returns. In other words, he urged, that such works should not be dealt with as if they were the property of a Company, depending solely on the direct returns for a dividend, but that the actual value to the State, that is to the community, should be regarded.

No doubt these particular instances are unfortunate because they had been recommended to, and adopted by a Company on the grounds that large direct returns were to be expected. The history of the Madras Irrigation Company, and of its off-shoot the Orissa Irrigation and Canals Company, is instructive in showing how vague and general statements were accepted without criticism, and how projects, requiring very large outlay, were entered into with no accurate estimates of what they would cost, and with hardly any idea of what the sale, or market value of the water really was.

However it is now certain that, in India, all large irrigation works will be constructed at the cost of the State, and will be worked by its officers and in its interest. It is therefore very necessary to bear in mind that the value to the State of such works does not end with the sum at credit of the annual revenue account.

This view is represented clearly in an extract from the report of the Famine Commission of 1879-80 quoted by Lady Hope in Chap. XI and which we may reproduce here :—

“It has been too much the custom, in discussions as to the policy of constructing such works, to measure their value by their financial success, considered only with reference to the net return to Government on the capital invested in them. The true value of irrigation works is to be judged very differently. First, must be reckoned the direct protection afforded by them in years of drought, by the saving of human life, by the avoidance of loss of revenue remitted, and of the outlay incurred in costly measures of relief. But it is not only in years of drought that they are of value. In seasons of average rainfall they are of great service and a great source of wealth, giving certainty to all agricultural operations, increasing the outturn per acre of the crops, and enabling more valuable description of crops to be grown.”

On the other hand we have the argument advanced by Lord Curzon in his speech during the budget debate in March 1900, and which has been reproduced by Lady Hope, that Protective Works, *i.e.*, works which do not pay (directly) the interest at which the State can borrow ($3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) on the capital, must be regarded as constituting a permanent financial burden on the State. What the true value to the State of irrigation works may be, is a question for political economists to answer; and before it can be answered, information is required on several points which it is difficult to obtain.

The first and most important point to determine is what the value of the increased yield of the land due to irrigation may be. This necessarily varies with climatic conditions as to rainfall and crops, with the nature of the soil, and even with the industry and ability of the cultivators. Still, for any particular case, it can, no doubt, be determined. The next point is to determine how much of this increase in the yield, or in the value of the crops grown, represents an increase in the assets of the State. And here we have to remember that we are dealing with a society having a very low standard of living. To a considerable extent the poorer members of the agricultural community merely *earn a subsistence. When they have a good harvest they eat a little more; when they have a bad harvest they eat as little as they can exist on. To a certain extent, therefore, the increase in the yield due to irrigation is expended in giving better nourishment to the cultivators, and to this extent, can hardly be said to have any precise value as an asset of the State. Similarly, as regards clothing, when the cultivator has a good season, he and his family may have a few more garments than in bad times.

Though here, of course, the additional cotton cloth, or other form of clothing used, must be paid for, and so the increase in yield is useful to the persons who make the cloth, and therefore to the State.

We may, perhaps, take as a concrete case the system of canals from the river Sone in Behar, which owe their existence, in some measure, to the influence of Sir Arthur Cotton and of the works which he constructed. The capital account of this system, as on 31st March 1900, stands at Rs. 2,67,52,578. The average net revenue for the last four years has been Rs. 5,14,777, representing a direct return of 2.29 per cent. in the capital. Consequently, regarded as a commercial investment, it is distinctly an unprofitable work.

We may, however, consider it from another point of view. For these four years, the average area irrigated has been 4,70,872 acres. Now, if we take the increased value to the State of the crops raised on this area at Rs. 5 per acre, which is a low estimate, the annual return to the State, that is to the community, was Rs. 18,83,488. The average annual charge for working expenses for the four years was Rs. 6,04,348. The average annual net gain to the community was, therefore, Rs. 12,79,140, which represents 4.78 per cent. in the capital. It is, therefore, arguable that the investment by the State in their works is remunerative, in the true sense of the term, though the direct returns, realized as water-rates, navigation, tolls, etc., aggregate less than 3½ per cent. Money is freely expended by the State on roads, without any direct return being acquired. There is, of course, the distinction that roads can be made anywhere and benefit the community in general, while irrigation works can only be made in certain places and benefit only certain portions of the community. The question is doubtless a difficult one, but it may fairly be said that the indirect value of irrigation works is great and should be investigated more than is usually done.

Sir Arthur Cotton was strenuous in advocating navigable canals as superior to railways, or at all events as more suitable to India, but here he seems to have had no grounds for the faith that was in him. In a few places, where conditions are specially favourable to canals, they may no doubt be the better means of affording cheap carriage, but as a general means of communication, they are, and must be, inferior to railways. A railway can be taken about anywhere, a canal can only be made, except at prohibitive cost, where the country is flat, or nearly so.

We have said that Sir Arthur Cotton's nature was such that he appeared to see only one side of a question, and this is illustrated by some of his answers to questions put to him

when he appeared before the Parliamentary Committees of 1872 and 1878.

Lady Hope quotes the following from the proceedings of the Committee of 1872 (p. 212):—

"The Chairman."—"In your opinion would canal navigation meet the whole transit wants of India, of its commerce and its people?"

"Perfectly and entirely" was the reply; 'without any one defect whatever.' Thinking this assertion might be thought too sweeping he qualified it with the remarks 'I do not mean to say that every line in India can be traversed by a canal, but every line in which it is of great importance. there should be transit. There may be minor tracts like some parts of the line between Bombay and Madras, which might be better for railways."

Now, even this qualified assertion is one which can hardly be taken seriously. Sir Arthur Cotton's experience of navigable canals had been confined to certain tracts where conditions were very favourable for such works, and he could not have had any sound data for assuming that similar results would be obtained under quite different surroundings.

When before the Committee of 1878, Sir Arthur Cotton was questioned as regards the failure, financially, of the Orissa canals and of the Kurnool canal. In replying, he attributed the failure entirely to bad management on the part of the Revenue officers. No doubt the management had been bad, but what is astonishing, is that Sir Arthur Cotton appeared to think it unnecessary to go at all into the question of the climatic and physical conditions, though of course it must be on these that the question really hinges.

In a memorandum on the delta of the river Mahanadi, submitted to Government by Sir Arthur Cotton in 1858, he wrote:—"There is not a single acre, in all India, or in the whole world, that would not be more productive, if it were irrigated at one time and drained at another." He would seem to have been so imbued with this exaggerated idea of the value of irrigation, anywhere and everywhere, that he could not see the real position.

In a letter to the Governor-General advocating the claims of the East India Irrigation Company, quoted by Lady Hope (p. 443), he wrote:—"We have every reason to hope that both the Irrigation Company's great projects in Madras and in Bengal, will be in extensive operation this year, and they both promise as great returns as those of the Godavari and Kistna."

There were in reality no grounds for expecting the same returns from the Irrigation Company's works (Orissa canals

in Bengal and Kurnool canal in Madras), as from the Godavari and Kistna works, where the conditions of soil and rainfall are very different, and it is not too much to say that Sir Arthur Cotton was absolutely reckless in his assertion.

Lady Hope has reproduced in Chapter X a speech by Lord George Hamilton made in the House of Commons in a debate connected with the famine in Southern India in 1876-77, in the course of which Sir Arthur Cotton's advocacy of irrigation and of navigable canals as a general remedy for all ills, is adversely criticised. Sir Arthur Cotton's rejoinder is given, but when examined, it is quite clear that the points raised by Lord George Hamilton were not really met. His Lordship said:—"Had Sir Arthur Cotton and his friends been content with advocating the construction of works, under as favourable circumstances as those he constructed in Madras, he would unquestionably have done unmitigated good in India."

This is much to the point, and it is certain, that in advocating other projects which were unsound, much harm was done to the cause which Sir Arthur Cotton had at heart.

At the same time it is to be borne in mind that Sir Arthur Cotton was an advocate, not a dictator. The real responsibility rests on the shoulders of those who accepted the schemes put forward without having given to them any proper scrutiny.

One of the schemes, with which Sir Arthur Cotton's name has been associated, was for a very large reservoir to be made in the upper course of the Tungabudra river. It is alluded to in the work under review, but only casually, and there is nothing to show what the true merits of the scheme may have been.

However, in urging generally, the necessity there is for storage of water, Sir A. Cotton was on sound ground. It is in this direction more than any other that work remains to be done in providing facilities for irrigation and in guarding against famine. At the same time it must be frankly acknowledged, that the question is a difficult one, and that progress can only be gradual. Reservoirs, of sufficient size to be of any real good, can only be made where the physical conditions are specially favourable. Again, there must be land suited for irrigation within a reasonable distance of the reservoir. Careful enquiries are necessary as to the supply of water available for filling the reservoir at periods of drought, as to the loss of water from percolation as well as from evaporation, and as to the areas, the crops in which can be secured with the available supply. The latter depending on the nature of the crops and of the soil, and on the distance the water has to travel to reach the fields. The sites suitable for large reservoirs will usually be in remote valleys, difficult of access,

and where labour is scarce or almost altogether wanting. Still difficulties can be met and should be met.

This question of the storage of water for agricultural purposes, appears to us to be of the first importance. We consider that the Government of India should be in a position to say what it is practicable to do in this way on every stream in the country. We would have every district taken in turn and every stream in it examined and scheduled as to possible sites for reservoirs, as to the supply which might be depended on at times of drought, as to position and area of land suited for irrigation, as to probable cost of works and financial prospects, and generally as to all matters pertinent to the question. We think that the Government should not be content with less than full knowledge. It would take time, much time, and it would take money to obtain such knowledge. A special staff would have to be employed and the work would require the closest scrutiny. Perhaps the greatest difficulty is one which is almost inherent to a Government by bureaus, we allude to the frequent changes in the heads of departments and in the governors, which render it so difficult to carry on any line of policy continuously.*

As we have said difficulties exist to be met, and if it is desirable to take a numerical census of the various peoples whom we govern, it is, surely, just as desirable to have a clear record of the possible means of improving their position. We do not say that it is practicable to turn the whole of India into a garden; possibly it may not be practicable to do much; but it will surely be practicable to do something, and at all events, we ought to know definitely what can be done.

Sir Arthur Cotton was a man outstanding in his generation. He rendered great service to the State, and, though he might have done still more had his vast zeal and energy been combined with a nature less prone to rush to conclusions, he will always be remembered as one of the greatest of the pioneers of irrigation in India. We must never forget that he was a pioneer and that it was the very success of the works which he planned and carried out in the deltas of the Caveri and Godavari, which gave him an exaggerated idea of the returns, which similar works would be sure in other parts of the country, with the conditions of which he was imperfectly acquainted.

Lady Hope has done a public service in writing this memoir of her father. It is a book which all should read, who are interested in irrigation, or in the improvement of the agricultural community, though they should read with discern-

* Why should it be so ?—ED. C.R

ment and remember that assertion is not proof. Sir Arthur Cotton's views were, no doubt, to a large extent Utopian, but for all that, in many ways, the general principles advocated are sound, and there is still much to be done where and when ways and means admit.

W. A. INGLIS.

[In order to give a complete view, we supplement the above excellent article with the following communication on the same subject,—which at present is drawing much attention,—with the well-known initials A. T. F.,—dated from London—in a leading Indian journal.*—ED. C.R.]

"The famine, recent writings of General F. Cotton on the value of water in India, Lady Hope's biography of the late Sir Arthur Cotton, and a renewed interest that has sprung up in British canals from the pressure of railway freights on agriculture, favour attention just now to the whole subject of Indian rivers, canals, and reservoirs. During Christmas week the *Times* had a lengthy notice of the Government Review of Irrigation for 1898-99, recounting how 21 Productive Works yielded $9\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest annually, on the capital expended, and 15 crores of rupees surplus. The gross revenue of all the Productive Works in India is put down at $317\frac{3}{5}$ lakhs of rupees, or Rs. $3\frac{1}{3}$ per acre irrigated. But great as this progress is, when we reflect that the net area of India cropped, is 196 millions of acres, with cultivable waste lands amounting to 106 millions of acres more, it is seen that the 18 millions of acres irrigated are a mere speck on that wide surface. The exact acreage liable to failure of rain, and therefore to famine, is still to learn, but must be a large fraction of the whole 300 millions of cultivable acres in British India. This huge extent of endangered territory was constantly present to the mind of Sir Arthur Cotton, who before quitting India for good in 1862, and subsequently for close on thirty years, exhausted every argument derivable from past success in the Deltas on behalf of a more energetic policy with irrigation and water communications. Instead of this, what may be termed a safe line has been pursued ever since, works which had been begun have been left unfinished, and at best only a small percentage of the land has been irrigated. The reason of this seems to be a reluctance to depart from the old Indian system of doing Public Works as far as possible out of revenue. In India capital is not obtainable so cheap as at Home. Consequently, the guaranteed railways were projected there, and as a railway from its great cost per mile cannot possibly be constructed out of revenue,

* The *M. Mail*.
VOL. CXII]

the railways had the advantage over water works. Any widespread extension of irrigation must, however, be originated by the India Office on account of the large capital required, while details of the operations have all to be studied and arranged in India itself.

"A very important point has been brought forward by General Cotton, *viz.*, that the entire outlay on irrigation—with its returns, according to the *Times* of 18 per cent. for the Godavery works and 41 per cent. under the Cauvery—is only the value of one year's crops on the land irrigated. A resolution on the part of the India Office to spend another year's crop values the *Times* sets down at 39 crores of rupees, in extending irrigation and preventing famine, so far from being extravagant would be sheer economy. Once it was adopted, new life would be thrown into Indian Public Works, causing investigation by map and on the ground of the circumstances of each separate tract of country, with a view to these being placed beyond the risk of famine by combined engineering and agricultural expedients of the most modern type. A further resolve to lay out some 5 millions sterling on completing waterways already commenced or projected, would round off the task before the Secretary of State in these vital matters, and by degrees everything practicable in the programme Sir Arthur Cotton sketched roughly out in the 19th, could be realised in the 20th century. There are difficulties of treatment he could not foresee in 1858, because the land now to be secured against famine is not delta soil, but situated in the uplands of the interior, and the difference even now in the nature of the measures required, is imperfectly understood. Protection of the huge area visited by famine, cannot be got by servile repetition of delta applicable methods, and rates of expenditure. But at least one delta still remains to which they would fairly apply, that of the Mahanuddi, in Orissa. It may be remembered that after Lord Stanley guaranteed the Madras Irrigation and Canal Company's works at Kurnool in 1859, a similar concession was made to the Orissa Irrigation Company. In both cases the Companies were formed before the ground had been surveyed, and after a large outlay their enterprises had to be taken over by Government, a little under one million pounds sterling having been paid for the Orissa works. The site was visited by Sir A. Cotton on behalf of the Government of India in 1858, and from what he noted on the occasion it may be inferred that though there is a similarity to the Godavery delta in extent and in several respects, the local conditions make the scheme unsuited to Joint Stock enterprise, which must have dividends for shareholders, a year or two after irrigation has commenced. Why the Orissa works failed has never been

popularly made known, but there is nothing very extraordinary about it. The Mahanuddi, though it runs a flood of 240 millions of cubic yards per hour against 200 millions of cubic yards in the Godavery, only does so for 12 hours in the season, while the Godavery flood lasts ten days. In fact, the Mahanuddi has only one-fifth the Godavery's discharge, and a much more irregular supply is also implied by this. Then if the maps of their deltas are compared, it is seen that the Godavery flows to sea in two branches not far asunder, while the Mahanuddi divided into six mouths below Cuttack, like the ribs of a fan, cuts up the land, and must lead to embanking and drainage in an excessive degree. So that it would take much outlay, and years to get a return for which the State would alone be in a position to wait.

"As the delta grows rice, and that cereal fetches a gold price on export, there can be little or no ultimate risk in finishing the Orissa scheme. The works were, however, somewhat under-estimated in Sir Arthur Cotton's rough calculations of 1858. He took the Godavery improvement as having cost Rs. 4 per acre, and allowing Rs. 5 an acre for the Mahanuddi placed the cost of irrigation at 112 lakhs of rupees, with 18 lakhs more for 120 miles of high level canal towards Calcutta at Rs. 15,000 per mile: or 130 lakhs for the whole scheme. General Haig, on being deputed to America, found the Erie Canal had cost Rs. 55,000 per mile. All the estimates have still to be revised. The history of the works since their purchase by Government can be followed up to 1872 in Hunter's Orissa. They consist of 3 weirs, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile long respectively, and 4 canals open for an aggregate length of about 130 miles of main channel, besides the usual distributaries. There was the same difficulty in getting the water taken by cultivators as under the Kurnool Canal. The Orissa Company began by charging 10 shillings an acre, which rendered it unsalable. Though in 1868 this was reduced to 5 shillings an acre, there were only 1,842 acres irrigated and £175 water-rate collected that year. In 1871 Government reduced the price to 2 shillings an acre, and at once a lakh of acres was irrigated, which Hunter remarks:—"As producing 750,000 cwts. of rice was enough to take the extreme edge off a famine." Only one out of the 4 canals was really finished in 1870, the Kendrapara, 42 miles long, commanding 95,000 acres, yet it earned 8 per cent. on its own net cost. When the Company's Engineers came to plan and survey they found the delta peculiarly subject to inundation both from the river and cyclone waves from the Bay of Bengal, there are 680 miles of embankment to maintain, and they had 35 streams or distributaries, to regulate, by expensive

constructions. Add to which, that rice cultivation, needs much native capital to start it, and the population was impoverished at the time. Indeed, the embankment system had "failed so egregiously that some of the District officers despair of any system of embankments being successful." The high level canal is to be 230 miles long and some irrigation (half a million acres) under it, but there is a gap of 142 miles in the middle between Cuttack and Calcutta.

"At the period of Sir Arthur Cotton's Report on Orissa in 1858 the idea prevailed of combining irrigation with navigation in the same canal. Experience in other Districts than the Godavery led to its abandonment a few years afterwards for reasons easy to assign, but principally the strong current, the silting, and want generally of enough water for the two purposes. In the formation of this opinion the late Colonel J. C. Anderson, and to some extent Colonel Orr, had a leading share. One consequence of the combining of irrigation with navigation has been delay in planning a comprehensive system of Indian irrigation suited to all differing parts of the country. There are such complex points to be studied that the task has scarcely been begun, for, as has been remarked before, only 18 millions of acres out of 300 millions are as yet irrigated. It is impracticable therefore at this stage to go into any of the minutiae of irrigation, though it calls for much the largest expenditure. As for canals of navigation it is easier, there being so many familiar examples. In a lecture at Chatham in 1875 Sir A. Cotton gave his full programme of water communications for India as follows:—1st, Bombay, by Ahmedabad, and up the valley of the Indus, across by the Sirhind Canal to the Ganges Canal, down the valley of the Ganges to Calcutta, along the East Coast to Cape Comorin and up the West Coast to Karwar, near Goa. Between Goa and Bombay the country is impracticable for a canal. 2nd. Across the Peninsula by the valleys of the Godavery, Wardah, and Tapti to meet the first line at Baroda. 3rd. A second line across the Peninsula, from Nellore by the valleys of the Pennar, Tungabhadra, and Kala-Nadi to Karwar. 4th. Madras across the Carnatic, and by the valleys of the Ambravati and Palghat river to Ponani. The whole being about 7,000 miles by canal and river. Now anyone who knows the topography of India is aware that though it is an impossible feat to quite cross the southern Peninsula over the higher ghauts for want of a supply of water at the summit levels, the greater part of this programme is feasible in an engineering sense, and portions have been carried out. But the work cannot be done for Rs. 15,000 per mile, or anything like that sum, an important matter when a comparison is made between

water-ways and rail-roads. The world-wide experience, however, is that freights by river and canal are lower than the railway, and that they convey bulky produce the railways could not accommodate.

"There is a navigation scheme, part of item 3rd in the programme, that has been in abeyance after a large sum spent upon it, that is well worth resuscitating. Opening the Upper Godavery to navigation would have connected the Central Provinces with the sea by 450 miles of improved river communication, bringing down coal to market, and sending up grain produced under the delta works on occasions of threatened famine. After employing General Haig and a small Madras Staff for some years, the Government of India handed back the Godavery navigation to the Madras Government and the outlay with that on the Kurnool Canal and Orissa irrigation still forms a portion of the Indian debt. It has been asserted that dread of competition with the railways westward, led to stoppage of the Upper Godavery improvements, but it is much more reasonable to suppose it due to Government, seeing that such a large undertaking could not be gone on with out of current revenues. The particulars of the Godavery navigation are not very accessible, and have been almost forgotten in official circles. As given in General Haig's Report of 1856—when, curiously enough, General F. Cotton was his immediate chief—it appears that from Hingenghat by river and canal to Cocanada is 463 miles, while by railway it is 560 miles to Bombay. The fall of the Godavery from Chandah to Dowlaishweram is 490 feet in 357 miles (or 1 foot 4 inches per mile), and except for three barriers of rocks and rapids, boats can now go 450 miles by river in from 3 to 6 feet of water from July to December, the current varying from 5 to 8 miles an hour. In order to open the navigation for steam boats, 36 miles of diversion canal are required at the top, or Dewalmurri barrier, to surmount a fall of 175 feet. At the Echampilli barrier midway, the fall is only 36 feet, and as the banks are too steep for a side canal, there must be a lock gate and dam, while the river bed must have a channel 6 miles long cleared of rocks by dynamite. The lower barrier at intervals must have 12 miles of lateral canal with locks. Of course, a current of 8 miles an hour is no light matter, and would require a specially-constructed vessel to stem it. In fact, the whole remodelled design of the works will have to be based on the kind of steamer that is to be employed. Then in these days electric traction is used on canals, and with the immense amount of water power on the Godavery this could supersede the use of steam. General Haig's Report also shows that if the monthly deficiency averag-

ing 14 millions of cubic yards, be made good by storing 5,700 millions of cubic yards of water in reservoirs, to keep up the flow, steamers can ply up to the 20th May, or there would be navigation open for 7 months of the year.

"Such is the description of two important schemes, one of irrigation on Orissa and the other for navigating the Godavery, that energetic policy of spending another year's crop values and finishing works already begun would rapidly mature. The Kurnool Canal seems capable of being extended into Hyderabad territory to the north, and through Nellore to the Buckingham Canal on the sea coasts. There are many of Sir Arthur Cotton's canals that might be made and worked in supplement of the railways. How far 39 crores of rupees will secure an area, ten times that of the existing irrigation from all danger of famine, depends upon the way engineering intelligence and the latest agricultural science are brought to bear on the problem in combination. By separating as a rule irrigation from navigation, the water can be made to go ever so much further than at present, and in any case the effect of a liberal expenditure in diverting what goes to waste cannot fail to be profound. A less effort would merely leave the arable land in district after district a prey to drought and scarcity."*

London, 31st January.

A. T. F.

* Lord George Hamilton has promised to lay a Blue Book on the whole subject on the table of the House.—ED C. R.

ART. V.—DARJEELING.

THE Fates will never give perfect rest to the globe-trotter. A fortnight at a place and he has had {enough of it; he longs for fresh fields and pastures new. Not content with doing India literally from the wave-plashed Comorin to Pathanic Peshawar, and from Bengal's Bay to the Gulf of Cutch, he must do it over again if possible, and visit little nooks and corners left out here and there. Darjeeling had always baffled my endeavours; somehow or other, whenever a trip to this favorite sanitarium, almost at the door of Calcutta, was arranged, some unforeseen circumstances would make me give up the idea, and send me contemplating the majestic marble of the Taj, or hearing youthful monks recite the Dhammapada in the Budhistic monasteries of Ceylon. It was not that I had not seen the stately pine, or the gorgeous rhododendron, that I would long so intently for a breath of Himalayan air. I had seen Simla at various seasons of the year, I had seen the *chowra maidan* crowded, and cruel boys "netting" the butterfly. I had also seen Snowdon and Peterhoff deserted, and Barnes Court given up to the bloody* chuprassie. But Simla with its art and its fashion had disappointed me. You may now and again have the satisfaction of elbowing the *Burra Lat* on your walk round Jakko or in front of the "yarrows," you may even catch the Countess of Honolulu flirting with the A.-D.-C. in uniform under the protecting umbrage of the sturdy oak, and if you have sharp ears you may also hear the Viceroy discussing the best means to "bag" the Amir, with urbane Sir Mortimer. But all this do not satisfy the man whose object is to see nature in her sublime nudity. In Simla you stumble on art at every step, and the snowy regions, why they are almost as much a forbidden portrait to you as to the man at Mangalore. I have tried Abu, the summer residence of the Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana. But its only attraction is the temple at Dilwara. I have been to Mercara too, through forests of cardamum where the elephant is wild. But save for the sentiment that attaches to it as being the last capital of an ancient line of Hindu kings, there is scarcely anything in its small hills to attract the attention of a person whom little things have never been able to satisfy. If of all these Indian hill stations any place is more enjoyable than the rest it is Ooty of the Southerners. Here plus all the luxuries of a hill station, you may also drive about.

* If this is meant to be a "swear-word," it is inadmissible.—ED. C. R.

Disappointed, therefore, with all these summer resorts, and hearing flattering accounts of Darjeeling, I made up my mind in September 18—to go there at any risk. And this time I was determined to overcome all obstacles. A relation taking a house there for the season, nothing remained to be done but to huddle up my clothing in two P. and O. trunks, and to strap up the bedding as best as a bachelor can do. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals would prosecute me if I dared to inflict on the reader an account of the progress of the Darjeeling Mail from Sealdah to Siliguri—for there is scarcely anything in it that is not already known to him, or that my pen and ink can materially improve. The train rolled on through verdant fields interspersed with vast sheets of water that the rains had brought. There was some confusion when, at about 9 in the evening, the banks of the boisterous *Padma* were reached. Half-naked porters running all about the place, quarrelling among themselves for your custom, and altogether making such a row, that one feels tempted to break the law in order to preserve peace and order*. Our perturbed spirits found repose, however, when we sat to a goodly dinner served on board the ferry steamer. The next morning at about 8 we changed into the Lilliputian Himalayan carriages at Siliguri. They are so light and small and so toy-like to look at, that you almost feel you are in Lilliput. Here you have to consign your gladstone, bedding and other small things that you have been carrying with you, to the tender mercies of the Railway guard who strews them pell mell in the brake-van, and gives you no receipt. But you get them all right at your destination, if some, have not been left behind.

The carriages are very much like the cars of the Calcutta Tramways Company, and if you do not take extra precaution your peg tumbler or Mrs. Rochefort's baby may roll down when the train suddenly takes a turn or runs down a decline. The road from Siliguri to the next station Sookna is perfectly plainish, and does not at all give you the idea of a mountain climb. You can only see the lofty Himalayas stretching before your eyes, almost in a semi-circle, and sometimes hid behind black clouds. The excitement begins when you leave Sookna, with its solitary station and moribund stationmaster behind. You are ushered into the damp and shady regions of the Terai where you see the vegetation of the tropics making a bold stand against the inroads of the temperate fir and oak. You climb up and up at, by no means, a gentle gradient, and as you proceed, the contest between the zones grows less

* Did you "swear" at them?—ED. C. R.

and less, till by the time you have steamed along yawning precipices and looked down 500 feet, you have left the vegetation of the hated plains behind you. As you go along you see a high hill in front of you that almost threatens to obstruct your passage, but thanks to science, you make a sudden curve, the engine and the brake-van represent the two ends of the cord of a circle, and slowly but surely you go on making several rounds of your foe, gaining each time in altitude, till you have ridden on his very top and have commenced the round of another. There! a lady has screamed, all heads look out—it is a bottomless abyss that the foolhardy driver is nearing. We are on the very brink of it—"the smelling bottle John" exclaims an elderly lady from the next compartment,—an inch more, and eternity swallows us, train, engine, driver, proud science and all. Thank heaven, we have passed it. It has only cost us a shriek, probably a swoon, and some drops of "Auld Scottie."

Thus between breathless excitement and terror, and speechless admiration for the panorama of exquisite beauty that our enraptured eyes behold, we crawl along, the poor engine panting and sobbing at times when unable to drag up its heavy load. From Kurseong we might have had the first peep at the far-famed Kanchinjunga had the weather permitted the pleasure. As it was, we had to content ourselves with turning our nose at the dirty bazar with its crowd of beggar boys, and with eating some good English beef at Clarendon Hotel where the kind and considerate Railway Company give you about half an hour's time to satisfy your inner man. Kurseong is the sanitarium for those that can not bear the majesty of Darjeeling.

We ought to have donned warm clothing at Kurseong, but want of foresight that is so characteristic of some travellers, had already settled the matter. They were all locked in the gladstone which was stowed in the brake. When at dusk the train whizzed into the grim looking station at Ghoom, the highest point on the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway, I was shivering in my khaki suit. Shaking off my laziness, I fished out my ulster from under the seat and slipping my tired limbs into it, got down on the platform for a stroll. There was the "Ghoom witch" photographed by Johnston and Hoffman, looking the very descendant of the Atalanta in her loose and flowing garb. She reminds one of the witches in Macbeth.

At Ghoom those bound for Jalapahar got down amidst a scene of greater confusion than what one sees in Damukdia Ghât Station. By the time we left Ghoom the shades of evening had fallen over us and clothed the mountains with the robe

of darkness that adds to their sternness, and inspires awe in the on-looker. The Railway station of Darjeeling is a decent little house built of hard granite which is always lively in the mornings and evenings, when trains leave and come. Indeed, it is quite an institution in Darjeeling. You look in whenever you happen to be passing that way, and if perchance it is train time, you see pretty faces and rosy cheeks with the bloom of the mountains on them which you can never hope to see on the plains.

At Darjeeling I gave myself up entirely to the mild dissipation of doing nothing. Teas, dinners, and parties take up one's time, and what little is left is divided between riding, sauntering, and sitting on a solitary bench by a cataract or a waterfall watching the foamy white waters bubble and babble, or the thick black mist gather on mountain and tree tops and around you. Or if you are disposed to be gay, you may stick to the Mall where you may see the fountain play, the band discourse music, and lovers enjoying the rhapsody of a tête à tête in some unprominent corner. You see riders cantering and galloping in all directions, and a suffocating crowd at Lord's where the fashion and beauty of the town resort in the afternoons to borrow a book or buy a box of chocolate almonds. Lord will give you everything, from Barcelona nuts to Bombay ducks. He keeps also a well-patronised Bar which is very decently furnished, and where Lord Montcennis or Sir Honeycomb·Dunkirk takes his daily sip of the health-giving juice of the grape. You may make the round of Observatory Hill and climb its top to see the grotto, or you may venture out to the cantonment, on Jalapahar, where you see Tommy in parade or attending a Salvationist Meeting. The Botanical Gardens down below in the khuds are favored by many, specially by the Babu, who, it must be remarked, seldom shows himself above the cart road. Here, however, he considers himself to be somewhat in his element, and has been known to immodestly stare on ladies, and to thrust his unwelcome presence, with his bare calves and transparent underclothing, on their company. The Birch Hill is another favorite rendezvous of those on the look out for partial solitude. And under its small canopy picnics are held almost half-a-dozen times a day—one party going out and another coming in: One fine October afternoon we surprised a party of rowdy Chinese Mandarins who had given up opium for the bottle, and were quaffing bottle after bottle of good old dew of Ben Nevis. They were altogether a boisterous lot, drinking, eating, howling, singing, and spitting at the same time. But by far the best attraction of Darjeeling is the market which is held every Sunday morning. It is the neatest and the most orderly market I have ever seen. There is no dirt or filth about

it, and you scarcely feel that you are in an Indian Bazar with its pools of dirty water, its putrid fish, and its rotten vegetables. In the large quadrangle of the bazar you find heaps of potatoes, betel leaves, onions, gingers, and generally such other vegetables as have been imported in large quantities. Leaving this behind, and, on your way to the large hall with corrugated iron roofing where meat is sold, you pass by groups of Lepcha and Bhutia girls who sell small quantities of tomatoes, cayenne pepper, radishes, Bhutia bread, beads, and other things of local growth and manufacture. Marketing with these girls is quite a luxury, and to chatter with them is about as pleasant a pastime as trotting up to Jore Bungalow. They are very fair, but the Bhutia is chubbnosed. It is only the Lepcha girl that can lay any pretensions to real beauty. They are married when they pass their teens and are quite a healthy and buxom lot. We were not a little amused to see a Bhutia matron refuse us a penn'orth of Bhutia bread. She said we could do nothing with it, and kindly advised us not to throw a pice away.

The Lepchas are a fine people, truthful and honest, but it is said, they cannot bear civilisation which is gradually driving them into the interior, and may finally make the race extinct. They are nomadic in their habits, and are ignorant of the use of the plough. Indeed, they have no word in their language for a plough. They settle down temporarily at a place, find out a fertile plot of ground, of which the surface is scraped with a rude sort of knife. This is all the cultivation that their idleness will permit them. For three or four years the land continues to yield, but when superficial scraping is found inadequate for their purposes, they remove to another place, and begin fresh scraping of virgin soil. The Bhutias, however, are far better husbandmen, but they are a cowardly lot, although they are strong and stalwart. Women are held in very high respect among both of these classes. They are very merry people, singing a ditty or cracking a joke amidst their daily drudge. There is a boarding school in Darjeeling for the education of Bhutias, Lepchas and other Caucaso-Mongolian races inhabiting the country. The school, however, goes by the name of Bhutia Boarding School, and is under the management of an officer of the Education Department. Its scholars, if they are proficient in anything, are little Barretts and Irvings. We were not a little amused to see them figure in a *tableau vivant*. They showed us the manner of saluting of different nations—the mosaic handshake, the insulting twist of the ear, the demeaning touch of the feet, the queer pull of the nose, the poetic kiss of the hand, and the sublime kiss of the cheeks—they showed us all these practices.

Kanchinjunga is truly a magnificent sight. There is hardly

anything to be compared to it. On it, during the twelve hours of the day, you see almost everywhere in the rainbow reflected. Early in the morning aurora blushes on it, but as the sun mounts the chariot of day, Kanchinjunga is no longer the blushing maiden ; she has cast off her coyishness, her veil has been snatched from her, and she shines now in all the radiance of her beauty. She is bright as silver. As day begins to decline, she turns yellow and crimson, till by the time the sun is sloping down the West, she wears the gorgeous garb of gold. I shall have more to say of Kanchinjunga in my account of Phalalum.*

Darjeeling strikes you as of all places the only one where the Bengali lady, who is proverbially a gem that cannot be seen even by the all-seeing sun, romps about the town fearlessly, and gives herself up entirely to the calls of society and to the amenities of civilised life. She may be seen picnicing up on Birch Hill, or galloping towards Senchal, or nymph-like playing on the violin in the drawing room at Craigmount.

RUSTUM PACHA.

* We hope soon to receive it.--ED. C R.

ART. VI.—EXPERIMENTAL FARMS FOR THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

IT is now pretty generally admitted that in several administrative and other directions, and because of the manner, more statesman-like than bureaucratic, in which it approaches the consideration and solution of great problems vitally concerning the people, the Madras Presidency is not deserving of the title of "Benighted" which its unfriends and those not conversant with its affairs are in the habit of applying to it. Perhaps, there is no direction in which the Madras Government, notwithstanding resistance of one kind or another from both without and within, has endeavoured so much to further the welfare of the twenty-two millions (representing over 62 per cent. of the population) dependent either wholly or in part for their livelihood on the possession of land or on its cultivation, as in that of improving the system and methods of agriculture now obtaining and of helping to make, to use a hackneyed phrase, two blades of grass grow where only one blade grew before. Agricultural reform and the improvement of the material condition of the agricultural classes is constantly engaging the serious attention of the Madras Government, and even after admitting that it is true that more improvement is carried out on paper than in practice, *par exemple*, the elaborate, learned and highly instructive Report on Agricultural Banks drawn up by the Hon'ble Mr. F. A. Nicholson six years ago, and which is only now beginning to bear fruit on a very small scale, it is not incorrect to assert that within the last three or four administrations, something attempted has been followed by something done. If schemes for the betterment of the people's condition are not worked out as expeditiously as desirable or necessary, it is because in Southern India, just as all over the rest of the peninsula, the machinery of administration is cumbrous and moves with difficulty, as also because, unlike in European and American countries from where we have to obtain our ideas and our models to a considerable extent, we have here no section of the community to which the State may turn for the strengthening of its hands* whenever it is called upon to deal with difficult and complex problems that are rendered still more difficult and perplexing for the reason that in attempting their solution we have to keep constantly in view the effects which they are likely to produce on indigenous insti-

* This machinery may easily be created from among the leading landlords by a wise and helpful ruler.—ED. C. R.

EXPERIMENTAL FARMS OF THE

tutions. In proof of the earnestness which Madras has shown to solve its great and anxious agricultural problem, we have only to point to the grand irrigation projects which have been established in the deltaic tracts of Kistna and Godavari and to the gigantic Periyar project, which, by diverting the waters of a Travancore stream into the British Indian stream of Madura, has brought over 100,000 acres of land under irrigation and thereby increased to that extent the profitably cultivable area of the presidency. But we are not blind, and, out and out admirers of the Madras Government, and we have no hesitation in admitting that it has now and then wasted its energies and its far from inexhaustible resources on visionary schemes and has pursued them long after their impracticability has become patent to the most casual observer. As a glaring instance of this particular description of Myopia on the part of an otherwise clear-sighted Government, we have what is euphemistically styled the Madras College of Agriculture, the object of which institution is supposed to be to afford instruction in the Science of Agriculture and in the practical application of sound principles in conducting the ordinary agriculture of the country. The College has been in existence for over a decade, but everyone who is in a position to express an opinion is agreed that it has always remained a white elephant. It prepares students in such highly technical subjects as agriculture, botany, physiography, organic and inorganic chemistry, surveying and levelling, and agricultural engineering, and it is generally attended by students who have undergone no preliminary training such as would admit of their being able to assimilate the heavy food which is crammed down their throats in the College. The results of the examinations have been observed to be steadily declining during the last five years, and the authorities of the institution would be at a loss to point to students who have turned the knowledge imparted to them to real use in the improvement of agriculture or any other allied branch of activity. But we may for the present, pass over these matters and come without further preamble to a plain and unvarnished statement of one very decisive step which the Madras Government has just taken on the road to agricultural reform, actual and practical. Attached to the Madras College of Agriculture there is an experimental farm where some very useful work is surely being carried out, but where at the same time much that is being done, although it is intrinsically valuable, does not conduce one whit to the improvement of the agricultural classes. It is superfluous to state that the essential object of a farm of this nature is to benefit the classes who depend on agriculture for a livelihood.

This, however, by the way. To the Saidapet farm, which is the one we allude to, it has now been resolved by the Madras Government to add two other farms, and it has been decided to locate one of these near Bellary and the other near Koilpatti, in the Tinnevely district.

The process of incubation which has attained almost complete development in the above resolution may be said to date back from 1898. In that year His Excellency Sir Arthur Havelock, then Governor of Madras, visited the district of Madura and received from the inhabitants an address, in the course of which it was stated :—

“ The Government has recognised the importance of agricultural model farms. This district has already taken the lead in starting a model farm though on a small scale, with the help of endowments now under the management of the District Board. We request the Government to take up the management of this institution and widen the scope of its usefulness by allotting more lands to it for purposes of experiment and demonstration.”

The above request was not long in being acceded to, for on the 13th of August 1898, the Madras Government issued an order in which it stated that the Board of Revenue had been requested to deal with the request when the establishment of Government Farms in suitable localities came up for consideration in connection with the resolutions of the Government of India. The resolutions of the Government of India here referred to divided the work of agricultural research into two sections, namely, a general and superficial investigation of agricultural defects, and a definite and systematic programme of experiments. The desire was also expressed that as regards the former it should be concentrated from time to time upon some single prominent agricultural defect, and it was suggested that the question of the waste of liquid manure might first be taken up for investigation.

An interesting memorandum dealing with the resolutions of the Government of India, was drawn up in the beginning of 1899 by Mr. C. Benson, M.R.A.C., Deputy Director of Land Records and Agriculture, Madras Presidency. Mr. Benson thought that the chief matter which demanded attention in his Presidency was the organisation of the broader investigation alluded to by the Government of India, and for this purpose he held that the establishment of experimental farms was necessary, while for their management and supervision the employment of a trained staff was required. Now, while in other provinces the starting of a central farm at which to commence investigation might be the present necessity, it was not so in Madras, where the Saidapet institution

was already in existence as a central farm, and it only remained to take a further step and render investigation and experiment thoroughly effective by organising such a number of experimental farms as would embrace the varying conditions of the country. Viewing the question comprehensively, Mr. Benson thought that so far as the black-cotton soils of Madras are concerned, probably farms in (1) Coimbatore or Tinnevely, (2) Bellary or Kurnool, and (3) Kistna may suffice. Other farms would be required to deal with the grouping of soils usually called the red soils, and possibly farms in (4) Madura or Trichinopoly, (5) Coimbatore or Salem, (6) Anantapur or Cuddapah, (7) South Arcot, Chingleput or Nellore, and (8) Godavari, Vizagapatam or Ganjam, would fairly cover the ground. That would be eight farms in all though, as a matter of practical working, the number could only be gradually arrived at. Then, for the investigation, of special questions, such as irrigation, Mr. Benson thought that other farms would be ultimately needed. As regards the sizes of these farms, he clings in his memorandum to the opinion he has expressed for some years past that the experimental areas need not be more than 10 acres each, and that as the institutions are to be primarily experimental, three yoke of oxen should be provided for, and if the farm be started close to a town where milk could be sold, it would be advisable to run a dairy, and in any case keep a good breeding bull for the benefit of those choosing to serve their cows with him.

In the management of any experimental station, there are some first principles to be observed, and they are described in Dr. Voelcker's book on Indian Agriculture. The portion specially assigned for continuous experiment must be laid out into conveniently shaped and useful sized plots and be durably demarcated, 0.10 acre plots being the most convenient for manuring experiments and the like. Between each, a strip of land should be kept undisturbed. Besides, as experiments once begun would develop with time, space for expansion should be provided. The land required for experiment having been laid out into suitable plots, the next thing is to grow one or two crops over the whole area, treating the land in the same way throughout, and the crops also, and then recording carefully the yields of each plot or block. This process is known as "equalization" for future experiment. When the second year's record is complete, definite experiments may be fully started.

Mr. Benson next dealt in his paper with problems to which attention should be primarily directed. The greatest and most intractable agricultural defect of the country is drought, and the evidence available as to the evil effects of shallow tillage

in enhancing the effects of drought and of the good effects of thorough and deep tillage is incontrovertible, as far as this country is concerned, though the recently published reports of experiments conducted in North America show the contrary to be the case there. Mr. Benson thinks that we should, with European or other ploughs, see if we cannot obtain as cheap as possible a sufficiently deep and good tilth, for which purpose strict attention should be paid to the feeding of tilling cattle whose manure could be collected by the box system, the byre system and the ordinary local system, and used for manuring experiments. He then goes on to deal with the question of the establishments required for the management of his proposed farms, the cost of land, fitting up, maintenance of live stock, etc., but as we shall have to deal later on with these questions as they have been decided by the Madras Government, it is not necessary to follow Mr. Benson in detail any further.

Taking up the whole question in February 1899, the Madras Board of Revenue submitted to the Madras Government an interesting report upon the form which, in its opinion, the constitution of the Agricultural Branch of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture should, in the future, assume and the duties which should be performed by it. The Government of India had stated the duties of the Agricultural Branch of the department to be somewhat as follows :—

- (1) The collection and arrangement of facts and statistics bearing on all branches of economics and agriculture ;
- (2) the investigation of agricultural defects brought to light by an examination of the land records and the devising of remedies therefor ; and
- (3) the investigation of local agricultural practices and the conduct of experiments on problems suggested thereby.

The greater part of the work included in the first head is now done in the office of the Madras Board of Revenue, and the supervision of most of it, especially matters relating to the state of the country—rainfall, prices, cultivation and traffic by land—has been in an informal way assigned to the Deputy Director, who also in times of scarcity and distress has performed the duties of Famine Secretary to the Board. For the proper carrying on of the statistical work, and for bringing to notice and investigating facts which may be gleaned from a study of the statistics, the Board considered that the services of one officer might, with advantage, be employed, this officer to be the Deputy Director of Agriculture, separating the post from that of Deputy Director of Land Records, while at the same time not reviving the latter appointment. It would then

be the duty of the Deputy Director of Agriculture, subject to the control of the Board, to collect, arrange and publish all statistics bearing on agriculture, including rainfall, cultivation, special crops, prices and wages, irrigation, and trade by land, as well as to prepare therefrom and from the statistics of the sea-borne trade, compiled and issued by the Department of Separate Revenue, reviews and reports in elucidation of economic facts bearing on the condition of the country. This arrangement would in short give the Madras Presidency a Statistical Reporter.

As regards the second item of the duties of the Agricultural Department, the Madras Board of Revenue held in its Resolution that the investigation must be chiefly carried out by the Land Revenue staff and by the Land Record staff when appointed, though it would be part of the duty of the Deputy Director of Agriculture to ledger observations in regard to, and, if possible, to suggest a remedy for any serious agricultural deterioration which may be reported by the District Offices. We may have something to say with regard to the views of the Madras Board of Revenue regarding its responsibilities in this particular direction of investigating and devising remedies for agricultural defects, but for the present we have to refrain from criticism as it would be somewhat foreign to the especial matter we are dealing with. Coming then to the third item of the duties of the Agricultural Department, the Board dealt in its Resolution with the question under the following heads:—

- (i) The scope and course of enquiry which should be followed ;
- (ii) the number of experimental farms which will be needed now and in the future, and the programme to be adopted thereat ;
- (iii) the character of the staff to which these inquiries and farms should be entrusted ;
- (iv) the establishments (including European and Native assistants and inspectors) to be worked up to, and the cost of such establishments in the near and distant future.

Regarding the first point, the Board considered that a distinction was necessary between a general investigation of prominent agricultural defects which may and should be made throughout the country, and the more minute investigations which are the function of an experimental farm, in the former case, attention being from time to time concentrated upon one prominent defect ; in the latter, the working plan including the simultaneous trial of as many experiments as the Director guided by his advisers and by the

Imperial expert, might determine to be eventually required ; experiments being set on foot on the experimental farms for some years before the general investigation may be taken up.

Presuming that this view would be acceptable to the Madras Government, the Board of Revenue went on to recommend, in its resolution, that, as a scheme to be ultimately worked up to, eight experimental farms should be established—four in the northern and four in the southern half of the Presidency—each farm to be about fifty acres in area, and in connection with each a school or class to be established by the Educational Department. The Board also entered fully into the question of starting and stocking these farms, cost of establishment, initial and recurring charges incidental to the scheme, etc. ; but there is no need to enter fully into all these details, as the order of the Madras Government, which we shall presently refer to, put the whole matter into a nutshell.

The Madras Government on receipt of the report if the Board of Revenue, thought that the question of the organisation of the Agricultural Branch of the Department of Land Records being of great importance, the views of the Full Board of Revenue on the subject was desirable and called for them. The Full Board approved unreservedly of the resolution submitted for its consideration, and on the 14th of December 1900 the Madras Government passed its final orders on this most interesting and important matter.

The Government considers, in this Order, that for the present as an experiment two farms, one in the northern and the other in the southern half of the Presidency, may be started on the lines suggested by Mr. Benson and under his immediate supervision. These two farms are to be opened as early as possible during the next financial year, one to be near Bellary and the other near Koilpatti in the Tinneveli district. The items of expenditure for each farm are thus approximately estimated :—

				Rs.
Cost of land	...	...	...	2,000
Quarters	...	...	...	1,000
Shedding	...	...	...	700
Fencing	...	...	...	1,000
Stock	...	...	...	700
Implements	..	...	...	300
Fodder shed and sundries	...	...	...	500
Labour	...	...	...	600
Well	...	...	...	1,000
Sundries	...	...	..	200

Total Rs. 8,000

The Government has made a provision of Rs. 25,000 for Agricultural Farms in the ensuing year's budget estimate, and has ordered that early steps may therefore be taken to select the sites and to make preparations for acquiring the necessary land, although no expenditure should be actually incurred till the next financial year.

The Bellary district in which one of these experimental farms is to be located is one of the most arid regions in the southern Presidency, its general aspect being a plain, devoid of trees, and broken at rare intervals by granite masses rising abruptly from the surrounding level of black-cotton soil. About one-nineteenth of the total area is barren land, including village and temple sites, tanks, and burning grounds and other unprofitable sites. The chief crops grown are *cholum* and *korra*, which constitute the food supply of the masses. In the artificially irrigated lands, rice and sugarcane are raised, and in gardens cocoanut, wheat, tobacco and other produce. Cotton is grown in dry lands, the *regar* or black cotton soil being always preferred. The forests of the district are poor and bare, though in the Sandur Native State, which lies within the district, they have a good vegetation, both on the slopes and on the summit of the plateau. The district has a very deficient rainfall, due obviously in a great measure to the absence of vegetation* which is required to preserve the humidity of the atmosphere and insure a sufficient rainfall. Drought and famine are therefore experienced from time to time, and it is on record that in 1853 no more than six inches of rain having fallen, a famine devastated the district. Such being the physical and meteorological features of the district, it will be deeply interesting to follow the career of the proposed experimental farm, which, if worked as such an officer as Mr. Benson will assuredly work it, will furnish us with proof of what man is in a position to do in the way of increasing the fertility of a region to which Nature, for reasons inscrutable, has been niggardly of some of her most precious gifts.

The District of Tinnevely, in which the other experimental farm is to be situated, is, broadly speaking, a large plain, with an average elevation of 200 feet, sloping to the east, in the direction of the thirty-four rivers which run their course within the district. In the north, the soil is nearly all of the black cotton variety, while to the south, red sandy soil prevails, admitting of the growth of little else than the palmyra palm. The banks of the rivers are fertile, and admit of the profitable cultivation of rice and a variety of other crops. There are numerous salt marshes along the coast, and they

* Cannot planting trees and forests be fostered here by a system of rewards.—
ED. C. R.

are divided by sand dunes from the sea. The district has a forest area of 1,500 square miles, all told, some of the tracts containing magnificent and commercially valuable vegetation. Tinnevely is on the whole a fertile district, rice and other cereals growing almost luxuriantly in the productive river valleys, cotton being largely produced in the drier parts, while the palmyra flourishes in the almost rainless tracts of red sandy soil to the south. It will be seen that the location of an experimental farm in this district also amounts to an interesting experiment, the outcome of which will be watched very carefully by all those who concern themselves with the important question of the improvement of Indian Agriculture.

“CASUAL.”

ART. VII.—COLONIAL POLICIES : ASSIMILATION AND AUTONOMY.

THE above title is suggested by the article entitled *French Administration in Algiers*, which has already been published in this Review. The writer is evidently a man of great talent and presumably holds some high office in India. The important materials which he has brought forward are suggestive of several grave questions. I wish to say a few words on one of them. But let me mention at the outset that I do not speak of any rights of the native population of India. The question of colonial policy is big enough to be considered apart from our own political outlook.

"The end and object," we are told, "of the French Administration of Algeria the Mission of France in North Africa is to the French summed up in the word 'assimilation.' The colonists are to be assimilated to France, and the natives are to be assimilated to the colonists. Algeria. . . . is to become part and parcel of France, and its inhabitants of all colours and creeds are to be fused. . . . into the great French nation. . . . The French are fond of pointing to the work achieved by the old Roman Empire in the same field. . . . They say. . . . Algeria will. . . . be a part of France as Africa and Numidia were parts of Rome. . . . Among the local officers this ideal is often ignored or disowned. The possibility [of it] is not ever present with them. . . . any more than the possibility of 'granting autonomy to the Indians affects the current duties of our merchants and magistrates in India. . . . But among those who guide the general duties of the country the end which is kept consciously or unconsciously in view is always this same ultimate absorption of Algeria into France."

This French ideal at first sight seems to be very attractive. But the writer has adduced facts enough to show that, for practical purposes, it is impossible and hopeless if not absurd. I would not dwell on this branch of the subject. But I should like very much to hear what my own countrymen may have to say on the other side and by way of exposition of the doctrine of the Queen's Proclamation in India. The views of the colonizer and those of the native are expected to differ both as to end and means in respect of assimilation. The writer speaks from the colonizer's stand-point as matter of course. Where the native desires the French ideal he ought to be prepared with a psychological scrutiny to support him.

On the other hand it strikes me that in spite of the short-

comings of the French ideal the last word has not yet been said in regard to the comparative merits of the French and English colonial policies. Indeed it would seem as if we were at the threshold of still more important suggestions. There was a difference between the Greek and the Roman colonial systems. I do not venture to draw any parallel between ancient Greek and Modern British colonial systems. But the claim of Pax Britannica in India does not necessarily establish that the British colonial system accords with the methods of Rome. History, it is said, repeats itself. But as in the revolutions of the screw there is in history always a propulsion in the line of least resistance. And the practical question is whether the British or the French modification of the Roman policy, as they are presented to the world, has, at all, attained the state of perfection.

The British nation now claims to furnish the most successful colonizers in the world. I believe little or nothing has been charged to the finances of the State in England for the vast Empire which Great Britain now holds. It is perhaps to this envied fact that we have to attribute the continental criticisms against British character. The commercial basis of British Imperialism is undeniable. It is open to question whether commercial success is perfectly congruous with Imperialist character. But France, it appears, has gone to the other extreme and does not care for any pecuniary profit at all. Earth hunger however is not necessarily innocent when it fetches no pecuniary profit. Assimilation may cost the Algerian more than what is drawn by England in money from India. England claims also no small amount of public magnanimity in having given up various portions of her possessions, *e. g.*, the Ionian Islands, Dunkirk, Heligoland, Corsica, Java, Cuba and other places. But England has also had to go to war for the United States, and it is not to be gainsaid that the Union of Ireland itself does not come up to the French ideal in Algeria. And Mr. Jamison's adventure show how very popular it was with large sections even when deserving of unqualified condemnation from the judicial authority.

As compared to Spanish policy, and even to that of Holland in Java, there is no longer any question that England has made a great advance. It is to be hoped the religious views which were once associated with the Spanish and Portuguese colonial systems have now been completely renounced even at the Vatican. France again has no claims of Algerian description upon the citizenship and loyalty of the French States in Canada. Whereas the Englishman claims to carry his flag and citizenship wherever he goes. And in Alsace and Lorraine it does not appear that there has been any proposal for France to find the where withal and get transplanted into French soil

that portion of the local population which is disaffected to the sovereignty of Germany. The loss of the land it seems rather than that of the population touches France most, next of course to the memory of the defeat and the strategical points of defence. But in Algiers France spends some 8,000 francs for every family which she settles on the land (p. 41). Before any settlers are moved out of France the Algerian Village has to be fairly built up upon the European model with roads, provision for drinking water, town halls, schools, wash-houses and churches (p. 40). The population excluding the army, numbers at some 270,000 French (p. 30). France spends annually on Algeria a good deal more than she receives from it, and it is estimated that Algeria has cost the Home Government from first to last not less than 150 millions sterling (p. 35).

These are very telling facts, and it is not at all clear whether the learned writer wanted them to point a moral. But important duties are here set down as being owed by a Republican Government toward such of its subjects as are forced by adverse circumstances to be taken to emigration. The French Revolution has changed the politics of Europe for ever, though France, herself, may not have recovered from all its consequences Napoleonic and Bismarckian. And it is not for an Indian to carp at the generous colonial policy of France. We are told almost in so many words that the subventions are incurred because some 15,000 Frenchmen leave France annually and because the French Government wants as many of them as can be availed of to go to Algeria so that they may not cease to be Frenchmen at all. Elsewhere he says :—

“Before proceeding further I would say a few words on the character of the colonization which the French have effected in [Algeria]. It is a colonization of a different character from that with which we are acquainted in our colonies. It is not a mere spontaneous movement of population from one environment to another. It is an essential part of the work of assimilation which the French have set before themselves in Algeria : a duty which the French, as a nation have undertaken, and which they are eager not as individuals, but as a nation to carry out.”

This ethical view of the matter is striking to say the least. It may of course be sneered at by some, and especially on the ground that the theory of assimilation is impracticable. But it is a superstition to think that matters will right themselves without any centralised guidance. France may go on blundering ; but the lessons which her life furnishes are not to be neglected. Our own fate is so tied up with that of England that however coldly she may treat us, we

cannot afford to disconnect ourselves from her affairs. I do not share the sentiments of those among ourselves who without being aware of the French experiment in Algeria talk—may think—of an assimilation of Indians with the men England. The mild convulsion of the Ilbert Bill has had an important effect upon their views and generally upon Indian Society. The theory of assimilation is now taking new shape with us. A good many travelled Indians have been taken back into their Indian societies. Some of them have renounced all thought of assimilation in the matter of dress and other things. And a Hindu revivalism has appeared on the stage—for what effects no mortal man can say, On the other hand, if the policy of the British colonists or semi-colonists in India has undergone any change, the principles of that new departure are unknown at least to the native population. Possibly our Anglo-Indian fellow citizens indisposed as they are to formulate their views, expect us to draw our inferences, as they often draw their own, from the social atmosphere. But since the truth has now been stated in this Review, it must be felt at least that assimilation being out of the question the native and British-born subjects of India cannot draw in the same sort of breath. So that there is need enough for mutual explanations. Obscurantism may be unavoidable at times, but at any rate it must be reserved for exceptional cases. There is absolute danger in the visible growth of mutual suspicion between class and class in this country.

Everybody knows how the British colonial policy led to the Declaration of American Independence, and then to the strained feelings between the Englishman and the Yankee. It does not therefore require much to draw from these facts a parallel with the delicate questions which arose the other day with the levying of the cotton duties and in connection with the Suakim charges and Egyptian expedition to Soudan. These delicate questions arose all within the sphere of the British colonial policy for India, and it may ever be said that they generally cover the subject of all colonial autonomy. It is the colonisers' interests alone which the English people seem to care for. But that would be taking only a superficial view of the question. The account of the French policy in Algeria suggests by way of contrast as if there was a tacit understanding between the Government and the Colonisers of the British nation to spare each other as well in the matters of tribute or subvention as in any close scrutiny of the dealings with the native population. Consequently, there is room enough for misgiving and misconstruction on the part of all outsiders. The difficulties of the Indian political problem, instead of being simplified, have grown in magnitude, and are not altogether to

be measured by the utterances of the Indo-Anglian press or platform. They furnish no clue to many things good and bad which are unknown to the people themselves. The utterances however are really due to this same unsound policy of assimilation. That policy now looks absurd in Algeria. But all the same it exists in India, and has to be traced back to Anglo-Indian Society of at least an earlier date. On the other hand colonial autonomy as applied to India would not probably discount the native population as happens to be the case in the Territories of the United States. The native opinion on the Suakim charges was treated with cold reticence in Madras by Government after a questionable attempt at suppression. On the cotton duties question that class of opinion was probably given an undue importance in Calcutta. And upon the whole if there has been no obscurantist purpose against an understanding of the present British policy by the Indians, the facts surrounding the compensation allowance and simultaneous examination questions were sufficiently mysterious to give rise to noxious misunderstanding. The upshot is that the British Colonial policy may not quite dispense with something in the nature of a native autonomy. It promises to make an indispensable complement to the autonomy of the colonist or semi-colonist class coming here from Great Britain. And from this point of view it would become clear that in so far as the French ideal of assimilation in Algeria appears to be absurd, the fact is largely due to British experiences in India in the same line. But the two policies have to be put together. A line has to be drawn beyond which assimilation cannot and ought not to be stretched, and where the autonomous colony can tolerate a definite autonomy in the native population. And the problem is where to draw that line and how. Imperial Federation and Home Rule stand equally condemned with the French ideal of complete assimilation. The Roman Model is hardly sufficient, whereas the Greek and the Spanish models are out of date. On the other hand what policy is both sound and practicable, in morals as well as politics is not a matter to be left to adjust itself upon the Darwinian method by the interaction of the colonists and the natives. The ethical question is not altogether quixotic after all.

One immediate lesson may be drawn from the Algerian experience. It is neither safe nor wise to overdo the destruction of their religious views and practices with the native population. Religion may not be treated altogether as a fad. One of our Indian assimilators seems to be mad for 'battering down the Hindu religious endowments. Government was discreet enough to give him a snub once. But my friend is at it again. And thanks to the obscurantist policy of to-day it is

impossible for one like the present writer to make out how many wheels are in motion and who is really responsible for this bold assimilator's over-zealous efforts against the Mohunts. However here are the Algerian facts. The French assimilators there have been quite undeterred by public opinion against the disendowment of religious establishment by Henry VIII in England and by the Revolutionists of 1789. The disendowment of the Mahomedan Church in Algeria has been prettily shown up by the sort of allotment which is made by the French Government to the several sections of the people. The figures for 1891 as given in this Review make out the following proportions, upon which any remarks would be feeble for their superfluity.

	Money grant.	Population.
Christians	... 76·75	12
Jews	... 2·125	1'25
Mahomedans	... 21·125	86·75
	100	100

By way of counterpoise, however, we are informed that the Mollahs of Algeria are outwardly decorous, but the more fiery spirits indulge in informal outpourings at out-of-the-way places, and in a manner so as to cause to the French their "greatest difficulties." Religion counts for much in the government of Oriental peoples. For them the martyrdom of Jesus is as shocking as are the executions of Louis XVI and Charles I.

In the threatened scramble in India for the loaves and fishes of the Hindu religious endowments the losing party is certainly not likely to keep quiet, or get crushed for ever. And if autonomy of the colonists alone be not quite sufficient for the purposes of British colonial policy, the blind rage of the Indian assimilators must be supplemented or neutralised by a wisdom which is beyond their reach. If the revival of Buddhist literature in Europe can have led to the revival of claims to the Temple at Gya, it is only some foolhardy Indian assimilators who can hope to shake their fists with perfect impunity at the Mohunts. They have had a long history behind them of which these gentlemen seem to know so little, although they care so much for their misconduct and also their valuables. But altogether it is a most strange story that when the greatest intellects have to pause between a theory of assimilation and one of autonomy in colonial policy some of our own countrymen here have no doubt in their minds at all that "the dumb millions" of India are being assimilated to the demonstrationists of Hyde Park.

JOGENDRO CHANDRA GHOSH.

ART. VIII.—EASTER MORNING.*

BY G. GEROK.

Translated from the German in the measure of the original,
by M. R. Weld, M.C.S.

I. EASTER DAWNS.

The earth in the night's arms is sleeping,
In Heaven still glimmers each star,
Still the Easter Angels are keeping
Their motionless vigil afar ;
The dawn breaks not yet, for which sad hearts are sighing ;
In the tomb in the garden the Lord yet is lying.

Lifts not its wing yet lightly
The wind of the morning chill ?
Grows it not brighter slightly,
Eastward by yonder hill ?
The mist of the morning seems trembling and lifting,
Its grey convolutions are swaying and shifting.

What heavenly witnesses yonder,
Forth from those grey folds lean,
Still, as in reverent wonder,
Till morn's first light be seen ;
Waiting and watching as brother by brother ?
Death is the one named, and Life is the other.

Now dawn in the East is breaking !
Now swift through the brightening gloom
They fly at the Lord's call, taking
Their post by his empty tomb,
To tell the disciples, who wait events sadly,
The glorious tidings of Easter gladly.

Dark Angel of Death ! be thy warning
Tender to him who must die :

* We insert this piece for its literary excellence ; though it is appropriate also for this April (Easter) season.—*Ed., C. R.*

In the golden light of the morning
Kiss thou his lips and fly,
Bearing him up from life's toil and sore sorrow
To the glorious light of the heavenly morrow.

Bright Angel of Life ! full plainly
To him who shall yet live say,
"See that thou live not vainly
In the light of this Easter Day : "
So Easter on earth here or there high in Heaven,
More life yet or death, each for joy shall be given.

2. EASTER'S SUN RISES.

Christ is risen. The Lord is our king !

Where are the traces of the new morning ?
Himself where is he, who dead was deemed ?
The Prince of life where ? His kingdom where ?

Spreads not around the Earth of yesterday ?
Hangs not above the sky of yesterday ?
Do not men strive without as yesterday ?
Beats not my heart within as yesterday ?
Threat not below the graves of yesterday ?

Christ is risen. The Lord is our king !

He raised mine eyes up to the new dawning ;
With new eyes see I the sky above me.
Through the cloud-screen torn asunder
I, His child, behold my Father,
And up there for me a mansion prepared.

With new eyes see I the earth around me.
In spite of all powers that would stay it
His footstep most holy to victory goes.
Gird up thy loins then, not vainly strivest thou in the Lord.

With new eyes see I my fellowmen here,
For whose sake died He, and now is risen.

Since which His brethren became my brethren
The true elected of God's own kingdom.

With new eyes see I into the heart.
Off is the mountain of guilt that pressed it ;
And with spring's vigour the new life blossoms.

With new eyes see I the graves around me ;
The dust of earth there shall rise up heavenly.
Sleep well—till morning.

Christ is risen. The Lord is our King.

3. EASTER'S WOMEN.

Come women, speed ye ! the new wonder heed ye !
Ask ye who rolled back the door stone for you ?
Dark night of sorrow gives place to glad morrow,
Now that the Saviour liveth anew.

In life well beloved each true to him proved,
Followed Him, stayed by His cross till He died,
Watched in the garden as sepulchre warden,
Yours the reward of devotion long tried.

Mother ! thy sadness is turned into gladness,
Thou hear'st again to day " this is thy Son."
Mercy transcending, life's path trod He, wending
From the manger His way by the cross to the throne.

Bethany's Mary ! turn not to where He
Late slept the death sleep ; thy sorrowing eyes
Raise them to Heaven, greater things even
Doth He than bidding thy brother arise.

Magdala's Mary ! com'st thou to where He
Lay ? see'st thou beckon the gardener's hand ?
Hear'st thou His greeting ?—Fall at His feet in
Great joy !—'Tis thy Master before thee doth stand.

Women of Easter ! none of you ceased her
Service, through need through dishonor found true ;

Our hearts grow firmer to bear without murmur,
Since, that Love strong as Death is, is shown us by you.

Women of Easter ! you first released their
Hearts from despair, bade men lift up their eyes
Hopeful to Heaven, to you 'twas given
To learn the joy first as faith's holiest prize.

Women of Easter ! through you increased are
The beauties of meadows and gardens to-day ;
You brought the tidings !—stay our backslidings—
To God's own garden show us the way.

4. EASTER'S DEAD.

To sleep in God ! thrice blest it is to-day ;
Soon as the eyes close what ensues ? The prize
Is won, a heavenly body for this clay ;
The soul from bonds to blessed freedom flies ;
As balm for parting pain we softly say
“ We meet again ; in Christ we shall arise.”
With tender Easter green the grave is bright,
Death lends but wings to scale the heavenly height.

Ye loved ones there ! why are ye called the dead
Who ever happy drink of life's clear spring ?
Ye sick ones here, rejoice if with light tread
The messenger come, blest relief to bring.
Bereavéd ones, who, sorrowing bow the head,
Lo ! the void place is filled by Christ the King,
So cast three clods into the grave and say,
“ Life, love, light,” for the loved one past away.

5. EASTER'S FLOWERS.

Ye fade not like the chaplets on tombs poor mourners lay,
Ye rise again in glory like Christ on Easter Day.

The joyous cowslip carries her golden clusters bright,
First seen in bloom at Easter, like lamps of living light.

The anemony peeps shyly, 'mid brown leaves sere and dead,
Her snow-white festal garment bordered with rosy red.

Free sheds her wild-wood fragrance the purple violet,
That, with her dark-hued vesture, seems half in mourning yet.

Wild hyacinths their carpet of deepest azure spread,
'Mid the dim woods recalling the hues of Heaven o'erhead.

Meek daisy in the grasses ! dear oracle of love,
Token of love unfailing of God in Heaven above.

All in a flowery garden they laid Him in the grave,
But now He lives, the wide Earth shall be His garden brave.

6. EASTER'S MEN.

Went two disciples sadly faring
Together through the fields at eve,
Tidings had come, which their despairing
And fainting hearts could scarce believe ;
And as they communed, One drew nigh them,
Who heard and taught them, walking by them,
Till their hearts burned in them ; but, who
He was, till parting, neither knew.

How many a worthy man, pursuing
His calling duly day and night
With honest labour, striving, doing
What duty bids with all his might,
To find his Lord still on is pressing,
Yet never nearer seems the blessing,
Though for long time, near, full in view,
Christ has been by, if but he knew.

Another, leaving the broad highways
Where worldlings throng in concourse dense,
Goes seeking through untrodden by-ways
To find his Lord, in search intense :

Despair oft waylays him to blind him,
Whisp'ring " 'tis vain ! thou canst not find Him, '
While at his side his wanderings through
The Saviour walks, if but he knew.

So on with trustful hearts, untiring
Whate'er befalleth by the way,
Nor Earthly joy nor gain requiring
To gladden our fair Easter Day
When we see won for us a treasure
Surpassing what man's thought can measure ;
And if hearts burn, think on the two
Who walked with Him, while neither knew.

Faith knows Him, God's own gift most glorious
By the world's doubts all undefiled,
Which, over Death and Grave victorious,
To God the Father leads His child.
Though evil's storms may loom and lower
No blast shall blight that Easter flower,
If Christ's dear hand, for thee pierced through,
To the new life thy heart renew.

Love knows Him, true Love ! ne'er refusing
To help the brethren in their need,
Ever the blessed spring-time choosing
For sowing holy Easter seed.
Oh ! well it is for him who knoweth
To follow where Christ's footstep goeth
Through the wide fields, with insight true,
Seeing that He hath risen from the dead ?

7. EASTER'S CHILDREN.

Up, children, in garden and meadow for you
From Heaven's blue spaces, see angel hands strew,
For little girls flowers, full of beauty and sweetness,
For little boys butterflies, bright in their fleetness ;

At Easter.

"Come catch me, my boy," says the fish in the stream
And the butterfly as he flits by like a gleam ;
Hums the cockchafer, "tell me my name I beseech thee"
"Sing, child," cries the bird, "my sweet song I will teach
thee"

At Easter.

Come, boys, hunt for spoils through the sunshiny hours !
Come, girls, and weave wreathes of the beautiful flowers !
And the bright Easter eggs, of all colors, to fête you,
All ready upon your return, shall await you,

At Easter.

Heaven reigns upon earth on this bright Easter-day,
In the little ones' innocent hearts at their play :
Yes the children below here, the bright angels o'er us,
And the sunbeams and birds praise the Lord in glad chorus

At Easter.

M. R. WELD.

ART. IX. —SOME SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

THE close of the nineteenth century marking the termination of an era in our government of this large continent, entrusted to our care by an Almighty Providence, has been chiefly remarkable for progress connected more especially with the social condition of the many and diverse nations that populate the vast area of India. The chain of conquests and the subjugation of foreign lands and tribes is always one of the many signs that speak of a nation's growth. The mere fact of continuous additions to the territories of a mighty power is proof positive that that power is certainly not on the decline, and that the innate knowledge of its mighty strength will draw all latent forces to the front and will compel all inferior things to give way before the onward wave of expansion. Territorial acquisitions speak in terms too plain of a nation's brute force (if we may so call it), but social expansions and social internal revolutions are witnesses, none the less true, of the spiritual and moral backbone which alone can supply the fibres and tissues by which great military deeds are achieved. In this mighty continent of India, our administration has been the means of introducing radical ideas regarding justice and the rights and duties of fellow-men to each other. Our rule has been marked by the extermination of savage rites such as the most savage nations on God's earth only possess. The prohibition of suttee, thuggee and other germane atrocities has inculcated the notions of justice and freedom which alone can guarantee a future social and moral growth. We have now reached a stage in our administration of this country when the voice of duty calls to us imperiously to herald the way to internal revolutions of a social nature, which, if unheeded will only be a precursory admonition that we are unworthy of the important trust a Merciful Providence has given into our charge. The last social change, and one that will be the most complete, is the overthrow of caste—a matter which, at the present moment, is in the dim future of possibilities, with only this certainty that at this epoch it is absolutely impracticable. And yet all our foreign and European civilization has only one tendency, which is undermining slowly but only too surely the base of that great Indian Juggernaut, which is at once a mighty blessing in the attendant good which it brings in its train and an overwhelming course which drains the life-blood of Indian social life and deprives it of every tissue that might work to produce a homogeneous and united whole. **Acknowledge it, if we will, or if we will not, the impulse of a growing**

and a more enlightened Christianity is producing in the peoples of India, the germs of a revolution which, when accomplished, will cause this vast continent in all its utmost length and breadth to quiver to its very foundation—and then with a mighty bound the prospects of Indian and Oriental civilization and culture will, with caste overthrown, rush on to the attainment of an excellence, which we, in our enlightened portion of the globe in Europe, will be fortunate if we can rival.

Of the three distinctive and characteristic social developments of the latter portion of this century with which we, as a governing nation, are connected, the first is the organization of medical aid to the suffering women of the higher castes and nobler families of India. Female medical aid to all classes is a great boon, but its consummation is reached in the application of it to all women, who by national customs are forbidden to engage in the society of the outer world; and by making this system self-supporting, in that, native female doctors are being trained up on all hands to continue the work begun we have reached as near the perfection of our ideal as is possible for the time being.

The second factor in the social condition of India is one to which we frequently try and close our eyes, as if, like the proverbial ostrich in the desert, we can hide from ourselves the vast and illimitable possibilities which are now looming in the future, from the steady and indomitable pluck displayed by the National Congress. The rise in England of a democratic spirit was one which received the censure of all the aristocratic and powerful families, which had till that time held the reins of Government in their own hands. But the rise of democracy, together with the accompanying knowledge, spread broadcast through the nation that the commonalty was the true back-bone of English power, was the day-star which marks, and will for ever mark, the introduction of true freedom and true liberal principles after the reign of the Dark Ages—with the rise of democracy is closely connected the rise of protestantism, freedom in spiritual matters, abhorrence of all semblance of tyranny, and a clear and searching examination into all the details of administration and the consequent abolition of abuses. Similarly in India, we may find what fault we will, with the National Congress, but with the spirit which has brought the Congress into being and which is its true motive power, we cannot but remain in admiration. That is the spirit which has made England what she is—which made a Cromwell wield the bâton of power, which helped men to brave the Inquisition and the terrors of an *auto da fê*—which has made sovereigns stand in awe of the surging masses whose representatives have claimed the privilege of resisting tyranny and of bringing to light all the hidden things of darkness. That

is the spirit which is the true moving power in the world and *vox populi vox Dei*, when received as the motto of the Indian nations, will produce a revolution which will upheave all that is evil and bring to light all that is good. This attainment is at present far from realization, but let us not forget that it is only a question of time—the transition will and must come.

The third phase of social development is the one which deals with the health and sanitary interests of the people and is embodied generally in the policy of the extension of a complete system of water-works and drainage to all the chief towns in the different provinces. This is, of course, only a provisional measure, and in process of time we shall see all towns in all districts supplied with the benefits and advantages possessed at present only by the larger cities. This is an innovation as remarkable as it is important. Considering how recent has been such an introduction of sanitary measures into England, it is a subject of admiration how zealous the Indian Executive has been to introduce all the blessings of European domestic civilization into the homes of the Indian citizens. A century ago such a proposal would have been ridiculed as the essence of folly, but the latter half of this nineteenth century has been favoured with the opportunity of attempting to achieve what will, when it has been fully developed, prove to be a source of infinite blessing to all the inhabitants of towns.

Thus far we have allowed ourselves to view the progressive stages by which India is working out her destiny and to congratulate ourselves upon the substantial assistance we are affording her in pursuing the direct course which leads to the same goal, that we are travelling towards in Europe. Amidst all these causes of self-approbation there is a danger that we ought as Englishmen to avoid, and it is our very devotion to duty that in many instances blinds us to the wisdom of the old proverb that "Charity begins at home"—we may, and do devote ourselves and our highest talents in the interests of the material progress of the Indian citizen, and it is only fair to put forward as a fact that, whatever our personal feelings towards any of the inhabitants of this continent, whether of kindness and disinterested affection, or of callousness and the selfish desire to hold ourselves aloof from interference in all that vitally concerns them, yet, when any plain duty has been assigned to any officer, however humble his appointment in the gigantic system of Indian Administration, his thorough devotion to the fulfilment of orders is a certainty that none would be so bold as to question. However we forget ourselves—we forget that although India's calls require immediate and unstinting attention, we ourselves are a large com-

munity for the most part dragging out our period of service as in place of exile. India has attractions; but it has draw-backs—a loss of European friends, separation from families, pecuniary troubles, loss of health, and frequently all too sudden a death. These are the obstacles which every devoted and loyal servant of Her Majesty has to contend with, and though there are alleviations to the dull monotony of life, yet the iron too often enters into the soul and embitters all that is fairest in human nature. The question as to the manner in which we fulfil our duties to ourselves, is one that deserves the closest attention of every observer. Do we extend to ourselves the benefits that we so freely lavish on an alien race, and are we not only too apt to forget that the work of a single European in this large country, cannot be adequately compared with the work done by even the ablest of the natives. Each European is in himself a model of the outcome of Western civilization and points the moral of the infinite possibilities attainable in India. For us Englishmen the presence of each European in this country is an extra guarantee to the maintenance and stability of our power. Therefore, we cannot be too cautious in the measures we adopt to alienate or to ingratiate every fellow-countryman, and regarding the matter from the most selfish standpoint of our own material interests, we literally cannot afford to trifle with the genuine material by which our administration in India is carried on. It is a short-sighted policy that speaks fair and acts foul—that raises hopes and casts down a life's hard worn ambitions—that incites in the bosom the canker which eats to the very vitals. Our supremacy in India depends upon our own strong arm, tempered with a merciful consideration of the aims and aspirations of the natives of this continent—but chief and foremost we must have sterling merit among our own countrymen. We must watch with anxiety what is imported and what is fostered in this country. The raising of financial difficulties, the diminution of stipends that are all too hard earned in a distant exile, the failure to extend the advantages already possessed by natives to ourselves, such as the introduction of a water-supply into cantonments, when the adjacent native city is already enjoying the luxury, the blighting of a life's cherished prospects by an attack on, or callous indifference to pension rules, are all dangerous experiments which show no tangible result at the present, but may lead to unenviable complications when young India relinquishes his leading strings and flinging aside the restraints that have hitherto held him, rises to compete and vie with Western civilization, and, may be, in the exuberance of his new-fledged liberty, to flaunt himself in the eyes of his European conqueror.

C. A. SHERRING, B.A. (Camb.), C.S.

ART. X.—A RETURNED EMPTY.

(Continued from January 1900, No. 223)

CHAPTER VII.

1889.

THIS year witnessed the apogee of the two melodramatic personages, Boulanger and Parnell; men very dissimilar in character; yet alike in having risen to very high power and still higher hope (which they proved unable to carry to final achievement) and not less alike in premature ruin and death.

The Frenchman became really formidable to the constitutional authorities of his country, by means of money supplied to him by political intriguers, among whom my friend, Philippe VII, was grievously suspected of figuring. But the Republic took heart; and, being prosecuted criminally, the brave General retreated and came to Jersey with his fair friend Mme. de B.

As will be found in the ensuing pages, that Island continued one's centre (though radiation took place). The visits to London were pleasant and fairly remunerative; and there were excursions for lectures—by invitation—to Oxford and Brecon.

In Home politics there was little doing; the public mind was much occupied with the protracted sittings of the Parnell Commission. I saw less of the distinguished Society at the Athenaeum, using the Saville in Piccadilly during short visits to London. I was a good deal in the company of Mr. Hawkins of S. Bride's, and of his since distinguished son.*

January, Tuesday 8th.—An answer from the Editor of the *N. B. Dicty.* to whom I had written about the relations of Nuncomar to Warren Hastings, and how he would wish them treated in the biographic article on which I was engaged. Had the satisfaction of learning that he quite thought it would suffice to refer briefly to the evidence, leaving the main discussion of details until one came to treat of Sir Elijah Impey.

Wednesday, 9th.—Called to-day in Douro Terrace, where I met the Rev. S. V., a London Vicar, and evidently an earnest man. He said the East End was improving and expressed a strong faith in "Local Option."

Saturday, 12th.—Called on Père Mourier, Rector of the Jesuit Seminary, which I remember a "Grand Hotel" in 1868, when we were going from Guernsey to Paris. It is now of

* Known so well in England and America as "Anthony Hope," author of "The God in the Car" and inventor of modern duologue.

course quite refitted and applied to the purposes of a monastery, with a school attached, where many cadets of good French families are trained for their army and navy. The Rector is a typical Jesuit, of the severer class, who lent me Regnier's *Satires* under promise of secrecy. The Library is a vast collection of old books.

Wednesday, 16th.—Read “*Anna Karénina*” which poor Matt. Arnold prized so highly. It seemed to me an artless work—but if fiction be an art this is not praise. The scenes and characters, that is to say, are irrelevant, so that one hardly feels in presence of an integrated whole. But as an album of photographs it produces a memorable impression; showing a Semi-Asiatic Society, where all the men are jealous and all the women justify the jealousy: *näiveté* and kindness going along with an amount of frankness that is very rough.

Monday, 28th.—Amiel's *Journal* with Preface by Edmond Schérer.* The diarist appears as a sad example of the shortcomings of perfection. Had he been less fastidious he would have been more useful; escaping the sterility which now blights him, like our poet Thomas Gray in the last century. This is indeed the Nemesis of criticism, when a really superior man is always on the look out for something to blame, until he is surprised in mid-career and the Night cometh, wherein no man can work. It must be sorrowfully admitted that many do this who have not the same grounds for a noble dissatisfaction. Amiel's nature was sweet though morbid. Fixed on self-study his attention seldom wandered to mankind. So with his politics; he did not love Democracy, but he might have thought of what it warded off. Filled with a just sense of his own distinction, he scorned the notions of equality on which he imagined Democracy to be founded. Yet he was aware that, in the long run, only what is just can prosper: if Democracy permits itself the ideal of a false equality, yet a demand for justice is implied which saves it. It is false, no doubt, to assume that human beings are born equal; but the democrat is not wrong when he claims for all, equal chances; the inevitable distinctions of Nature ought not to be accentuated by artificial usurpations. That is the injustice which Democracy forbids, and so becomes the antidote to privilege. So true it is that “we cannot understand an idea unless we understand its antithesis.”

February, Friday, 1st.—Pascal—borrowing from an earlier author—says that “God is to be conceived of as a circle of which the centre is everywhere and the circumference no-

* AMIEL, Henri Frédéric; born at Geneva, 1821, educated in Prussia, a Professor in his native place for more than 30 years; *d.* 1881. E. Schérer, also at one time a Professor at Geneva, was a distinguished Critic; *d.* 1889.

where," such a circle as I, for one, cannot conceive. But the word "*concevoir*" was used in those days—as by Descartes—in a less scientific sense than that which we attach to the corresponding word in modern English. In fact a modern English philosopher once scandalised orthodoxy by declaring that we could not conceive God at all.*

Friday, 15th.—Reading Demogeot on French literature, was struck with his remark on the dislike of writers for the school immediately preceding. Something in the same way as border-nations regard each other. In the days of Shelley and Keats the Pope-School was anathema, while they were very indulgent to Spenser and held Chaucer in adoration.

Saturday, 16th.—Calling at Longueville Manor met an interesting old travelling Scottish Minister; a great talker who retailed chesnuts and required total silence for their reception, but otherwise agreeable and even interesting. In this case surely, it is not more blessed to give than to receive. There is a lot to be learned from an intelligent wanderer's prosing.

Monday, 18th.—Finished Daudet's "*L'Immortel*," a work showing deterioration of scope and skill. The author seems bent on competing with the lowest of the so-called Realists; but he is really worse than they in that he pumps up the filth which with others flows in a spontaneous drain. As in "*Sapho*," one finds an unpleasant cynicism in the calculated coarseness of one capable of better things. It seems as though the views of literature on either side of the Channel made an irreconcilable parallax. With all their apparent optimism and their immeasurable superiority in artistic form and *technique*, French writers seldom care for the ideal. Their Muses live in a Palladian palace backed by rim parterres, with the front upon a bustling street. Ours inhabit a Gothic castle; looking, on one side, towards a misty range of hill and meadow; bounded on the other by a dark expanse of cloudy sea. Napoleon spoke of the two nations as Rome and Carthage. Such analogies are hard to sustain; but at the present moment England seems more like the Rome of Juvenal in its relations to Greece.

Saturday, 23rd.—To Col. H.'s† where the Lieutenant-Governor read a paper on military aspects of the French Revolution. He raised the often-debated question whether times of crisis produced great men, or *vice versâ*. May not both views be right?

March, Monday, 11th.—Began a course of Lectures on the

* Dean Mansel (1820-71) "*The limits of religious thought*," *Bampton Lectures* for 1858

† Lt.-Gen. C. B. Ewart, C. B., Royal Engineers; a Crimean veteran.

Literature of France.† An interesting subject to the writer ; but how about readers ? Or hearers ?

Saturday, 30th.—Over to Southampton, a pleasant voyage. Received hospitably at S. Bride's.

Sunday, 31st.—A Philistine congregation at S. Paul's, about 2,000 well-dressed persons and—so far as could be seen—one artizan. Music magnificent : Sir John Stainer says Gounod told him it was the finest in Europe. In afternoon went to some studios : saw a lot of good colouring. Clord and H. Jones dined, and we had a pleasant evening in the good Vicar's study.

April, Monday, 1st.—A batch of candidates of the familiar type. Returning to the Vicarage dined tête-à-tête with A. H. who then accompanied me to the Globe Theatre to see Mr. Mansfield's Richard III. An intelligent and careful rendering not overlaid with costume and scenery. The house was anything but full.† *Richard* is, of course, not one of Shakespeare's mature works ; and the period is incurably ignoble : think of the principal public men ; Louis XI, Edward IV., Ferdinand the Catholic, and Pope Alexander VI. Shakespeare hardly brings out the special selfishness of the period, crepuscular between barbarism and civilisation.

Friday, 5th.—At Saville. Mr. G. Balfour suggested that the Authors' Society should offer a dinner to French writers this season and get Lord Lytton to take the chair.

Sunday, 7th.—Morning pleasantly passed in walking along the embankment—a blessed change from what one recollects of this part of London. Lunched at Saville, then called on Mrs. Lynn Linton and the Sandars at Queen Ann's Mansions. Every service at S. Bride's, where a Prebendary of S. Paul's gave a common place sermon of the forcible feeble style. Mr. Turpin, as usual, played the organ nobly.

Monday, 8th.—Called at the Vicarage of S. Philip's, Stepney. Rev. S. V.—mentioned as having been met in Jersey—is a wealthy man, married to an energetic and charming lady ; and they are doing great things in Whitechapel. He is rebuilding the church—mainly, I believe, at his own cost ; and he has thrown out recreation-rooms of all sorts at the back of his parsonage. The male parishioners accept all that he does to brighten their lives ; on condition, however, that he is not to ask them to come to Church.

Thursday, 11th.—Accompanied A. H. on a visit to the Stuart Exhibition : very interesting. It is difficult to account for the

* Afterwards published in Murray's " University Extension Manuals." *Literature of France* ; 1892.

† Mr. M., a young American actor, at that time of much promise, played the tyrant ably ; especially in the wooing of the shrewish Lady Ann.

attraction exercised by that family. There used to be a tale of Macaulay, on his famous stay at Windsor Castle : he was looking at a portrait of King James II whom his Gracious Hostess called ; " My unfortunate ancestor, Mr. Macaulay ! " " Your Majesty's unfortunate predecessor, Ma'am " corrected the Historian. M., at least, did not share the hypnotism.

Sunday, 14th.—Back to Jersey ; after an ideal passage.

Tuesday, 16th.—Lectured, to a (locally) distinguished and friendly audience of about 100, on literary aspects of the French Revolution ; what writers produced the movement and what writers did the movement produce.

Friday, 19th.—A horse chesnut in blossom : cut asparagus in our garden.

Monday, 29th.—Extension lecture by a Mr. Mallet.

May, Thursday, 9th.—Humphrey Godfray sworn in as Greffier of the Royal Court : a deserved preferment.

Tuesday, 14th.—Heard that the dinner to French authors was fixed for 3rd July ; am asked to be a Steward.

Wednesday, 15th.—Invitation to lecture at Oxford on August 3rd.

Monday, 20th.—To Gouray where we saw some shots fired by 20-lb. Armstrong guns at 1,200 yards range, at moving objects—supposed to be boats attempting a debarkation ; would have liked to back the boats. And indeed no modern attack would be made in that way ; but the enemy would drop shells into the town till it surrendered.

Wednesday, 29th.—Finished " John Ward ; Preacher ; " a very sympathetic tale with considerable power as to character and description. It gives one a pleasant notion of Yankee rural life ; honest, amiable, and not much narrower than rural life almost always must be. The beliefs and manners remind me of an old Bostonian lady whom I knew in early days ; only, about her, there was more mental independence, and perhaps less amiability. The religious tone not very different from that of " Robert Elsmere ; " as if the orthodoxy retained in Protestantism had ceased to have much hold upon the author.

Thursday, 30th.—A pleasant excursion with family ; very fine day. Shock of earthquake at 8-15 P.M.

June, Monday, 3rd.—A few strawberries ripe. Weather lovely.

Sunday, 9th.—Read a sad article by Mr. F. Greenwood, in Knowles's *Review* ; subject, the Poor of London. He seems to regard their case as almost irremediable. What he says of the increasing sympathy of the more comfortable classes, is consolatory, and marks a difference between our condition and that of Rome under the Cæsars. It is, however, a dark analogy that remains ;* the decline of Rome began when the

Empire expanded beyond its normal powers of defence, and the rural districts were depopulated. The lines that Johnson put into Goldsmith's "Traveller"; have been derided ("Princes and peers," etc.); but no greater danger can be imagined than a dwindling defence spread over an ever-expanding surface.

Thursday, 13th.—Mr. M.'s last Extension Lecture at the Town Hall. Audience thinner than ever. The course has been good; but the demand for that kind of instruction has to be created in Jersey.

Monday, 17th.—Reading Boileau by the help of La Harpe; what an artificial product! But then all art must be artificial; though indeed this need not be so very evident.

Tuesday, 25th.—The brightest of weather. The Bailiff's garden-party, well-managed, and a pleasant gathering. Struck with contrast between Father Mr. C. and the Jesuit Rector. I fancy the secular clergy are more men of the world than the regulars of whatever order.

July, Monday, 1st.—Crossed to Southampton in lovely weather but contrary tides; not reaching my London lodgings till half past eleven at night.

Wednesday, 3rd.—The Authors' dinner; not a success so far as French writers' attendance went; for the only men of letters from France were M. M. Yriarte and "Max O'Rell"; which is much the same as if, some years ago, Pinnock and Albert Smith had represented English literature in Paris. Lord Pembroke* was a handsome and effective Chairman, and Lady P. wore some sparkling jewels. Besant and old Sala† spoke, as they always do, most ably; and I had a pleasant neighbour in Sir John Stainer."‡

Friday, 5th.—Great heat, with N. E. Wind. Pratt called at the Saville and we walked together to Temple Bar.§ He is the same generous enthusiast that he was at 20. Dined with Lord—and afterwards with him to the Criterion Theatre where he had taken stalls. The play was a revival of Tom Taylor's rococo farce "still waters run deep;" but the cast was good; and Mrs. Bernard Beere's costumes were gorgeous. Amusing "gag" of a comedian named Blakely: the guests at a suburban villa waiting for dinner were wiling away time by the usual desultory talk; and B., as an elderly gentleman, had asked a younger member of the company after his uncle

* George, 13th Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; son of Sidney Herbert, or Lord Herbert of Lea (whose statue is in front of the War Office in Pall Mall). The Earl died in 1895.

† G. A. Sala, well-known journalist: *d.* 1895.

‡ Sir J. S., Mus. Doc., Prof. of Music in Oxford University.

§ Hodgson Pratt, life-long Champion of Peace and Good Will among men.

and been told that the gentleman was dead. After some other attempts to start a conversation the old man turned again to the other and asked him—as if it were a new subject—the same question that he had asked before ; “How is your uncle, Sir ?” And as he was a little deaf and listening with a great air of attention, the young man answered, in a strong Cork accent—“He’s still dead Sir.”

Saturday, 6th.—Went to Norwood with Gen. N. A great crowd at the Crystal Palace to see the Shah of Persia for whom fireworks were to be let off. H. M. sate in a box on the upper gallery, the only thing we saw of him being a reflected light on his spectacles. The commissariat broke down ; and it was not until 9 P.M. that we got a scrap of cold meat on the roof by corrupting a waiter.

Tuesday, 9th.—Lunch with Gen. N. at the East India Club in S. James’s Square ; meeting Dr. D. who, having begun life as a Magyar conspirator with Andrassy and Kossuth, had come to be Civil Surgeon at Simla, and was now a retired British officer living in a suburb of London.

Thursday, 11th.—Lovely day, wind veering to W. The season a little waning ; but the show of female beauty and virile manhood, well-groomed horses and well-appointed vehicles, made the Park in the afternoon an almost over-powering spectacle. How is it to end, this plethora ?

Friday, 12th.—A thunderstorm cleared the air and relieved the pressure on people’s heads. Lunched with H.s in Portland Place : blue blood in a kindly and modest shape. Took A. to the Haymarket at night, to see “Masks and Faces,” an old-fashioned play, artificial rather than artistic. Mrs. B. B. dashing and effective, and Beerbohm Tree very graceful.

Saturday, 13th.—To Q. A. Mansions ; called on Mrs Toynbee and the Sandars * Wm T. and Miss H. acted a neat little duologue, by Theyre Smith, called “A bad quarter of an hour.”

Sunday, 14th.—To Cumberland Gardens, to call on Miss Swanwick. † Met Mr. A. B., M. P., and his wife (widow of poor Lionel Tennyson whom I had known at the India Office). Dined at S. Bride’s, meeting Duffield. ‡

Wednesday, 17th.—H. and son dined with me at Saville. To the Court Theatre, much amused with Mr. John Wood in a farcical piece called “Uncle Jack.”

* Sandars, T. C., was a lawyer, scholar, and journalist of well-known ability.

† Miss S. was a good scholar in Greek and German, and interested in female education.

‡ Duffield, A. J. Man of science and letters ; translated *Don Quixote*, d. 1890.

Saturday, 20th.—A gathering at Cumberland Terrace; the hostess, with her pleasant smile and air of intelligence reminded one of the godmother in a fairy tale. Several people one was glad to see, Mrs. and Miss Toynbee, Mr. Bosworth Smith, and two ladies who were jointly made known to me as "Michael Field."*

Friday, 26th.—Went with Gen. N. to call on Major Yeldham † He was hard at work on political calculations and correspondence, so we did not stay long. He has a staff of assistants travelling about the country doing election business for the new party calling itself "Liberal Unionist." This curious title really implies a combination that seems likely to absorb the old whigs.

Saturday, 27th.—Examining from 10 to 6-15, with interval for lunch during which I tried to cross S. James's and Green Parks to the Saville. There was a dense crowd about the Mall to see the Prince of Wales pass escorted by a guard of cuirassiers: H. R. H. being on his way to the Palace to "give away" his daughter to the Earl of Fife:‡ I got through; and, on returning after lunch met the bride and bridegroom just turning into Constitution Hill: they were in a close carriage, but one got a glimpse of a pale, sweet face. The evening was stormy with the heaviest rain I ever saw in Europe.

Sunday, 28th.—Service at S. Bride's; Dean Vaughan preached on prayer. The substance struck one as perfunctory twaddle, but the language and delivery as beautiful as when G. and I heard him more than twenty years ago.

Tuesday, 30th.—Signed memorial in favour of Vizetelly §

Wednesday, 31st.—To Oxford, put up at King's Arms; the house had changed management and my cap and gown were missing: having been left there as a place of safety. Called on Thomas at Jesus.

August, Thursday, 1st.—Lecture by Poulton, tutor of Keble; very clever, but on a subject I should have thought ticklish, the audience being largely composed of lady-teachers and other spinsters: it went off very well, all the same. Dined with the Stainers; a pleasant evening, Sir John and daughter playing duets. On my asking what he thought of the piano-forte as an instrument he replied; "well, you see; it is the

*This was a name assumed by two maiden ladies, Misses Bradley and Cooper, who published some fine dramatic work in those days.

† Known in India as "Alif Cheem," author of "Lays of Ind." at that time employed, as election-agent, by the Liberal Unionists.

‡ Created a Duke for the occasion.

§ Mr. Henry V. once a journalist; sentenced to imprisonment, in extreme old age, on a charge of publishing improper books.

family orchestra." Wells sate with me at the Hotel till bed time.*

Friday, 2nd.—Moved into College, rooms having been kindly assigned me there. Summer, meeting; lecturer in the schools: called on Morfill. Dinner at Wadham, Crowder, Shields, and the resident Fellows. Much pressed to remain up for the Vacation.

Saturday, 3rd.—Lectured to a good audience. Afterwards a long talk with Mrs. Ross† and others, asking questions and showing intelligent interest.

Sunday, 4th.—Back to Jersey by "Dora" from Southampton: 288 passengers on board; sea rough.

Thursday, 15th.—Reviewed Trotter's "Dalhousie" for the *Academy*. It is sad and strange to look back on the days that are no more, when we were small figures in the back ground of a historic picture. T. is a bit of an enthusiast; no man could be such a consummate combination of hero and angel as his ideal Governor-General is made out.

Saturday, 17th.—Ad. Al. Dora, and self to theatre, to hear Brandram, who recited nearly the whole of "The Merchant of Venice," with much judicious variation of look and accent.‡

September, Saturday, 28th.—A letter from University Extension Office saying that the lady who is Secretary for the Brecon Committee had addressed him to the effect that they would not have my French Literature Lectures (for which I had been engaged). The Oxford Secretary, however, suggested that I should go to Brecon with my course on Indian History. I wrote thanking him for his courtesy but not closing with the suggestion.

October, Tuesday, 1st.—Reading H. W. Becher's Lectures with mingled feelings; amidst much of what one can hardly avoid calling cant he has wonderful flashes of sincerity. With an indolent public a popular preacher has to employ conventional phraseology as a medium of communication; but this man taught *Love*. His *English* is not impeccable; but a man of genius belonging to a foreign nation is surely not bound by all the academic rules of the old country; and there are every here and there in his discourses and writings words that would rouse the Philistine.

Asked by a lady if you could believe in the Founder without accepting the miraculous element, suggested that perhaps a pastor of the Becher type could do so by saying that, while he could not trust the narratives in detail, he felt sure that the Evangelists could not have invented the character.

* J. Wells, M. A., Bursar of Wadham.

† Sister of T. C. Sandars.

‡ Samuel, B. (1824-92), educated at Trinity, Oxford; and called to the Bar, but became a public Reader.

Let us above all things learn to love more and more ; to love (if need be) without being loved, and to do good without asking for a reward. That seems the reasonable scheme : if you turn to the embraces of the world you are met by knife points. Live without stimulant ; 'tis best for the soul's health.

Sunday, 6th.—A French friend proposes that Great Britain ("England" as he calls us) should call on all nations to disarm. I replied in the words of Alphonse Carr ; "Que M. M. les Assassins Commencent !"

It is curious to trace the cause of the divergence between the national life of France and Britain the constituent elements of population being not very dissimilar. I would attribute it to the overwhelming influence of the Roman Empire on the continent, which here was entirely obliterated by the waves of Low Dutch and Scandinavian conquest that have poured over most parts of our Island, drawing in the Gaels and Cymry. Then of course the joining of our Third Estate by the minor baronage must have given it a strength which the corresponding class in France wanted. It seems certain that the ravages among the working people in the middle of the fourteenth century (due to the Black Death) were immediately followed by the entrance into the House of Commons of the Knights, and the combination of all employers, whether urban or rural, to keep down the wages of labour. It was a selfish motive ; but of such is Progress.

Wednesday, 19th.—Reading history of Henry V. If his life and health had endured for another thirty years the House of Lancaster might have established itself in France, with England as a hostile annexe such as we have now in Ireland.

Saturday, 12th.—Reviewed Lady Login's book about Duleep Singh ; showing some doubtful points in British action and the old moral of Sadi's story of the wolf-boy. Our treatment of him might not have been quite just ; his repudiation of our power and religion was too violent a retort. His whole career was one of the tragedies of our time.

Tuesday, 15th.—In connection with my historic studies ran over the First Part of Henry VI, which one hopes has been incorrectly ascribed to Shakespeare. It looks as if that and other plays had been vamped up for stage uses, and his name used as that of a popular dramatist, when perhaps he had no more to do with the play than the Stage Manager. He might be consulted on certain points, might even have contributed a speech here and there to make a scene "go ;" but the whole work cannot be his, unless his mind afterwards took on an unprecedented development.

Wednesday, 16th.—The fifteenth century was a terrible period ; or say from about 1420 to 1520. The Society of

Western Europe was in a transition state : like a stripling of 18 it was conscious of new power yet swayed by mediæval traditions. It was the age of Malory, Caxton, Rabelais and Columbus ; but also the age of Machiavel, Villon, Tiptoft, and Cesare Borgia. In England the outbreak of senseless slaughter was at variance with the national character and conduct at any other time. Of the houses of Lancaster, York, Beaufort, there was hardly one who was not brought to a premature end. Henry VI with his hereditary insanity* was hopelessly unfit to rule, or even to exist, in such a scene.

Thursday, 24th.—Conversation with a Bombay Chaplain who has given up orthodoxy, but is dependent on his position for bread for self and family. A hard case.

Tuesday, 29th.—Finished a study of Henry VIII, a bad man but a masterful statesman. Singular tenacity of parliamentary government under the Tudors.

Planned an educational work on history of the House of Commons.

November, Saturday, 2nd.—Accepted invitation to lecture at Brecon. Influences are not favourable ; but it will give one an opportunity of seeing G.†

Tuesday, 4th.—Gnaist on the English Constitution shows deep research ; but the pedantic hate of democracy must be discounted. He thinks our country on the eve of a great, and perhaps violent, Revolution because while "nights" are advancing "duties" recede.

Monday, 18th.—To Weymouth in a luxurious little boat, and summer weather. Changed at Westbury and Bristol, reaching Hereford at 9-15.

Tuesday, 19th.—Arrived at "The Castle," Brecon : received kindly by Mayor and Vicar ; and lectured, to a large and indulgent audience, especially an old gentleman in the front row, who enjoyed a nice nap throughout. Was asked to come again and deliver my whole course (on Indian History) wrote report to the Oxford authorities before getting to bed.

Wednesday, 20th.—Visited the "Priory," a cruciform Church of the Decorated Period, one of the finest I ever saw. Some interesting old monuments. The Inn stands on the site of the old Castle where Bishop Morton was kept prisoner by Buckingham, *temp.* Ric. III. It was demolished during the Civil War by a clever municipality who argued that, so long as it was a place of strength, one party would certainly take possession and the other as certainly lay siege : by its destruction they hoped to keep out of the sphere of war ; and they did.

* Was he really insane ?—ED. C. R.

† Now Lt. G. N. S. Keene ; then a pupil at Brecon College.

Friday, 22nd.—A day at Bristol, looking over the Church of S. Mary, Redcliffe, associated with the memory of Chatterton, and pronounced by Queen Elizabeth “the goodliest Parish Church in her dominions.” Of late years £53,000 have been spent on repairs, besides the addition of several good stained windows. To Weymouth in the evening.

Saturday.—Bad crossing, landed at 10 A.M.

December, Saturday, 14th.—To London *via* Southampton, for work at C. S. Exam. Put up at S. Bride’s. Gas strike has collapsed, to general content: no sympathy expressed by people in third class railway carriage.

Wednesday, 18th.—After office went to tea at Saville, meeting Duffield, Grant Allen, and Clodd.

Haweis and H. Jones at the Vicarage; good dinner* and pleasant talk in the Library.

Thursday, 19th.—Afternoon at Deanery, Westminster. Examined cloisters, where Chapter-House is the original home of the House of Commons: might hold zoo. Met Mr. Woods, of Trinity and his accomplished wife.

Friday, 20th.—Went with H. to S. Philip’s. Church nearly finished; a wonderful interior; Waterhouse *fecit*.

Saturday, 21st.—With H. to Mr. Haweis’s at Chelsea; the Phonograph, a singular invention, of no practical value.

Sunday, 22nd.—Back at Jersey, Lord A. C. and other friends on board: calm but cold passage.

Thursday, 26th.—Borrowed Mr. F. Tennyson’s poetry. As his illustrious brother told him, it “wants *technique*.” He is older, I imagine, than the Laureate; and a believer in the occult.†

Tuesday, 31st.—No one sate up to welcome the New Year—the Traitor!

CHAPTER VIII.

1890.

During this year we left Jersey, and none of us has ever again set foot on the soil of that pleasant little land. Before leaving I sent a Farewell to the local paper; the opening stanzas being as follows:—

Farewell to Jersey! “Jewel of the main,”

Said Hugo—though I know not why he said it—

But, seeing that he wooed you all in vain,

His love was pure and greatly to his credit;

And, whether prompted by his heart or brain,

There is his ode to you, we all have read it:

* Rev. H. R. Haweis, the incumbent of S. James, Marylebone; author of “Music and Morals,” etc.

† F. Tennyson survived his tuneful brethren; living and—I believe—dying in Jersey, where I knew him slightly.

Your love for him, indeed, was well dissembled
 When all your sons with indignation trembled
 Because he made remarks about the Queen,—
 Or Pyat did and he must needs excuse it—
 The Island's "loyal;" what the word may mean
 I hardly know, but hope they do that use it,
 It costs them nothing: if a thing's not seen
 Or felt, we still may keenly hate to lose it :
 So (being an exile from the French dominions)
 He went to Guernsey next, and stuck to his opinions ; *
 Yet sang of thee, fair Isle, thy granite boulders,
 Thine ocean foaming to a stormy sky ;
 He called the sea and rocks "a pair of scolders,"—
 A curious phrase—you think perhaps I try
 To raise myself by getting on his shoulders ;
 No frog becomes an ox, and how could I ?
 But this I know, the Island kept a Poet,
 (Like Day and Martin) and we are made to know it.

* * * *

[The rest was of more strictly local application.]

This year saw the fall of Parnell due to the decree of the Divorce Court (November 17) and the action of the non-conformist conscience exerted through that stern champion of righteousness, Mr. Gladstone. No immediate effect on British politics ensued: the "Unionists" continued in power under the Premiership of Lord Salisbury, but with what the old Tories regard with uneasiness as "Radical" tendencies. Indeed, it seemed to many that the whole programme of popular Government was now virtually realised and the rôle of the old Liberals played out. In that case the parties of the future would be wholly constructed.

Of the Channel Islands, in two of which I had now been a house-holder, I have spoken elsewhere—namely in the *Quarterly* and *English Historical Reviews*; and will only here observe that they are the only part of the empire in which, so far, the principle of compulsory military enrolment has been adopted. About one-tenth of the population is either under the colours or in the reserve.† Conversing with an Islander on this I expressed wonder at his countrymen submitting willingly to

* When driven from France by the *coup d'état* of 1852, Victor Hugo came to Jersey where some other malcontents also settled. One of these exiles, Felix Pyat, published some discourteous words on her Majesty Queen Victoria, for which he was sentenced to leave the Island: on which Hugo at once declared his solidarity with his brother exile, and had to share the sentence: he then settled at Hauteville, Guernsey, where I made his acquaintance in 1868.

† Corresponding to a Militia three or four million strong if the whole of the British Islands adopted the system.

the inconveniences of such a system, seeing that they were never likely to be called on to fight any one.

"C'est vrai," he answered; and then, as if recollecting something, added, "excepté tonjoun, les Français."

So strong indeed is the hereditary hatred of this practically French race for the country of their origin that to call a man a "Norman" in Jersey is a cause of action, for which damages have been given by the courts. "Tues Normand et fils de Normand" is the traditional form of the reproach.

January, Friday, 24th.—Finished Bryce's book on the United States ("American Commonwealth") and an excellent book I found it. One feels that he sees two dangers threatening our cousins; one, the "spoils" system, by which so many offices are distributed on party lines that the whole Civil Service must be dislocated ere it has had time to become efficient; the other the competition for voting power among the various states which has ended in giving citizenship to a crowd of foreigners who have hardly become naturalised.

Some of the ladies here are a caution; but

His tenderness to women still must be
The measure of the manliness in man.

Monday, 27th.—Read "The Princess;" a fine instance of workmanship surpassing matter; in that respect resembling "Paradise regained." The author stands far above all his contemporaries in point of Art:—

Who, seeing all the problems of his time,
Touched them with magic light, and made them seem
Transparent, to the woman and the clown.

Thursday, 30th.—An interesting talk with the apostate Chaplain; a man who causes much compassion in one's mind. He says the local clergy will hardly return his salutation in the street.

Such rancorous passion lives in heavenly minds.

February, Tuesday 4th.—Finished Fitzpatrick's book on Daniel O'Connell; a collection of the Liberator's letters with some biographic notes. D.C. evidently sympathised with the sufferings of the misgoverned peasantry of Ireland, and foresaw the agrarian agitation of our day. But he loved peace and was a loyal subject; as true a Briton as Edmund Burke. His plan of Federal Union (sketched in 1844) is given in the Appendix to Vol. II, and it is a wise and thoughtful paper. If it could be carried out it might satisfy all reasonable Irish aspirations, while freeing the Imperial Parliament from troublesome members. It would not, however, win the support of professional politicians.

Thursday, 6th.—Heard on good authority that the Laureate

was "not an orthodox believer," though he shrank from writing anything to shock or unsettle.

Thursday, 13th.—Called at Government House. The L.-G. told me something of the dispute between Sir W. Napier and the Court in Guernsey (1842) and showed me some of the papers. The hero was wrong-headed.

Friday, 14th.—Oxford Extension writes asking if one would lecture in the West of England for six months; had to say No, unless it was made remunerative.

Wednesday, 19th.—Finished *Syllabus* of Lectures on the House of Commons; there is a good deal of matter in it that has not been hitherto *focussed*; but people may say that—on such a subject—what has never been undertaken has never been required.

Tuesday, 25th.—Read J. A. Symonds on Shelley. He seems to agree with those who regard Genius as a form of epilepsy; or, at best, a hypertrophe of some organ at the expense of the rest. S. had the germ of great powers, which were, however, sacrificed to Idealism. Even as a Poet, he might have had more force if he had gone off on a less unprofitable path. He was not wholly wanting in objective skill and his language was often perfect; but his gaze was too constantly fixed on clouds and rainbows.

March, Tuesday, 4th.—Tennyson's new volume shows unwearyed *verve* and skill. The shadow of the funereal cypress seems to lie on the work, brightening the remaining lights. The tone is thus rather solemn than sad.

Friday, 7th.—The U. S. Commission encloses for my information copy of a letter they have received respecting alleged incidents of the last exam. Adding that "they are quite aware how grossly misrepresented" such things are apt to be. Replied, pointing out how misconceptions may have arisen.

Tuesday, 11th.—Read the last of Gouverneur Morris, a most interesting man; born when Yankees were still British subjects and having a brother in the Royal Service, he was a good sample of the old aristocratic colonists who resisted the King as Manchester and Fairfax, Pym and Hampden did a century-and-a-half earlier. A little fussy about matters that did not much concern him, and not free from fatuity in his relations with women; above all strongly opposed to democratic claims. He informs us that his colleague A. Hamilton was distinctly in favour of a monarchy. But the people of the United States took the settlement of that question into their own hands. M. saw the difficulty of having a monarchy that should be at once efficient and popular; but the people there can always secure the advantages of a temporary despotism or dictatorship, as they did, towards the close of the Civil War, in the case of Mr. Lincoln.

Wednesday, 12th.—The Commissioners acknowledge my note of the 7th and express themselves satisfied that I “had been entirely misrepresented.”

Tuesday, 18th.—Passed an afternoon hour with Miss L., a bright old maiden lady, who practises music, painting, and letters; she is rather enthusiastic than accurate: attributed a saying of Plato to Lessing yet had never heard of the latter’s book “Laoköon.”

Finished Mrs. Marshall’s “Life and Letters of M. W. Shelley” —not ill edited though a little incomplete. Mary was a genial female creature who did one indiscreet thing at sixteen and suffered for it forty years. Her almost unbroken penance was caused or deepened, by the universal misconduct of her male friends, from her Micawber of a father to her incalculable Ariel. The son seems to have done his best towards the end; but the story is most sad.

Sunday, 23rd.—Came over by Southampton yesterday. To-day dined and slept at S. Bride’s. This bit of the City very quiet, and thanks to the embankment—very airy. House well-planned, by Mr. Champneys.

Monday, 24th.—At office: the young men will not study my subject, yet are indignant if not allotted good marks.* Went to stay with the V.’s at S. Philip’s.

Wednesday, 26th.—With Mrs. V. to Tudor Exhibition; fine portraits by Holbein. Great folks in those days blond, even to the Spaniards: the type seems dying out.

Sunday, 30th.—To church at S. Philip’s: noble interior. A curate occupying the pulpit, Mrs. V. came out: and I judged it allowable to imitate the Vicaress. We found an old man looking at the unfinished building; who, to Mrs. V.’s invitation to come in and see the inside, answered, “No, I thankye Ma’am: they’re all going over to Rome.” He added the information that he had seen the first stone laid of the previous church, which V. has entirely demolished to make room for the present building: this was in 1818; and he said that the ceremony was performed by the then Duke of York (F. M. the Bishop of Osnaburgh).

In the afternoon with Mrs. Ross and hostess to see the pictures at S. Jude’s; a good show intelligently observed by a number of working people.† At night to S. Bride’s Archd. Sinclair gave an excellent practical sermon.

April, Good Friday, 4th.—Played billiards at Athenaeum; Herbert Spencer, P. Calderon, R. A. and others. To S. Bride’s

* The subject was Indian History and Geography; it has since been expunged from the curriculum.

† Mrs. Ross, a clever lady, widow of V.’s predecessor and sister of my friend Sandars. S. Jude’s under Rev. Mr. Barnett.

in the evening ; sermon by Archd Cheetham who afterwards came to dinner. I was reminded of Goethe as I sate between the two " Prophets."*

Sunday, 6th.—With A. to call on the Calderons, in his nice apartments at Burlington House. He showed us his new painting—a fine glow of colour.

Wednesday, 9th.—Working at a short notice of my great grandfather for *Dict. N. Biog.* Can't get much information yet.

Sunday, 13th.—Got home after a rough passage, 9 A. M.

Saturday, 19th.—Played billiards at Club with Captain N. A medley of a man, full of ideas but with the credulous simplicity so often met in seamen. He expressed a firm belief in ghosts, and also in the Israelitish origin of the English race.

May, Thursday, 1st.—A silly article on India by F. P in *N. R.* It seems impossible for any one who has not been there to take a sane view of the subject.

Friday, 2nd.—Finished "Correspondence of Lord Grey and Mme. de Lieven:" they were a curiously-assorted pair. The lady may have been a sort of intriguer, the gentleman high-bred but probably not difficult to hoodwink and deceive. On the whole she does not seem to have had so much the advantage ; but in the end Russia got the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and we had no Ambassador at St. Petersburg for some two years ; a small economy which did the Russians no harm.

Thursday, 8th.—Lovely weather ; garden forward. *White* predominating ; apple, pear, hawthorn, lilac (though of course all with pink variations) strawberry, pease, guelder-rose add to the pure brightness ; there is even a white magnolia.

Tuesday, 13th.—To Lady O's box at Theatre to see a play of the Fenian order, much relished by the audience of this "loyal" Island. It must be annoying to Irish malcontents to find that their very rebellions cannot be taken seriously.

(*June*) After the usual trouble, inventories, packing, etc., we moved from Jersey, where we have been kindly treated and have made many friends, French, English, and Islanders. We settled at Upper Norwood, and found more amusement, but a far less agreeable climate. London was within a shilling fare ; and we all enjoyed the music, etc., at the Crystal Palace where also I found a Library of Reference and a Club with pleasant company and good billiard-tables. London was as usual delightful in June, the season at its height and weather delightful. Before settling I spent ten days in the

* With Lavater on one hand and Basedon on the other, he said—"Propheten rechts, Propheten links ; der Weltkind indem Mittel."

Isle of Wight, in repose, with nothing worthy of record ; except meeting a lady whom I had not seen since she was a gracious hostess in Mauritius forty-two years before. Among some pictures which a Jew was trying to sell at Ryde (under pretence of an Exhibition) I saw a curious attempt at comic *genre* by poor Haydon : the subject a sort of disturbance in a Debtor's Prison, with the title "Chairing the Member : " I never heard of it again, and suppose it was hardly worth a place in the National Gallery, where they have better work of the same kind by Wilkie. I also saw something of Miss Genevieve Ward and her very agreeable brother who were staying at Shanklin.

July, Tuesday 1st.—Heard that B. S. had been asked to write an account of the services of Civil Officers in India during the Great Revolt. As I had already published a rather full history of the events I thought my informant—Col. Malleson—must be mistaken. Met Lord S. in Regent Street, who asked if I should be disengaged in September ("not for shooting").*

Sunday, 6th.—A wet week, ended with slight improvement. To S. Bride's for Church : 2nd London Rifles attended service with their Band, a noisy form of worship. Good practical sermon by the Vicar, with whom I lunched. Finished the day among old friends at Ealing.

Tuesday, 8th.—Authors' dinner at Criterion.†

Wednesday, 9th.—Pleasant afternoon at Saville, with Forrest, Duffield, Besant, E. Balfour, etc.

Sunday, 13th.—To afternoon Church at S. Philip's. Good sermon, by Harry Jones, on the Character of Saul. Supper at Vicarage.

Tuesday, 15th.—Some of the family went to the Palace where the Salvationists were to spend a happy day. Old Booth gave a discourse, which they liked very much.

Friday, 18th.—Called on Sir T. W. Trelyan, Lords T. and S., and Mr. Dudley Field‡. The whole week at *vivâ-voce* work.

Friday, 25th.—A little work at Office. The Oxford Extension asked me to have my lectures (French Literature) printed

* My book—"Fifty-Seven"—was published (W. H. Allen & Co.) in 1883 Mr. Sapte's undertaking turned out to have reference to a composite work on the E. I. College, Haileybury, edited by my old Oxford employer and friend, Sir M. Monier Williams.

† No record of the Chairman : could it have been J. R. Lowell ? It was at one of these meetings that I heard him compare London's ceaseless roar to the "loom of time" in Faust.

‡ F., D. D. born 1805 (Conn. U. S.) jurist, and author of New York Penal Code. Brother of Mr. Cyrus Field : d. April 13th, 1894. Had been our guest at Agra, Librarian to the Queen at Windsor Castle.

in Murray's Series, to be edited by Prof Knight of S. Andrew's.

Monday, 28th.—More *v. v.* work, and spent afternoon at Athenaeum with Sir W. Morgan, Sir R. T., Col. S., Mr. R. Holmes and Lord A. Churchill.

August Monday, 4th.—Club closed, for annual decoration and repair; we are guests at the United Service ("senior.") Great heat of weather.

Thursday, 14th.—A letter from Lord R. kindly enclosing introduction to "Central Liberal" Office, 42, Parliament Street, which being delivered led to enquiries whether one would go to Cheltenham and snooze the constituency in view to the next general election. As the constituency in question must be much influenced by retired officers and the tradesmen with whom they deal, and as such influences must be anti-liberal, I do not think that the undertaking would be one of much promise. Visited Mr. C. Bendall at British Museum, who was most courteous; but the information that I want does not seem likely to be forthcoming: it is in connection with work for *Dict. of Nat. Biography*.

Concluded arrangements for printing historical educational works in India.*

Sunday 17th.—Took one of my daughters to Miss Lowe's.†

They seemed mutually pleased. Met Hon. Mrs. Randolph Clay.‡

Wednesday, 20th.—With A. H. to Bond Street to a sale of effects belonging to a well-known fast man-upon-town, at Messrs. Robinson and Fisher's. A dense crowd. The man had been known as "The Jubilee Plunger."

Friday, 22nd.—Planned my series: the *second* book to be done first; then the *first*, or Primer, as a sort of epitome No. 3 to be more in the way of a series of essays based on my Extension Lectures, in which whatever is of permanent value may be extricated from the accepted congeries of battle, murder, and sudden death which fills the greater part of the structure of Oriental chronicles. By "permanent value" is to be understood all that conduces to the central subject, which is no less than the progress of a vast and varied group of States and races towards a homogeneous whole.

Sunday, 24th.—Walking to see a friend at Lewisham encountered a tempest of lighting and rain such as I never remember in this country: reminding one of an Indian

* This was a series of short treatises for the use of Indian Schools published at Allahabad between 1892 and 1896, the proofs being kindly read by Mr. Harris Keene of the Finance Department.

† Editor of *The Queen* newspaper.

‡ Widow of an American Diplomatist; a charming lady, well known in London Society.

monsoon storm. Such disturbances are, of course, not unknown in the British Islands : witness the fine description in Thomson's "Seasons" (*Autumn*) beginning—

"At first the groves are scarcely seen to stir."

Thomson is original in the eighteenth century, when no writer was expected to describe physical phenomena from first-hand observation.

Thursday, 28th.—Some of the family went to the Palace at 7-45, to see Messrs. Brock's fireworks. A quarter of an hour later C. came, to go with them (by appointment) at 8. It seems hard for ladies to be punctual : one or other here must have been wrong ; and the result was that in the crowded grounds they never met.

September, Sunday, 14th.—Finished "French Manual," and put it together to be posted to Murray's.* Letter from Leitner, to ask one to be "Member of Central Committee" of International Oriental Congress, which I respectfully declined.†

Monday, 22nd.—Some one saying that it was difficult to account for the very great popularity of Irving, seeing that he was by no means an actor as to whom there could be but one opinion, it was answered that there was something Miss-Terry-ous about the matter.

Wednesday, 24th.—To Palace to hear Mr. Malden lecture on "Shakespeare's religion." It was very well done ; and one quite understood that W. S. had to please his public rather than to express himself.‡ Many of the persons who attended his Theatre were somewhat indifferent to things of the spirit, and had been brought up as Catholics or in Catholic traditions. Indeed the Lecturer gave reasons for believing that the poet's parents had been of the old creed, while his daughter, Mrs. Hall, was a notorious Puritan. So that the whole story is a typical illustration of a great crisis in the nation's life ; a transition-period in which the poet may have faced both ways.

Saturday, 27th.—Went in a hot afternoon to the Palace with two of the girls to hear M. de L. give a lecture (in the French language) on the literary aspects of the reign of terror. Having already worked at this I did not find him very instructive ; though he spoke well.

Sunday, 28th.—Afternoon 'at Athenæum. Herbert Spencer said he considered Ruskin's reputation a disgrace to our age. Recalled Morison's phrase who once called R. an "arrogant

* "The Literature of France" (Univ. Extens. Series) London, 1892.

† Leitner, G. W. An able linguist, and founder of a Home for Oriental visitors at Woking. d. 1899.

‡ That may, and yet *puer*! We could say much on the subject, but it would run on to a dissertation.—ED., C. A.

capon." And I believe that Parisian critics think he has done irreparable injury to our national Art. I do not, however, see how this can very well apply to a gorgeous phrase-maker who has never laid down any consistent set of art-principles. He praised Turner for dwelling on the focal point of his landscapes, and he praised the Præ-Raphaelites for bestowing equal care on all their foreground details. Now, which did he mean to inculcate ?

Since the above hasty remarks were penned the seal of death has been put on this remarkable man's reputation ; and we have learned that he belonged to a class of which Count Leo Tolstoi is the living type. Men, that is to say, who influence mankind by a *prestige* of superiority rather than by any direct didactic method.

Tuesday, 30th.—To Charter-House, where the Rev. H. V. L. showed me over the old place : the remains of the Priory, the house where the Duke of Norfolk was betrayed in 1571, the still courts where the noise of Holborn and of Smithfield hardly penetrates, and where the old "cods" stroll about in their long black gowns. In the chapel lies the effigy of Sutton, the prosperous trader, under a painted and gilded canopy ; memorable to posterity for his munificent benevolence. Was pleased to see Madison Morton. *

October, Saturday.—Asked to enlarge "French Manual." Kind offer of help from J. W. S.

Thursday, 16th.—Read Mr. Holmes on Indian Mutiny ; the book shows good judgment and impartiality. Never says anything for the mere sake of saying it.

Wednesday, 22nd.—Correspondence with Hunter about a volume for his "Rulers of India" series. †

Monday, 27th.—Full moon, sudden fall of temperature (said to have been 14° of frost). What a climate !

November, Saturday 1st.—With M. de L. to Garnier's show, Cockspur Street. Illustrations of *Rabelais* ; rather what is called "Realist." ‡

Saturday, 8th.—A large gathering in smoke room at the Saville ; Poole (S. L.) Clodd, Brookfield (C.) Hawkins, etc. Very enjoyable afternoon.

Monday, 17th.—Afternoon at Saville : E. H. told a curious story of the late Sir F. Pollock. § Being himself the real author of the saying attributed to Sydney Smith (about caressing a tortoise being like stroking the dome of S. Paul's to please the Dean L. Chapter), he asked Lady Holland if

* Author of "Box and Cox," which brought him £7,000, first and last. Became a "poor brother" in 1881, and died ten years later.

† "Madhava Rao Sindbia," Third Thousand, 1892.

‡ This Exhibition, afterwards closed by the Police, led to the usual sneers at our national hypocrisy.

§ P., Sir W. F., a Master of the High Court ; d. 1888.

she meant to quote it as her father's in the *Biography* she was writing ? On her answering that she certainly meant to do so, he asked "Did your father say it ?" "Oh ! indeed he did," she answered ; "for I have *seen the tortoise*."

Wednesday, 19th.—Casting about for materials for my little monograph for Hunter I came upon a book in the India Office Library called "The House of Scindia." It was the work of an uneducated man of the name of Hope, and proves to have been written for the purpose of vilifying the British Government. It gives, however, some curious facts about later members of the dynasty, especially in connection with Lord Ellenborough.

Thursday, 27th.—A fall of snow ; early season.

Friday, 28th.—Heavy snow.

Sunday, 30th.—Sunday lecture in Langham Place : Lyall ; very thoughtful and well-delivered. Made him and Clodd known to each other, and went to C.'s to dine and sleep, meeting Wm. Simpson, * and Prof. Hughes, F. R. S.

December, Tuesday, 2nd.—Met Sir W. Hunter at Athenæum and conferred with him about monograph on *Sindhia*.

Monday, 8th.—Cold less severe than a fortnight ago. A goodish deal of discussion, with Clodd and others, of late, arising out of Weisman's very symmetric and plausible theory.† The result of W.'s distinction between germ-cell and body-cell is a curious analogy with certain primitive systems of law—*e.g.*, that of the Hindus—according to the theory in question, ancestral property ought to be permanent and continuous ; that which the head of the family may, from time to time, acquire being the only possession which is free and not subject to rules of succession. This, in some sort, corresponds to Weisman's conception of the non-heritability of acquired qualities. But the analogy may turn against him in his way. B. inherits A.'s ancestral estate but makes additions and improvements out of monies earned in the practice of a profession : when his heir comes into possession the property—though dealt with as ancestral still—is evidently not exactly *the same* that was held as such by A. and so on through the Alphabet. Similarly, the continuity of the germinal essence does not involve its complete identity. It is argued, indeed, that the influences of function and environment affect the individual alone, and not the species. But if so, how can we account for the extreme degeneration of so many animal and vegetable races in certain climates ? A

* Mr. Simpson, R. I. Artist and correspondent of the *Illustrated London News* d. 1899.

† Mr. Clodd contributed an article on the subject to the recent edition of *Chamber's Encyclopædia*.

Hindu friend once laid his hand on my arm as an omnibus was halted opposite to us in the Bayswater Road ; crying, " why, Sir, in this country the very horses are civilised." If, again, dogs all rose from some primal type, such as the jackal, whence the difference between the sky-terrier and the *paria* of the Indian village-street : or why, among European canines, does the pointer learn to stop short at his game while the greyhound rushes on it with open mouth ?

Wednesday, 10th.—Reading "Childe Harold" attentively, found the same affectation and insincerity by which so much of Byron's best work is weakened ; added to bad workmanship in too many places. Yet there is no little of manly eloquence, however lacking in continuity ; and a conviction grows upon one that the author was better than he took himself to be, better even than he wished to be taken for by others. And the poem does not *dwindle*, on the contrary grows in strength and beauty to the end. To say nothing of the hackneyed and perhaps sometimes over-estimated stanzas on the ocean, the better Byron appears in the passage on Princess Charlotte, and in the whole tone of the Fourth Canto. In point, however, of mere workmanship there is nothing in any of "Childe Harold" to be compared with the "Vision of Judgment."

Friday, 12th.—Cold, frosty weather. Reviewed Malleeson's volume on the Indian Mutiny, pointing out its merits which are great—and gliding lightly over faults. This is a grand object, surely, of criticism. A man does not undertake a big book out of merely selfish motives, and ought not to be treated as a malefactor.

Sunday, 14th.—Went in a day of intense cold to dine and sleep at York House, Twickenham, at present the property of Sir M. E. Grant Duff, whose guest I was,*

A fine old house on the bank of the Thames, once the residence of the great Lord Clarendon, whose grand-daughter—the future Queen Anne—was born there.

The host most kind and interesting. In the morning took a pencil-copy of the portrait of the great Madhava, or Madhaji, Sindhia, whose story I am telling in the Oxford series of which Hunter is editor.

Thursday, 18th.—Cold continues. At office all the forenoon ; lunched at Athenæum, then back to *viva voce* work, and home by 7 P.M.

Reading Lowell's Critical Essays lately have been much struck with his good sense and witty language. Of Ruskin the writer says that he undertakes for general principles what are nothing but his own fluctuating impulses : certainly—

* G.-D., Sir Mount Stuart, sometime Governor of Madras,

except in his mastery of English—Ruskin has little in common with Lowell ; and one fears that, if the former be more of a popular favourite, the advantage is due to anything but superior merit. My people love to have it so—*Papulus vult decipi*.

And so the year ended, in early, almost polar, winter ; all the more depressing after Jersey : but the constant feeling that London was close by made a compensating stimulus : and, altogether, things might be a good deal worse.*

(*To be continued.*)

* [True ; but we don't agree with you about Ruskin (among other things.)]—
ED., C. R.

ART. XI.—HERBERT SPENCER'S PHILOSOPHY.*

“**L**ET us now praise famous men and our fathers that begat us” is the admonition addressed year by year to the members of Magdalen College, Oxford, on the day appointed for the annual commemoration of the benefactors of the College. And, now that old age and ill-health have forced Mr. Spencer to rest from his life-long labours, and the din of the controversies provoked by his system has almost entirely subsided, the time seems to be opportune for trying to form an estimate (however imperfect) of his services to enlightenment and of the debt of gratitude we owe him. Let us then recall to mind some few of the leading ideas begotten or fathered by this famous thinker, and see if they do not help us to reconcile what seemed utterly irreconcilable contradictions, and to clear the mind of a host of confused ideas, idols of the cave, of the tribe, of the marketplace and of the temple.

It will naturally be objected that Mr. Spencer's ideas have occupied the attention and taxed the capacity of the deepest thinkers of the last half century,—of men like Mill, Mansel, Martineau, Calderwood, Sidgwick, Huxley and Tyndall. What can a mere amateur have to say worth hearing? Here is a nimble essayist rushing in where experts fear to tread. The answer is that the subject is one which concerns the general reader as much as the expert, and that he must form some opinion on it with such intelligence as has been vouchsafed him, unless he renounces all thought about it. His opinion is probably not worth much, but here it is for what it is worth.

In his “First Principles” Mr. Spencer demarcates the boundary between the Unknowable and the Knowable, the respective provinces of Religion and of Science. “We are compelled,” he says, “to regard every phenomenon as a manifestation of some Power by which we are acted upon; though Omnipresence is unthinkable, yet, as experience discloses no bounds to the diffusion of phenomena, we are unable to think of limits to the presence of this Power while the criticisms of Science teach us that this Power is Incomprehensible. And this consciousness of an Incomprehensible Power, called Omnipresent from inability to assign its limits, is just the consciousness on which Religion dwells.” Again, “Though the Absolute cannot in any manner or degree be

* A System of Synthetic Philosophy, 10 Volumes, 1860 to 1893. By Herbert Spencer.

known, in any strict sense of knowing, yet we find that its positive existence is a necessary datum of consciousness, that, so long as consciousness continues, we cannot for an instant rid it of this datum; and that thus the belief which this datum constitutes, has a higher warrant than any other whatever." The purely physical conceptions of Matter, Motion and Force, involve the assumption of this inscrutable Power just as much as the metaphysical conceptions of the Absolute, the Infinite and the First Cause. Thus then Religion and Science are at one in affirming the existence of an Omnipresent Power manifesting itself in the phenomena of the universe, but are at issue as to the nature of this Power. They agree in saying *that* it is, but differ as to *what* it is.

It cannot of course be said that this idea was an altogether new one at the time Mr. Spencer put it forward. J. S. Mill, one of the best informed and, in consequence, also one of the most candid champions of Science, had admitted that we invariably encounter an inscrutable mystery when we touch on ultimate facts. And similarly many of the better informed and more candid adherents to the opposite camp, *viz.*, the theologians known as "Broad," freely admitted the existence of a considerable amount of truth in the teachings of Science. In fact we may look back for many centuries and still find similar reciprocal admissions made by men of science and by theologians. Thus the great astronomer Omar Khayy-am wrote in the 11th century A. D.

"What launched that golden orb his course to run,
What wrecks his firm foundations when 'tis done,
No man of science ever weighed with scales,
Or made assaye with touchstone, —no, not one."

And Laplace, the author of the Nebular Hypothesis, by postulating nebulous matter and an impelling force to start with, practically admitted that the source of matter and force was an inexplicable mystery. Similarly the *catena* of theologians' opinions given by Dean Mansel at the beginning of his "Bampton Lectures" proves that many of the ablest divines have not hesitated to admit that the real nature and essence of the Supreme Power is beyond human comprehension, and that men's notions regarding it, from the nature of the case, can never be more than approximations to the truth. But while it cannot be said that Mr. Spencer's contribution to the discussion is entirely novel, on the other hand it cannot be denied that he set forth his views with a degree of precision and definiteness never attained before, and enforced them with a weight of demonstration rarely equalled.

To the extreme men on either side Mr. Spencer's *eirenikon* was of course unacceptable. When a man has taken a line

and is flogging the other side with all his might, he is not pleased to be told to hold his hand and ask himself if all the truth is on his side and none on the other. To the man of science, who was nothing if not "positive," it was not pleasant to be told that he must reconsider his position, and that there were problems beyond the reach of microscope and scalpel, telescope and test tube. If a mere nursling of the outworn creeds had said this, it would have been of no account whatever, but to be told so by a man of Mr. Spencer's scientific repute was serious indeed. The effect of the message was of course not at once evident. But all who can recall the general tone and drift of scientific writings and current conversation on this subject in the sixties must recognise the marked change that has taken place. Science has, in a measure, now come to recognise the necessary limits of scientific thought. Even amongst the less cultured scientists we do not now-a-days encounter such crude and crass materialism as that formulated by Buchner, for instance, in his "Matter and Force." Has not some little advance been made towards the realization of Tennyson's ideal?

"Let science grow from more to more,
But more of reverence in us dwell,
That mind and heart according well
May make one music as before,
But vaster."

In like manner when we turn to the theologians we do not find the same imperviousness to demonstrations, the same unqualified *non-possumus* attitude towards science which distinguished them, as a body, in the sixties.* Secure in their main position, and assured that it has rational warranty profounder than was before imagined, the more enlightened of them have come to see that science is not so entirely a damnable error as many supposed it forty years ago. They have out-grown the primitive state of mind which found expressions in documents like poor old Pio Nono's "Syllabus." Many pronouncements of leading theologians, for instance the "Lux Mundi" of Canon Gore, give one the impression that "Colenso" and "Essays and Reviews" would now pass almost unchallenged.†

In one respect Mr. Spencer has added strength to the theological position. Dean Mansel, the great theological protagonist of the last half-century, declared that the existence of the Absolute was matter of faith, and was not demonstrable. Mr. Spencer on the other hand has shown that its existence

* We remember well the sixties, and went into both sides of the controversy, and can only say that it was the bare-faced and illogical assumption of the scientists of the day that led "theologians" to assume, and rightly, the attitude described above.—ED.

† We doubt it, we are neither "Broad," nor "Latitudinarian."—ED.

is a necessary *datum* of consciousness, of which we cannot rid ourselves while consciousness lasts, and that consequently our belief in its existence has a higher warranty and rational basis than any other belief whatever. The great truth for which Religion has been battling throughout past ages, the existence of the Omnipresent Power whereby we live and move and have our being, manifesting itself alike in the phenomena of the external universe and in the mind of man,—this great truth is established not merely by the authority of a particular religious tradition but also by the most searching analysis that can be made of the processes and the products of human consciousness, and is found to be necessarily implied in the highest notions Science has formed of the physical constitution of the universe. The motto inscribed by the Egyptian priests on the temple of Osiris, "I am that which was and that is and that shall be, and my veil no man hath lifted up," may be equally applied to the Power affirmed by Mr. Spencer. Its veil no man has lifted up. The highest conceptions men can form of its real nature can never be more than faint approximations to the real truth. They are only "symbolical," or to use Mansel's expression, only "representative" truths. But as Mr. Spencer points out, the symbols in use at any time have an average adaptation to the mental conditions of that time and are thus relatively good if not absolutely so. Symbols we cannot do without, but it is more consonant alike with reverence and with reason to recognise their inadequacy, than to pretend that they are absolutely correct representations of the real nature of the Supreme Power.

Coming to the domain of the Knowable, Mr. Spencer enumerates those widest generalizations which hold good in every science alike, and which constitute the proper subject-matter of Philosophy, now that it has abandoned its old pretension to knowledge of absolute being. (*Ding an Sich.*) Perhaps the most important is the law of the Conservation or Persistence of force. The law that the quantum of force manifested in the phenomena of the Universe is, a definite and constant quantity, a quantity which, however, transformed from moment to moment, ever remains unaltered in amount and which is never, so far as experience shows, either increased or diminished by supernatural addition to or subtraction from its fixed amount. The principles of the Indestructibility of Matter and of the Uniformity of Law are both necessary deductions from this fundamental law, and it is the indispensable postulate of all co-ordinated knowledge or Science. For, unless like antecedents are invariably found to be followed by like consequences, and similar effects followed like causes, all prevision whether quantitative or qualitative,

of the course of Nature is obviously impossible. If the course of Nature is not orderly but erratic and liable every moment to unforeseen interruptions from without, Science is a chimæra and Nescience the only possibility.*

These ideas are so diametrically opposed to the ideas and sentiments entertained by most religious persons respecting the action of the Supreme Power upon the universe, that no surprise can be felt at the passionate resistance made to them. They can argue with apparent cogency that if the nature of the Power wherein the universe originated and whereby it is sustained, is so utterly unknown as Mr. Spencer affirms it to be, he is not warranted in setting bounds to its possible manifestations. The Uniformity of Law is, after all, nothing more than a generalization from experience necessarily limited and partial, and cannot be taken to be absolutely certain so long as the main factor in the problem, *viz.*, the nature of the Ultimate Power remains unknown and inscrutable. To this, Science can only reply that experience is the sole trustworthy guide, that it finds the invariable course of Nature to be uniform, and that all the alleged exceptions to this uniformity are unproved by adequate evidence. This of course will be vehemently denied, and so the great debate will go on probably for ages to come. The idea of Nature "fixed fast in fate" must always continue to be repugnant to the more emotional sections of humanity. Thus we find Schiller and Coleridge bewailing the decadence of "the fair humanities of old religion!" the Naiads and Dryads and the like, and Wordsworth, like the Jews who craved for a sign, exclaiming,—

"Great God, I'd rather be
A Pagan nourished on a creed outworn,
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn."

But on the other hand it must be confessed that there is nothing derogatory to the Supreme Power in the supposition that it may have imposed limits† on its own action, and that the course of the universe is ordered according to a regular and invariable process undisturbed by fitful and irregular‡ interruptions.

At this stage we come upon what is the cardinal principle of Mr. Spencer's system, *viz.*, the great hypothesis of Evolution. Seeing that this hypothesis is contested by eminent biologists like Virchow, it is only seemly that the words of a mere sciolist

* It may be so; and yet Science has not found the last word in regard to "ever," and "never."—ED.

† The "limits" are consistent with universal and eternal action, but are these known to us?—ED.

‡ "Fitful and irregular" are mere assumptions.—ED.

on this question should be wary and few. But perhaps this much may be said without undue presumption that, just as in times past tentative and imperfect hypothesis, as for instance the hypothesis that the planets moved in perfectly circular orbits, are now seen to have been real advances towards the truth, there are grounds for thinking that the hypothesis of Evolution may turn out to be a similar forward step. No one who has read Mr. Spencer's volumes on Biology, Psychology and Sociology with adequate attention, can deny that this hypothesis serves to group, colligate and co-ordinate the multitudinous masses of facts on an intelligible principle, and to offer an explanation, always plausible if not always convincing, of their mutual relations. His work undoubtedly brings us a step nearer to seeing things as they really are. "Get to see things as they really are." This is just what that laughing philosopher, Matthew Arnold, and his young friend Arminius used to advise us to do in the sixties. "Put yourself at the centre of things and mark the direction in which things are going." Excellent advice if only we had been told how to set about it. Now Mr. Spencer has shown us how to set about it. With untiring industry and marvellous acumen he has examined the results obtained by numberless specialists, results of the wider bearing of which some of them had only a faint apprehension, and has shown how life does advance from the protoplasmic cell up to the most complex organisms, sub-human and human, how consciousness advances *pari passu* with increasing complexity of nervous structure from its roots in mere reflex action up to that manifested in men of the highest mental powers, and finally how the primitive man rises step by step to the condition attained by the most civilised peoples of the present time. Whether the whole of this marvellous process is accounted for, as he thinks, by the pressure and discipline of external circumstances, and the enforced adaptation of internal structures and functions to the environing conditions may be questioned by some, but the main fact that life has advanced in this order can hardly be denied by any candid reader. His work certainly shows how things *have* gone, and gives us a reliable clue as to the direction in which they are now going.

Take for instance the law of population, that hard law of Nature which shrieks against the popular creeds. Amiable enthusiasts tell us that this so-called law is a pestilent delusion. They dispose of the unpleasant facts by the short and summary method of commination after the example of the man who d—d the North Pole. This is not Mr. Spencer's way of dealing with the problem. He takes a comprehensive and exhaustive survey of the phenomena of life from the first physio-

logical unit up to the highest sub-human and human types, and lets the facts themselves tell of the constant struggle for existence through pressure of numbers and means of subsistence. And he shows how this very pressure was and is an indispensable condition precedent to advance and how in default of it mankind could never have emerged from the savage state. But his connected series of the facts brings out very clearly a hitherto unnoticed concomitant of the advance to higher types, *viz.*, that as the type rises its fertility diminishes. In the lowest organisms the fertility is enormous in proportion to the number of the progeny arriving at maturity. The mortality amongst the offspring of these lowest organisms is so excessive that the species would die out, were not a superabundance of offspring generated to counterbalance the excessive mortality amongst it. But as the type of organism rises the rate of fertility diminishes. And the presumption is, that this diminution of fertility will continue to progress concomitantly with the advancing evolution of humanity*. From the observed tendency of things in the past Mr. Spencer deduces a rational inference as to their tendency in the future. So long as the fires are kept up the steam generated will continue to expand and press more and more on the boiler, but in course of time a new safety valve or preventive check, over and beyond the present safety valves, may be expected to develop itself and help to avert the threatened explosion.

This progressive decrease of fertility is only one example of those marvellous adaptations of organisms to the external conditions in which they live which present themselves at every stage of vital processes. When we descend to the underlying strata of inorganic matter†, we encounter phenomena like chemical affinities and we see broken crystals immersed in appropriate solutions reforming their angles with mathematical exactness. And when we ascend to living organisms and mark how inorganic compounds are combined and recombined into colloid and other more complex compounds till we arrive at cells or physiological units. When further we come upon such marvellous adaptations of organisms to their environment as that, for instance, known as "organic polarity," by which the living organism is enabled to appropriate matter from the environment and mould it into its own form. When finally we see the faint reflex actions of the protozoa rising step by step with the advance of nervous structure to the consciousness of sub-human

* The gradation of types is one thing ; and the " evolution of humanity " another. The latter has not been proved since the existence of Abraham, Pharoah, Euclid and Plato.—ED.

† But these affinities are sure, true and unalterable, which rather cuts against the theory.—ED.

and the developed intelligence of human beings, can we accept the hypothesis that it has all come about without design and intelligent direction? Mr. Spencer admits that the Supreme Power manifests itself in the mind, and can it be supposed that a Power thus manifesting itself, is devoid of mind? Our inability to frame adequate conceptions of that mind no more disproves its existence than our similar inability to conceive the Power itself disproves the existence of that Power. Mr. Spencer tries hard to state the facts in such terms as avoid teleological implications, but with all deference it may be questioned whether he has always succeeded. He constantly points out how this or that adjustment does subserve particular ends, such as maintenance of the individual or the race. And as constantly the reader asks himself whether it is conceivable that all this subservience of adjustments to results can possibly have come about without design?

Fifty years ago many positive philosophers asserted that Psychology was not a separate science at all but merely a branch of Biology. Feelings, volitions and cognitions were regarded by them as mere functions or secretions of the nervous structures, to be studied by the same methods as were used in studying the other vital phenomena, and by no other methods whatever. Mr. Spencer has destroyed this idol of the scientist cave. He has restored Psychology to the rank of a separate science and vindicated the employment of subjective analysis not to the exclusion of objective analysis and observation, but in conjunction therewith. He guides us through all the main problems of this difficult science pointing out at every stage the soul of truth in errors, and the harmonies of apparent discords. He traces consciousness up from its obscure roots and proves by overwhelming evidence that every advance in it, is accompanied by a parallel advance in the complexity of the nervous structures, and that lesions or total destructions of these structures invariably entail partial or total loss of the concomitant consciousness. But, it will be asked, does not this concede the whole position of Materialism? Is not this the very answer which the poet got when he questioned Nature,—

"The spirit does but mean the breath,
I know no more?"

By no means. Mr. Spencer goes on to show that Mind is at bottom, another manifestation of that inscrutable omnipresent Power immanent in all phenomena. The Materialist in asserting that Mind is never found apart from physical structures, is asserting a fact of universal experience, but when he goes on to assert that no other factor is to be traced in Mind over and beyond these tangible and visible

material phenomena, this latter assertion is at once baseless and self-destructive. In one department of enquiry he is denying the existence of that datum which he is forced to postulate in the other department.

When two different series of phenomena are found to vary concomitantly, as, for instance, the height of the mercury in a barometer varies with the weight of the atmosphere, the one set of variations may be legitimately used to measure the other set of variations, but it is not legitimate to infer that the former set of phenomena are the causes of the latter set.

The consensus of humanity, registered and evidenced by language, has condemned the Materialist view of Mind. The words *Atman*, *Psyche*, *Ruh*, *Nafs*, *Anima* and *Spiritus*, all originally meaning "breath," show that from the first humanity has tried to shadow forth its conception of an immaterial conscious something, within the body, by assimilating it to what seemed the most immaterial bodily phenomenon perceived, *viz.*, the breath. In course of time this vague conception was replaced by the more definite one of *Psyche* or Soul,—a separate entity implanted in the body at its birth and migrating into other bodies or into other worlds at death, the "*hospes comesque corporis*," as the Emperor Hadrian called it in his dying address to his soul. If Mr. Spencer, like Aristotle, is unable to accept this symbolical conception of the truth, we at any rate owe him a debt of gratitude for having demolished the arguments of Materialists against it. It is possible that he might view with less disapprobation such more abstract conceptions as those of the *Paratman*, or Aristotle's "Active Intellect" or "*Anima Mundi*" (*Nafs-i-kull*) the "*divinæ particula auræ*" immanent in every individual man. But, be this as it may, he has unquestionably rendered a great service to Religion by his general treatment of the subject.*

His verdict on the vexed question of "innate ideas" is not wholly in favour of either side. He thinks Locke right in denying that we have "innate ideas" in the sense of their having been divinely implanted in us, but declares his opinion to be, that we have many ideas and sentiments which, though *à posteriori* to the species, are *à priori* to each individual, those, namely, which are registered in the inherited nervous structures. Similarly he expresses the view that the scorn of Locke for the deductive method and the syllogism was unwarranted, since deduction in its proper place is indispensable in the conduct of philosophical enquiries. And finally he shows that of the opposing theories of crude Realism and Anti-realism, neither is wholly tenable. The Anti-realists were

* But the strongest argument is that of "design" as applied to the mind.—ED.

right in asserting the relativity of all knowledge, and the Realists in asserting the real existence of the external universe, in the sense that the Absolute and Omnipresent Power is the substratum of all phenomena*. Berkeley, he says, was not an Anti-realist because he took Mind to be the real substratum, while Hume did not really believe everything to be an illusion but only tried his best to argue himself into that belief.

What is the criterion or measure of advance of Intelligence? Mr. Spencer indicates a very definite criterion. He shows that intelligence rises in proportion as it combines the original presentations of the senses into representations and re-representations, and ideas more and more removed from the primary presentations, and that a similar rule applies to advance of emotions and sentiments. The ideas of young children and of adults of low intellectual types and limited experience never rise much above the sensations of the moment, and the impulses originated by such sensations. They understand nothing and care for nothing beyond the personal concerns of themselves and their co-mates. As intelligence rises, ideas take wider and wider ranges, ever increase in generality, and recede more and more from the purely personal. This canon or law of advancing intelligence is well illustrated by a comparison of Mr. Spencer's "Sociology" with the old "Histories" of nations. The old-fashioned histories are overloaded with details of battles and sieges, of the chicaneries of diplomatists, of the gossip of courtiers, of the looks and dress of this or that "great man," of pageants and ceremonies and the like. But Mr. Spencer's "Sociology" lifts us at once to a higher plane of thought. We breathe a more elevated and more rarefied mental atmosphere. And the higher point of view certainly seems to help us to see things more as they really are, to trace the real succession of cases and effects in the past, and to form sounder estimates of the probable course of human progress in time to come.

The conception of a science of Sociology, first definitely formulated by Auguste Comte,—the conception, namely, that the conduct of individual men and social aggregates of men is governed by invariable natural laws, and that like effects follow like causes in human affairs just as they do in inorganic objects and in all sub-human organisms, is a conception diametrically opposed to popular notions. The presence of the personal factor, the free play of human will, is almost universally held to negative the possibility of framing any scientific prevision of the course of human conduct. In his

* See note on "fitful and irregular" *ante*. If the Absolute Power is the substratum" as He is—they all is granted.—Ed.

"History of Civilization" Mr. Buckle tried to meet this difficulty. He showed that although it is impossible to predict the conduct of any particular individual man in any given cause, owing to the impossibility of ascertaining all the antecedents of his action yet that the average conduct may be predicted; that on the average, like antecedent conditions entail like consequent conduct, and that hence a science of Sociology is possible.

Mr. Spencer, however, is the first who has ever presented this science in a coherent form. The amount of time and labour he has devoted to it, is simply marvellous. As a preliminary he had eight volumes of "Descriptive Sociology" compiled, embodying the relevant observations of countless travellers and historians. His observation has indeed surveyed mankind from China to Peru, and marked, sifted and digested every fact bearing on the problem before him. Finally we have his "Principles of Sociology," a work which all who have read it, whether they agree with its main thesis or not, must admit to be one of the most valuable contributions in aid of clear thinking which have been made in the last fifty years. No reader of ordinary intelligence can go through the book without perceiving that it has purged his mind of not a few confused and erroneous notions and braced it to see things more as they really are.

A story is told of a Londoner, hailing from Bayswater, who paid a visit to Calcutta, and, on returning home, expressed the opinion that there was no religion or politics in India. The ideas on those subjects accepted as self-evident in the philosophy of Bayswater seemed altogether ignored in the latitude of Calcutta. Now, as Mr. Spencer points out, this is just the difficulty which we moderns encounter when we explore the ideas of primitive men. Their thoughts are not our thoughts, and ideas which seem self-evident to us are not apprehended by them and cannot be expressed in their languages. Their ideas are limited to the visible, the palpable and the concrete and never soar to the abstract and the impersonal. If we attribute our own developed ideas to primitive men, we go astray, and on the other hand we also go astray, if we deny that they possess the rudimentary notions out of which our own ideas have been gradually evolved. The poet remarks that "the baby new to earth and sky soon finds 'I am not what I see, and other than the things I touch.'" And the same holds true of that adult baby, the primitive man. He also soon learns to discriminate those states of his consciousness which present to him the external world from those other states of consciousness which present to him himself. In other words he possesses vague rudiments of the notions out of which the

conceptions of Subject and Object are ultimately evolved. Furthermore he comes to discriminate between the series of states of consciousness succeeding one another in unbroken sequence, and the element which remains constant and persistent throughout his whole experience, namely, himself. The states experienced succeed one another like so many independent beads, but the string on which they are strung continues to run through them all. What is this persistent element? Many thought it was the breath, which was observed to continue as long as this consciousness continued. Others likened it to a man's shadow. Evidence furnished by dreams and trances seemed to show that this "spirit" or breath was a separate entity, a sort of "*Ka*" or double which might continue to exist after the death of the body. From this primitive notion of "ghosts" Mr. Spencer thinks the subsequent conceptions of Deities were gradually evolved. These ghosts were credited with power to benefit or harm surviving men, and consequently men had to propitiate them by sacrifices and laudations. Long ago Xenophanes argued that if animals had gods they would undoubtedly represent such gods as endued with the form of animals, and as having appetites and emotions similar to those of animals. And Mr. Spencer instances a multitude of facts to prove that the same holds true of the gods of primitive men. Those bloodthirsty savages, the Fijians have cannibal gods, the exact counterparts of themselves, and the gods of the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians exhibited similar characteristics. And the old Greek gods were as quarrelsome and ill-conditioned as the average of their worshippers. In the amusing Satire of Lucian, translated by Mr. Froude in his "Short Studies," these gods reproach one another for misconduct, which is slowly but surely undermining men's faith in their existence, and stopping the flow of the customary offerings and oblations. At the outset primitive men did not conceive the Power outside themselves as a power that made for righteousness. Quite the contrary. But as chronic militancy decreased and men's characters improved, a parallel improvement took place in the supposed characters of the gods. The older and cruder symbolical conceptions gave place to new symbolical conceptions of the Supreme Power ever more and more abstract and exalted*.

After dealing with primitive religious ideas Mr. Spencer traces in detail the evolution of human institutions, domestic ceremonial, ecclesiastical, political, professional and industrial. In each department he supports his conclusions by a multitude

* This is a beautiful theory; but for "primitive notions of ghosts" and the "gradual evolution of subsequent conceptions of deities (from which the theory follows, we have only 3 votes of admiration!!—ED.

of illustrative facts, which have never been brought together by any preceding writer. And in every department he discusses and weighs the opinions of preceding enquirers such as Mr. Tyler, Sir J. Lubbock, Sir Henry Maine and others. He shows how domestic institutions like Polyandry and Polygamy, which are so repugnant to our present ideals, were almost forced on ancient societies by the conditions under which they lived, and how they thus possessed an average adaptation to the requirements of the time. It is impossible within the limits of an article even to glance at Mr. Spencer's main conclusions in Sociology. We may, however, at least note his cardinal doctrine,—*viz.*, that human institutions have advanced in proportion to the decrease of militant activities and increase of industrial activities, decrease of governmental coercion and increase of individual freedom, disappearance of status and extension of the régime of contract. In fact Militancy is the Ahriman and Industrialism the Ormuzd of Mr. Spencer's sociological creed. The reader is sometimes tempted to ask himself if the Ahriman is really responsible for all the mischiefs Mr. Spencer lays to its charge, and whether the Ormuzd is quite so angelic as Mr. Spencer represents it to be, but these are details which need not be discussed in this place. We must not however take leave of the "Sociology" without calling attention to the chapter on Trades Unionism and especially to that on Socialism. Fanaticism is impervious to argument, but it is just possible that the weighty considerations put forward in this chapter may have some little weight with some of the amiable enthusiasts* who are captivated by the dreams of Mr. Henry George, Mr. Bellamy, the Fabian Essayists and the like.

Mr. Spencer's "Principles of Ethics" might appropriately open with the same proposition that Aristotle places at the beginning of his "Nicomachean Ethics," *viz.*, "Every art and process and likewise every action and purpose seems to aim at some good." For Mr. Spencer holds that all conduct is directed to the realization of ends, and the end of the conduct we call moral is maintenance of the life of the individual and of the race. And of these ends the latter, *viz.*, the maintenance of the race, is the highest end to which the former is subordinate. All activities furthering the life of the individual are, Mr. Spencer thinks, pleasurable activities, and conversely all life-impeding activities are pain-giving activities. Hence good conduct is conduct which in the long run produces a balance of pleasure over pain, of happiness over misery. Note that this definition expressly excludes conduct directed to attaining mere immediate gratifications, as in the long run these may be

* These "amiable enthusiasts" had indistinctly grasped an ultimate truth.—ED.

counterbalanced by a surplus of pain. Note too, that it does not conflict with the view held by believers in a life to come, for they also consider good conduct to be conduct which eventuates in a balance of happiness over misery, if not in this life, yet in the life to come. Moreover the assumption made by optimists and pessimists with one accord, is that life must be adjudged to be worth living or not worth living according as it yields more happiness than misery, or contrariwise more misery than happiness.

Mr. Spencer's Ethical principle is therefore Hedonism. But he does not accept the Utilitarian formula, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." He points out that this formula, taken in conjunction with the Utilitarian explanation that in the apportionment of the means to happiness, each individual is to count for one, and no individual for more than one,—this formula contradicts one of the clearest laws of rational Ethics, the law, namely, that each individual has the right to enjoy the fruits of his own labour, so long as he does not trespass on the like rights of other individuals. And he further objects to the Utilitarian theory that it implies that each individual must make for himself a long and impossible calculation of the consequences of each action before he can pronounce it good or bad. In other words, the individual is required by the Utilitarian principle to ignore the accumulated experience of the race, and to trust to his own particular experience alone. Mr. Spencer's view is that the moral and intellectual experiences of the race are stored up in the cerebral structures inherited by the individual, just as voices and words are registered on the delicate plates of a phonograph, and are capable of being again resuscitated and realized in the consciousness of each scion of the race. He regards the mind not as a mere *tabula rasa*, but as a tablet written on with sympathetic ink, so to speak, which writing again becomes visible when subjected to appropriate conditions. In a word, he thinks we have innate moral ideas *à priori* to the individual, though *à posteriori* to the race; ideas evolved in the course of ages, but not implanted by special supernatural influences in each case. And ideas thus intrinsically cognate to the mind of the race, are naturally enforced by the authority of custom and the weight of general opinion.

Plato thought that a true conception of justice could only be framed after constructing the ideal of a perfect state, in which alone perfect justice could exist. And in like manner Mr. Spencer thinks that absolute ethics is an ideal impossible to be realized in our present transitional state. So long as militant activities persist we can never realize, much less act up to, perfect ethical standards. All that is now feasible is to

ascertain the best general rules of conduct, or the least bad rules, which can be followed under existing circumstances. So long as part of our conduct is necessarily regulated by the religion of enmity appropriate to Militancy, and another part by the religion of amity appropriate to the peaceful industrial state, we can only make compromises between the desirable and the possible.

Space is lacking for the discussion of the manner in which Mr. Spencer applies the principles just indicated. But attention may be called to the way in which he balances the opposing claims of Egoism and Altruism, and to the moral justification he gives of the former within due limits. The great moralist of the eighteenth century Bishop Butler, in his sermon on "Resentment," had already done something in this direction, but Mr. Spencer's treatment of the question is much more profound. The only doubt suggested is whether Mr. Spencer sufficiently recognises the intrinsic nobility of self-sacrifice. It is quite possible that this doubt may be prompted by emotions inherited from mediæval militant times, but, however derived, the doubt does suggest itself whether Mr. Spencer is fully alive to the moral grandeur of characters like that of Aristotle's "Brave Man," or Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior," not to speak of the characters of the saints and martyrs.

But all objections to Mr. Spencer's opinions ultimately resolve themselves into the one, *viz.*, that they are what is called "unsettling." It may be asked "If the ideas prevalent at any time have an average adaptation to the mental conditions of that time, (as he admits they have), why interfere with them?" To this question it is best to give his own answer.

"The reply is, that though existing ideas and institutions have an average adaptation to the characters of the people who live under them; yet, as these characters are ever changing, the adaptation is ever becoming imperfect; and the ideas and institutions need remodelling with a frequency proportionate to the rapidity of the change. Hence, while it is requisite that free play should be given to conservative thought and action, progressive thought and action must also have free play. Without the agency of both, there cannot be those continual re-adaptations which orderly progress demands. Whoever hesitates to utter that which he thinks the highest truth, lest it should be too much in advance of the time, may reassure himself by looking at his acts from an impersonal point of view. Let him duly realise the fact that opinion is the agency through which character adapts external arrangements to itself—that his opinion rightly forms part of this agency—is a unit of force, constituting, with other such units, the general power which works out social changes; and he will perceive

that he may properly give full utterance to his innermost conviction : leaving it to produce what effect it may. It is not for nothing that he has in him these sympathies with some principles and repugnance to others. He, with all his capacities, and aspirations, and beliefs, is not an accident, but a product of the time. He must remember that while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future ; and that his thought are as children born to him, which he may not carelessly let die. He, like every other man, may properly consider himself as one of the myriad agencies, through whom works the Unknown Cause ; and when the Unknown Cause produces in him a certain belief, he is thereby authorised to profess and act out that belief."

E. H. WHINFIELD.

ART. XII.—THE EVOLUTION OF A BRITISH COLONY.

IT is interesting to study the evolution of a British Colony, to note its growth and progress along the various lines which together go to form national life, from the day the first few settlers appear on the ground, till the day salvos of artillery proclaim the birth of a "Commonwealth" destined to set its mark on the history of the world. We see first the rudimentary beginnings, the embryo as it were, in which no stretch of imagination can discern the future magnificent growth. Then the babe begins to walk, the boy to run, leap walls and fences, the lad to make mistakes and correct himself, and, coming of age, to look round him with conscious strength. And of the numerous Colonies which have sprung from the United Kingdom, Victoria in Australia probably offers us the best sample to study. It is not only the smallest of the several Colonies on the mainland, but one of the later-born. In New South Wales, too, she had a neighbour which not only pretentiously assumed to herself the title of the "Mother Colony of the Australias," but overshadowed her by her huge size. Tasmania, too, lying adjacent, was an older colony, and excelled in climate and scenery. Victoria started her career without any advantages. And yet in a few years she picked up and out-distanced her rivals till lately her population exceeded that of New South Wales, and she took the lead in commercial enterprise. It is true much of this was owing to the discovery of gold within her borders, but mostly all the other Australian Colonies can also boast of gold and other valuable minerals, such as coal, &c., denied to Victoria. Even now she has the most manufactures and the largest industries; has the greatest amount of capital embarked abroad (in the other Colonies) and leads in arts and letters. All this is the outcome of a little more than half a century, and appears as marvellous as a dream. There may be old men still living who in 1833 or 1835 landed on the then wild shores of Hobson's Bay untenanted by a single white human being. The city of Melbourne, the Queen City of the Southern half of the world, now extends to many miles in each direction, including some scores of magnificent suburbs, parks, gardens, and watering places. With its large population, its thronged thoroughfares, its wealth of grand public buildings, its crowded wharves and busy seaports, its amenities of civilisation, it may compare favorably with the capitals of many of the older states of Europe. The growth of the Colony has been the growth of Melbourne: both have run

parallel to one another and kept pace together. The study of such a Colony, its history from its inception, must necessarily be interesting as well as instructive. We propose to do this by division into well-defined periods, furnishing connected views of subjects, with details illustrative of the times. The periods are those of Early Settlement and progress till the separation from New South Wales; the Legislative Council; and Representative Government. In each of these periods we shall view respectively settlement and population; Government and politics; wealth and material progress; and other lines and influences. We should, however, have a brief descriptive account of the Colony first.

Victoria, the southernmost colony on the mainland lies between the 34th and 39th degrees of south latitude and the 141st and 150th degrees of east longitude. Its greatest length east and west is about 420 miles; and its greatest breadth north and south about 250 miles. Bounded on the north by the Murray River, on the west by South Australia, and on the south and east by the Southern Ocean, Bass' Straits, and the Pacific Ocean, it forms a compact and well-defined territory. According to the latest computation its area is 87,884 square miles or 56,245,760 acres about the size of Great Britain. The extent of coast line is about 600 geographical miles.

The principal features of this most fertile and favored tract of the Australian Continent—originally called *Australia Felix*—may be viewed in connection with its geological formation; its mountain and river systems; its lakes; its coast and interior tablelands; its ports and inlets; its climate; and its mineral, vegetable, and animal, productions.

Geologically, portions of Victoria—especially in the east—are among the earliest elevated in the continent. The bed-rock on which the country generally rests is of the Silurian epoch, veined by auriferous quartz. Most of the best land is of volcanic origin, of a deep black or a dark chocolate colour, and often extends to a great depth, and very fertile. It is estimated that there are about 23,000,000 acres of rich loams and alluvial flats, 8,000,000 acres of rich black and chocolate-coloured soils, and 5,000,000 acres of light and sandy soils.

A Dividing Range runs along the length of the country at a distance of from 60 to 70 miles from the sea-coast. This Range is called the Australian Alps in the east, and the Pyrenees in the west. Numerous minor spurs and offshoots are thrown off in various parts, especially in the east. The highest peaks of the Australian Alps attain an elevation of 7,000 feet.

The Dividing Range forms the great watershed of the country. On the one side numerous rivers flow down to the

Southern Ocean, and on the other numbers of streams tread their way to the Murray of which they form affluents. Of these the longest is the Goulburn, 345 miles. Of the others which flow into the ocean the longest is the Glenelg 281 miles, the Yarra, though short as compared with the Glenelg, is navigable for ocean-steamers as far as Melbourne. Besides these, there are a few rivers in the north-west which have their outfall in lakes, the longest being the Wimmera, 228 miles flowing into Lake Hindmarsh. There are nearly 200 rivers in Victoria. The Murray which forms the northern boundary line of the colony, has a length in Victoria of 980 miles, its total length being 1,380 miles. Of lakes 157 in all, the largest are, in the East near the coast, Wellington 34,500 acres, and Victoria 28,500 acres, in the West, Corangamite 57,700 acres, and in the North-West Hindmarsh 30,000 acres, and Tyrrell 42,600 acres. Victoria, Corangamite, and Tyrrell are salt, and the others fresh. Most of the lakes of the colony are fresh.

The coast territory between the ocean and the Dividing Range acquires a gradual elevation of from a few feet to, in parts, nearly 1,800 feet above sea-level. The table lands on the other side of the Range descend from an equal elevation to about 500 feet at the Murray.

The extensive coast-line presents numerous bays and inlets, there being 39 of them enumerated in official papers. Of these, Port Phillip Bay is the largest and includes Hobson's Bay on the North and Corio Bay on the South-West. It presents the aspect of a secure inland sea with cities, towns, boroughs, and villages fringing its shores, Melbourne itself being situated in the North. The two ports of the city of Melbourne, Williamstown and Sandridge, alongside the piers of which the largest steamers can lie, are situated at the northern end of Hobson's Bay.

Being the most southerly portion of the continent, and growing naturally and abundantly the eucalyptus tree, the leaves of which exude a volatile oil which exercises a most wholesome and purifying influence on the atmosphere. Victoria possesses the most temperate and healthy climate of any part of the mainland. This is evidenced alike in the vigorous growth of her sons and daughters; in the splendid horses, cattle, and sheep raised within her bounds; and in her varied and numerous vegetable products, some timber especially attaining to a height of 480 feet, a height which far exceeds even the vegetable giants of the Western States of America and the Yosemite Valley. The ordinary winter range of the thermometer is from 45° to 60°, and the summer range from 65° to 80°. During a dry season and when there

are hot winds the range is sometimes from 90° to 110° ; but these great heats seldom last beyond a day or two. The mean annual temperature of Melbourne is $57^{\circ} \cdot 6$ and the average annual rainfall about 26 inches.

Among the vegetable products only a brief enumeration can be attempted here. The eucalyptus or gumtree of every variety, ironbark, acacia, tea-tree, banksia, sassafras, native hop, may be named out of a very large number of native growth. All the flowers, fruits, vegetables, and cereals of Europe as well as of warmer climes, thrive, including the olive, almond, orange, grape, tobacco, sugar-cane, hemp, flax, and banana. Among indigenous animals may be mentioned the kangaroo, wallaby, opossum, native cat, native dog (dingo), and the porcupine. The Angora and Cashmere goats have also been imported and thrive. Among birds may be named the eagle, hawk, magpie, laughing jackass (great kingfisher), various parrots, black swans, waterfowls, quail, and snipe. Fish of many kinds and good flavour abound along the coasts and the mouths of rivers.

Such is a brief descriptive account of a country which in only a few years has risen, as we shall see in the following pages, to the proud pre-eminence of leading the British Colonies in the Southern Seas.

THE FIRST PERIOD.

1834—1851.

Early settlement and progress of Victoria till separation.

Administrators, &c., of the settlements.

1836 William Lonsdale, Capt., 4th Regt. Resident Magistrate.

1839 Charles Latrobe, Superintendent of Port Phillip.

We proceed in the order we have previously intimated: settlement and population, Government and politics, material progress and wealth, other lines and influences.

(a) SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION.—

On the 19th November 1834, Messrs. Edward and Stephen Henty, the sons of an English banker of substance who had emigrated to Tasmania, landed at Portland, established a branch of their whaling industry, and imported sheep and cattle which they fed on the rich pastures of the district. As will be seen under a subsequent head they thrived and prospered. In 1839 a census taken of Portland gave the population there at 300 souls. In 1840 the township contained one good house, six decent cottages, and several huts. There was a population of about one hundred souls, living in them, while that of the entire district amounted to about 600 souls.

We go back, however, to the year following that on which the Hentys landed at Portland. Two ventures were started from Launceston in Tasmania in 1835 both of which had the object of settling in Port Phillip territory which till then was unoccupied. John Batman was the leader of one which belonged to a large and influential association in Tasmania, and John Pascoe Fawcner of the other. The former arrived first (May 29th) and landed at the Indented Heads on the western shores of Port Phillip Bay. Batman viewed the country around and concluded a bargain with a number of native chiefs to obtain possession of several hundred thousand acres of land along the bay-shore.

Fawcner having taken ill immediately before starting, his party came on without him, sailed up to the north end of the Bay, entered the Yarra (20th August) and proceeded up the stream in search of fresh water. This they found higher up near the site of the present city of Melbourne when they came to an anchor. In six days after (29th August) they landed, they had five acres of land ploughed and sown with wheat on the northern bank of the river. Fawcner himself followed (10th October) and formed another cultivation of eighty acres on the south side of the river. A number of other settlers, all from Tasmania, followed Fawcner. At the end of the first year the settlement had a total population of about 50 souls. There were two weather-boarded huts with brick chimnies, and some eight or ten turf erections. The country had been explored northward to a distance of 20 miles and found to exceed the utmost expectation that had been previously formed of its fertility.

On the first day of the next year (1836) Fawcner opened the first public-house in a log hut. Batman, who had gone back to Launceston to confer with the Association with which he was connected, returned in April and joined the settlement on the Yarra with his family and such of his party as still remained at the Indented Heads. By the month of May there were 117 persons in the place, and this number increased by the end of the year to 224, of whom thirty-eight were females. In December three public-house licenses had been granted. But there was not a butcher or baker or tailor or carpenter or wheelwright in the whole settlement, and there was only one shoemaker. It is recorded that the settlers had to live upon salt beef and "damper," which were "washed down with copious libations of rum and water." Settlement and population increased rapidly. The Surveyor-General of the then one colony called indefinitely New South Wales, Major Mitchell, in ignorance of the existence of these parties of settlers, had been exploring the interior south-western portions,

and had fallen in with the Henty's settlement at Portland, and returned without coming across the township on Port Phillip Bay. He gave such a favorable account of the richness and fertility of the country he had passed through—which on that account, he called *Australia Felix*—that it had the effect of drawing numbers of settlers overland from Sydney. Accordingly when the then Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, visited Port Phillip (March 1837), it is noted that 500 people cheered him at his departure. Before this, as will be seen below in the following section, the settlement had had conferred on it a Resident Magistrate and other officials. At the end of 1837 the census recorded a total population of 1,264 persons. At this time, too, the Rev. Dr. Lang, * a very active Presbyterian Minister in Sydney, interested himself in getting out several thousand Scottish emigrants to Australia, many of whom as shepherds and small farmers found their way into *Australia Felix*.

In 1838 at first there were only a few wooden houses at the settlement, and a small square wooden building did duty as church or chapel to the various religious denominations. A branch of the Van Diemen's Land Bank was also established. But growth was rapid. By the end of the year there were branches of two other Banks in active operation, the hotels were transformed into handsome inns, there were numerous brick buildings, some of two and even three stories, and the lines of streets had been cleared, marked, and in parts were being macadamized. The population at the end of the year numbered 3,511. Four constables kept the peace; there were four apiece of tailors, blacksmiths, and butchers; three a-piece of bakers and saddlers; and twelve shoemakers; all in the township. The only lawyer also kept a butcher's shop,—a hint to lawyers who fail in law. In 1839 the population had increased to 5,822. In this year, too, Angus MacMillan and Count Strzelecki, independently of each other explored the eastern portions of the district, which was thenceforward called Gippsland in honor of the then Governor, Sir George Gipps, who had succeeded Sir Richard Bourke. In 1840 the population numbered 10,291. The year following the number rose to 20,416. A colonist of those days thus describes an ordinary scene he witnessed near Melbourne in 1841:—

"The native village—what a scene! naked savages, shaggy dogs, bark and bough dwellings. 'Good morning Sir!' say the pickaninies with the utmost gravity. 'Where you go'?"

*We had the advantage of intimate private intercourse with this great pioneer of Australian Settlement during the latter years of his long and useful life.

asks another. There is something inexpressibly ludicrous in the circumstance that these ugliest pieces of human nature are heard singing in Melbourne 'I'd be a butterfly.' In 1842 the population had increased to 23,799, of whom more than a third or 8,108, were females. Cabbages were cultivated on the site of the present Treasury, and "a wagon and a train of horses were absolutely swallowed up in Elizabeth Street." Stumps and reservoirs of mud marked the line of Collins Street. In 1843 the population numbered 24,103; and in 1844, 26,734. In the latter year, 1844, Melbourne is thus described by an eye-witness:—"A lusty, stately, bantling of a city; vigorous in its growth, of a cheerful aspect, and graceful in its proportions. Fronting the river is Flinders Street displaying many noble houses, with English-grassed lawns, one of them crowned with a graceful dome. Collins Street contains the most respectable assemblage of shops; in it are the banks, most of the places of worship, and it is the great thoroughfare. Queen Street and Elizabeth Street are the next in importance. Bourke Street is the most frequented of any on the arrival of English and Scottish ships, for in it, at the corner of Elizabeth Street, stands the Post Office—a convenient and good building." The principal buildings were the Mechanics' Institute (then used as the Town Hall) in Collins Street, the Court House, the Jail, and the Custom House. There was even then a good Market. Tame emus walked, pelicans stalked, and kangaroos hopped, in front of the houses. "But of all objects the wild, grotesque, painted, feather-ornamented, tea-tree blossom carrying natives, with their singular costumes, war implements, and their wild gestures, grouped and scattered over the town, and with the shaggy accompaniment of dogs, give its most original feature to Melbourne." The figures of the population for the several years after 1844 till the last year of the period were:—

1845	...	31,280	|	1848	...	51,390.
1846	..	38,334	|	1849	...	66,220.
1847	...	42,936	|	1850	...	76,162.

Of this last total 30,667 were females. We now proceed to view the Government and politics of the period.

(b.) GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.

The bargain made by Batman with the native chiefs was set aside, but his Association was allowed a compensation of £7,000. The central government at Sydney at first also refused to permit settlement in Port Phillip—as enlarging the area of escape to convicts) and even went to the length of proclaiming the settlers intruders on vacant Crown

lands. The rapidity, however, with which population flowed in rendered the prohibition a dead letter. Unable to prevent settlement, the Government next addressed itself to see what could be done for it in the way of administration, and deputed Mr. George Stewart, the Police Magistrate of Goulburn, in May 1836 to proceed to Port Phillip and report on it. Mr. Stewart found the settlement then variously called by several English and native names—as Batmania, Dutigalla, Bearhup, Glenelg, &c.—thriving and advancing. The settlers had also elected an arbitrator, Mr. James Simpson, from among themselves, to decide disputes. Acting on the report furnished by Mr. Stewart, Sir Richard Bourke appointed Captain William Lansdale, of the 4th Regiment, Resident Magistrate of the Settlement (September 29th) 1836. Other officials, as surveyors, &c., followed the Magistrate.

Captain Lansdale lost no time in fixing on the site of the future metropolis. Six months after (March 1837) Sir R. Bourke himself paid a visit to the district, and concurred in Captain Lansdale's choice of the site—the same as that on which the city of Melbourne now stands—giving the town its present name after the then Premier of England. Mr. Robert Hoddle, Surveyor, accompanied Sir R. Bourke and laid out the town, shortly after which (June 1st) the first land sale was held. The Governor also named Williamstown in honor of the then reigning sovereign. Geelong, which was also then occupied retained its native name.

During the next year, (1838), under Governor Sir George Gipps, a resident Judge, Mr. Justice Willis, was sent to the new settlement; and a Protector of Aborigines was appointed for the Port Phillip tribes. A fortnightly overland mail to Sydney was now established, the postage of a letter costing 15 pence.

In 1839 the eastern portion of the continent, hitherto generally called New South Wales, was divided into three districts, Moreton Bay (afterwards Queensland), New South Wales proper, and Port Phillip; and on 30th September, 1839 Mr. Charles Latrobe was sent out by the Imperial Government as Superintendent of the lastnamed on a salary of £ 800 a year, and allowances for his staff and office expenditure. Mr. Latrobe continued in office till May 1854, becoming the first Governor on the erection of Victoria into a separate government. In this year (1839), too, we notice Captain Fyans as Magistrate at Geelong. Next year Sir George Gipps appointed Mr. James Blair Magistrate at Portland.

Notwithstanding the erection of Port Phillip into a separate district, with its own Superintendent, the colonists began to demand separation from the Central Government of New

South Wales. The complaints were that land-sales were held in Sydney, and the land-funds of the district were absorbed by the Central Government. In 1841, however, these funds were surrendered. Sir George Gipps himself paid a visit in October of this year (1841), and spent six days at Port Phillip. The year following Melbourne was incorporated, and elected its first Mayor, Mr. Henry Condell, a brewer. The contest was severe with Edward Curr, the leader of the party for separation, and the "Riot Act" had to be read.

In 1843 the concession of representative institutions was granted to Australia, and six members were allowed to the Port Phillip District. The six who were elected were :—

Henry Condell	... the Mayor, a brewer,	for Melbourne town
Charles Hotson Ebdon	... settler, Port Phillip, ...	} for Port Phillip.
Alexander Thomson	... "Merchant," Sydney,	
Thomas Walker	... formerly a surgeon,	
Charles Nicholson	Physician, Sydney,	
Rev. John Dunmore Lang	Presbyterian Minister,	} for Port Phillip.
	Sydney	

Evidently the settlers could not spare many of their best men

The Rev. Dr. Lang, a man of vast energy, however, did not sit idle on his oars. On 21st August 1844 he moved the separation of Port Phillip and its erection into an independent colony. In the division the six members of the colony stood alone. On the following day a petition for separation was presented from 2194 Port Phillip inhabitants. Similar petitions and memorials continued to be sent in, or were forwarded home to England. In 1848 Dr. Lang was entertained at a public dinner in Melbourne as an expression of the colonists' appreciation of his efforts to bring about separation. The people were thoroughly disgusted at the farce of sending representatives to a legislature where their voices were powerless; and when the next election came round this year (1848), Ebdon declined to be re-elected. The advocates for separation at this juncture determined, therefore, upon an extraordinary expedient to make their grievances heard in England, and nominated and elected Earl Grey, the then Secretary of State, against Mr. Foster, the local candidate. This novel election, however, was set aside by the Government, and a new writ issued, Geelong being appointed the polling place. The local candidate was returned; but the expedient of electing Earl Grey had the effect it was intended for. The grievances of the colonists came under the notice of the English Parliament, and the matter was referred to the Privy Council, who reported in favour of erecting the district into a separate colony, and suggested the name of Victoria for it.

Mr. Latrobe had fallen into disfavour with the colonists. It was believed that he sacrificed the interests of his district to the Central Government at Sydney. A letter of his, too, leaked out, in which he stated that in his opinion, the colony was not yet prepared for representative government, and therefore should remain in the hands of a governor, executive, and nominee council. Nothing could have given the colonists greater offence. They accordingly held public meetings and demanded his removal. He partially, however, regained their good opinion by ordering away the *Randolf* which then happened to enter the Bay with convicts not knowing where to discharge her human cargo. The system of transportation of convicts to any part of Australia was a sore point with the colonists; and in February 1851 a *League* was formed throughout the eastern colonies to put an end to it. Large sums were subscribed in Melbourne for the purposes of the League, whose efforts, as will be noticed in the next period, were speedily successful.

On 17th November 1850 intelligence reached Melbourne of the passing of an Act which had for some time been under consideration for the separation of the Port Phillip District from the central government, and its erection into an independent colony. This Act came into operation on the 1st July, the following year (1851). The rejoicings lasted for five days, and the inhabitants ran wild with joy. "Bonfires blazed all over the country—no work was done—everybody was continually walking in procession" (!) A stream of 5,000 colonists passed over Prince's Bridge which was opened on the 14th of the month (November). The anniversary of the separation (July 1st) is kept as a public holiday throughout the colony down to the present time.

In 1845 Judge Jeffcott, who had succeeded Judge Willis in 1843, resigned, and was followed by Judge Therry, who again was succeeded by Judge à Beckett in 1846.

There were 40 Post Offices open in 1850. The General Revenue amounted to £259,433, and the General Expenditure to £196,440.

(c) MATERIAL PROGRESS AND WEALTH.

We have seen the Hentys settled in 1834 at Portland. In the following year they exported 700 tons of whale oil and bone, and had formed several sheep "runs." In 1840 they had 1,700 bales of wool ready for shipment. The year following Portland helped to mitigate the famine at Adelaide by sending mobs of cattle overland.

At the Port Phillip Settlement we have seen how Fawcner's party first, and he himself, afterwards, began cultivation with

five acres and then 80 acres. The five acres gave a return of 100 lbs. of wheat. Batman's Association also landed 500 sheep at Williamstown, and Dr. Thomson imported 50 pure Hereford cows. At the end of the first year (1835) the total livestock was estimated at six horses, 100 head of cattle, and 1,400 sheep. Three "stations" had been formed within a distance of 10 miles, known by the names of their respective owners—Connolly's, Swanston's, and Solomon's. The number of shipping entered inwards was eight—barques, brigs, &c.

During the next year (1836) the value of livestock and property was estimated at £110,000. In December there were 14 horses, 121 cattle, and 42,621 sheep. When Sir R. Bourke visited Melbourne early the following year (1837), settlers were found who had pushed out in all directions with sheep and cattle. Large flocks of sheep and herds of cattle were driven overland from Sydney, through even hostile tribes of blacks, to occupy the newly-discovered pastoral country, and at the time of the above visit it was estimated that there were fully 2,500 head of cattle and 140,000 sheep in *Australia Felix*. Land had begun to acquire a certain value at the infant settlement, and the average price realised at the land-sale held just after, was at the rate of £70 an acre. The first exports of wool from Port Phillip this year were valued at £11,639; and the imports at £115,379. Labour, provisions, and rent soon rose to an enormous price, the four-pound loaf being sold for 3s 6d., and the veriest huts let for £2 per week. Three branches of Banks, the Van Diemen's Land Bank, the Bank of Australasia, and the Union Bank, were established this year (1838).

In 1839 an era of wild speculation in land and stock set in. The entire population was affected by it, and every one jobbed in land and "corner-allotments." This continued till 1843, when the crash came, and everyone, from being fanciedly wealthy found himself a beggar. Three hundred insolvencies occurred in Melbourne. Landed property and stock fell to a nominal value and were unsaleable. Just, however, when (1843) affairs were at the gloomiest, the expedient of "boiling-down" sheep for the tallow was hit upon, and saved the colony from utter ruin.

Settlers notwithstanding continued to come, and launched out both labour and capital on agricultural operations. The experiences of one in those days as noted down by himself are worth glancing at. Writing in 1841 he says:—"An allotment of 95 acres south of the Yarra. First we have to do carpentering, brick-making, house-building, and gardening. Then the land clearing. To cut down the timber, gum, box,

she-oak, and wattle trees, was an Herculean task. Progressing wearily. Day after day it was no slight army of trees against which we had to do battle. Some of the trees were of unconscionable girth, six or eight yards in circumference.

"Immense was the space of ground that had to be dug away to lay bare the roots. And then, what roots! One of these monsters of the wild was 15 days burning; burning night and day, and was a regular ox-roasting fire all the time. On one occasion I was laid up for a fortnight, keeping my bed part of the time, having been struck by the fall of a tree. I had to change almost immediately my linen; wringing wet with the perspiration of that blow's agony. . . . We had now to begin fencing: the commencement of other sorrows. . . . First over the Yarra, forty yards wide, we had to fasten a rope, and to construct a punt. . . . Wet as the weather was, we commenced bringing down our fencing materials. And through what a kind of country we had to bring them! Along the sides of sloping hills, and through marshes, and deep break-neck ravines. At the first attempt, the cart was broken! Sometimes at the gullies or ravines the cart had to be unloaded to allow it to get over, and then overloaded again. When all the materials were carefully got over the river, there came a flood and swept a great portion of them into it! . . . Our land was not sown until it was too late, and the crops were consequently worthless. Thus one year's labour, outlay, and seed were thrown away." It is noted that to clear land in 1840 cost £16 an acre. The prices of cattle, farm, &c., produce in 1844 are also given—

Farm Implements.

Days in 1841—£10 or £8. In 1842 £28.

Ploughs, £2-3.

Harrows, 32s. £2 per pair.

Working bullocks, £6 per pair.

Horses, £10—£20 each.

New calved cows, £1-10—£2-10s. calves given in.

Sheep, 5s. per head.

Mixed herds, £1 per head (of cattle).

Prices of Farm Produce.

Oaten Hay £1-10—£2-10.

Barley 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. per bushel.

Oats, 1s. 6d. to 2s. " "

Wheat, 3s. 6d. to 4s. " "

Colonial cheese, 8d. per lb.

Butter, 6d. to 9d. " "

Potatoes, 2s.-6d. per cwt.

Mutton, 1s. ½d. per lb.

Beef, 1s. ½d. " "

Wages, servants, £8 to £12.

Labourers, £15 to £20 per annum and rations.

Mechanics, anything they could demand and get.

In 1844 the system of "special surveys" was adopted for agricultural areas. By it eight square miles of unreserved territory could be purchased by a payment of £5,120. Three such sections near Melbourne, three in Gippsland, one at Kilmore, and one at Port Fairy, were applied for under this system, and became agricultural centres. As yet Australia had not been roused by the gold discoveries, and her path of progress lay in quiet pastoral and agricultural lines, a path which, as we have seen, and as we shall see from the statistics we furnish below, she was diligently treading. From the year 1844 to 1850, therefore, there is nothing eventful to record—only peaceful progress varied by occasional droughts and floods, the greatest flood ever known at Port Phillip occurring in 1844. In the Geelong district vineyards began to be formed in 1846, and there were seventy-eight acres under cultivation. Three acres and a half had been laid down as early as 1842. At the close of this period, in 1850-51, there were 161½ acres under cultivation. In 1849 about 1,000 Germans were introduced into Port Phillip, many of them as vinegrowers round about Geelong.

It is to be noted that in 1840 the first iron foundry and engineering shop—the beginning of the great manufactures of the colony—was set up in Melbourne by Robert Langlands and Thomas Fulton, a foundry that still leads in iron work.

At the close of this period with a population of 76,162 souls, and a revenue and expenditure of £455,873, there were 52,341 acres under cultivation, 28,511 acres being under wheat; 5,008 acres under oats; 2,102 acres under barley; 2,838 acres under potatoes; 13,567 acres under hay; 161½ acres under vines;—with a return of 556,167 bshls. of wheat, 99,535 bshls. of oats, 40,144 bshls. of barley, 5,613 tons of potatoes, 20,971 tons of hay, while the wine made, was 4,621 gallons and the brandy 286 gallons. The livestock amounted to 21,219 horses, 378,806 cattle, 6,032,783 sheep, and 9,260 pigs. The number of vessels inwards and outwards was 1,063 with a total of 195,117 tons. The imports amounted in value to £744,925, and the exports to £1,041,796. The quantity of wool exported was 18,091,207 lbs. of the value of £826,190; of tallow 10,056,256 lbs. of the value of £132,863; and the value of the hides and skins exported was £5,196. Of breadstuffs, too, 10,668 bshls. were exported of the value of £2,469. A good many flour mills and other manufactures were at work, in number not under fifty.

It is evident, therefore, from these figures, that notwithstanding the great "crash" above noted, and occasional droughts—

there being one this very year (1850) from May till July, when stock perished in great numbers—followed shortly by the great disaster of “Black Thursday,” the settlement made steady and even remarkable material progress.

The great disaster of “Black Thursday” consisted in a conflagration which enveloped a wide extent of country on the 6th February 1851. The thermometer ranged from 118° to 119° in the shade, and distant parts appear to have simultaneously taken fire. The whole country appeared wrapped in flames, the most fertile districts were burnt up, flocks and herds were abandoned by their keepers, many lives were lost, and destruction and ruin fell upon a great many. The ashes from the forests on fire on Mount Macedon, 46 miles away, fell in the streets of Melbourne. The atmosphere was smokey and dark, whence, as well as from the disastrous consequences, the day was called “Black Thursday”

OTHER LINES AND INFLUENCES.

The Press.—On New Year's day 1838 Fawcner started a weekly paper in manuscript, of which the only copy was to be seen at his own inn. The paper continued in that form for nine weeks, and was then brought out in type. It was discontinued after 32 numbers owing to Fawcner's inability to satisfy the guarantees required by Government for a newspaper in those days. He, however, shortly after managed to start the *Melbourne Daily News* and *Port Phillip Patriot* (which was afterwards merged in the *Argus*); and was followed in October by Strode and Arden who brought out the *Port Phillip Gazette*. The *Port Phillip Herald* began on 3rd January 1840 as a bi-weekly till 1st January 1849 when it came out as a daily. The *Melbourne Argus* was commenced 1st June 1846 by Wm. Kerr, ceasing to exist on 12th September 1848. Mr. E. Wilson then bought up the plant at a Sheriff's sale, and recommenced the paper on 15th September 1848, converting it to a daily on 18th June 1849. Fawcner, who appears indefatigable in starting journals, also began the *Geelong Advertiser* as a weekly in November 1840.

The Church.—We have already seen how in 1838 a square wooden building was appropriated to the services of all denominations alike. In September 1839 the foundation stone of the first separate place of Christian worship erected in the colony, the Independent Chapel, was laid; and in the following November the Church of England Cathedral, St. James's was commenced. There were then six places of worship in all. The Press and the Church thus seem to have come into existence and progressed together; and both

served to elevate and refine the hard lot of the early pioneers. In January 1841 the first Scots' Church was established, followed in October by the erection of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Francis'. The first Baptist Chapel, too, was organised the same year. The Wesleyans had long had services of their own. In 1849 the Rt. Rev. Dr. Perry was installed as the first Anglican Bishop of Melbourne, and soon after, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Melbourne arrived in the colony.

Education.—In 1839 there were four schools with seventy-eight scholars. These had largely increased when in 1849 the Denominational School Board was appointed. There were then twenty-seven schools and 2,596 scholars.

Buildings, &c.—In 1846 the foundation stones of the Princes Bridge over the Yarra, and of the Melbourne Hospital, were laid. The opening of the Bridge in 1850 we have noticed in connection with the rejoicings for the separation. A site too was selected for a light house on Gabo Island. In 1844 a memorable *corobbori* of 700 aboriginals from all parts of the country was held near Melbourne.

So far it has been most interesting to view the birth and vigorous infancy of Victoria; and we have supplied details which it will be hardly necessary to furnish in connection with the remaining periods. We see in this first period rapid growth in pastoral and agricultural pursuits, and in trades and the beginnings of the press and other institutions as well as the first stirring of political life. The politics concerned about the Superintendent's truckling to the Central Government, about separation and how to get it; and the excitement was all about blacks, floods, fires, convicts, land sales, driving sheep overland arrival of mails, Orange celebrations, and mayoral contests.

Large, however as were the undoubted results, they were, as we shall see as we proceed, very much surpassed in the near, and immediate future. The discovery of gold changed the destiny of the continent. We shall see this same Victoria shortly after she had started on her separate existence and discovered gold within her borders, outstripping her older and larger sister-colonies in population and wealth, and assuming the premier position among them, and her pioneers laying broad and deep the foundations of future prosperity and social and political freedom.

(To be continued.)

OLD AUSTRALIAN COLONIST.

ART. XIII.—THE CAUSE AND CURE OF CHOLERA AND SCARLATINA.

THE following investigation into the cause and cure of cholera and scarlatina was privately circulated some fifteen years ago among a large number of leading medical authorities throughout the world. Not one of its conclusions has been shaken since—not even by Pasteur's true serum theories or Dr. Koch's futile cholera bacilli discovery. Based on chemistry, they cannot be shaken. They represent, further, over half a century's particular experience and study, and successful practice. They are made public now to show the truth about these diseases according to the irrefragable testimony supplied by the chemistry of the body in health and disease. Fashions may come and go, even in medicine, but chemistry cannot alter.

Medical science really consists in the study of the chemical action and changes set up in the human body by abnormal conditions and the change from the normal.

There is no remedy which is a universal cure, or which must and shall infallibly cure in every case of a disease, even if its action on the disease is as certain as mathematics and the physics of chemistry.

There are too many independent elements which come in between its action in every individual case, and affect it in some degree. These elements, too, cannot be calculated with mathematical exactitude. Very large and extended and close and precise and continuous study, observation and practice, only can enable the chemically-enlightened practitioner to make but an approximation of each of them, which may suffice for very successful practice, but which will not obviate error.

Specially in cholera are there all these independent elements, and also chances of error. Here several poisonous abnormal conditions, with varying forces, disturb the balance of the powers and the intimate correlation of all the parts and organs of the human body to each other, and the disturbance is in proportion to the forces of the varying abnormal conditions, and numerous physical and other considerations relating to the patient. And further; these varying poisonous abnormal conditions are accompanied or illustrated by the liquefaction of the blood and destruction of the red corpuscles, which sets up its own element of evil and danger.

In the investigation of cholera, therefore, or indeed of any disease, it is sufficient if we conduct our research on acknowldg-

ed scientific principles. Chemical science as applied to, and in, the human body will indicate to us the cure. This must be confirmed by practice. If any particular results in practice fail, we are to examine into the causes of the failure, which may be many. We are not to reject the true for our own defective observation of it, and erroneous application to it, of its remedies. Where there are so many independent elements of calculation, and sources of error, and all as applied to getting a result of fine narrowed accuracy, which the equilibrium of the forces of the healthy vital process represents, it hardly needs to be a mathematician to understand that the resulting confirmation may be wanting to any one individual heedless, or even observant and scientific, practitioner. But truth is truth. I here show the conditions of cholera and its cure. The direction and ordering of its indicated cure is left to the practice of scientific professors of medicine. The abnormal conditions being known, with the chemical results and action set up thereon, the estimation of all the independent elements helping to establish those abnormal conditions, with the degree to which the chemical results have proceeded, will be needed for the application of the indicated remedies, which again are to be proportioned to the state of the original abnormal conditions, and the degree of the chemical results, and the strength, powers, history, &c., of the patient. If any particular is not understood, or appears to want confirmation, it should be seen if the erroneous comprehension, and imperfect estimation, of the whole very large subject, and defective direction of the cure, should not be charged with it.

To repeat our previous remark;—no one in the present enlightened and scientific age expects a remedy which, as an infallible dose, even if possessing all due fitness, shall, will, and must, and only can, cure, like magic or a charm, in every case of a particular disease. To expect such would be to betray a considerable amount of ignorance. There is no such charm of magical powers, inconsistent with science, physiology, and the pathology of diseased conditions.

Cholera—its conditions of origination, growth, and phenomena, including blood and other complications, and the agents which apply to their cure, are all what may be scientifically ascertained; and practice, and the symptoms, pathology, and morbid anatomy, be made to illustrate and prove them. This is what is legitimately required on the subject. It will be seen that I meet and explain all the chemical phenomena, the symptoms, the morbid anatomy, and every form of successful empiric treatment of the disease. The subject largely affects the well-being of humanity, the economics of states, and even the status of science; and I submit this paper to the

world of enlightened and advanced medical science with confidence. What I state is scientific truth, with universal confirmation.

CHOLERA ; ITS CURE.

1. In the action of cholera, an abnormal and destructive condition is induced by internal and external causes. An action also is set up in the blood tending to its liquefaction and destruction of the red corpuscles. This action may be general.

The symptoms, effects, and morbid anatomy, of the disease are well known.

I shall first note down a few very elementary chemical and physiological observations.

Man absorbs oxygen, and in the process of respiration evolves carbon dioxide CO_2 . Together with this gas volatile putrescible matters are exhaled from the skin and lungs. These matters act prejudicially on the health. The gas, too, is poisonous and destructive. CO_2 consists of carbon 27.27 and oxygen 72.73, the volume of CO_2 formed being equal to that of the oxygen used in its formation.

After the lacteals have taken up the fluid portion chyme mixed with bile, the chyle proceeds to the thoracic duct and with the lymph is poured into the *vena cava*, mixes with the venous blood, takes up oxygen, becomes arterial, and is sent forward to all parts, the oxygen being yielded to the effete tissues to oxidise them, while the CO_2 evolved is conveyed back to the lungs and given off by diffusion. By this oxidation the heat of the body is sustained, the combustion taking place in the capillaries, which receive the oxygen carried to them in the arterial blood, and then transmit through the veins the CO_2 evolved to be passed off by the lungs at the same time that a fresh supply of oxygen is taken up. Thus, there is a constant discharge of poison and waste and accession of life-renewing oxygen.

All this implies the previous action of normal bile on normal chyme, and the due and sufficient action of the oxygen on the normal chyle or nutriment presented to it. That is, the normal nutriment must be present, and the normal quantity of oxygen, and the latter must act on the former. Here, then, are three elements, the nutriment, the oxygen, and the contact. If the nutriment be abnormal, or there be less oxygen, or both don't come to the normal standard of contact, that which has to be thrown off as poisonous waste is retained in the constitution, and to its degree disorganises the functions of the kidneys, the lungs, and the skin, and affects the blood, the spleen, and every other organ, portion, and function of the human body.

Of the three elements above-noted, if the nutriment alone be abnormal, while there is a sufficiency of oxygen, and the two have the contact that is necessary, the poison may be worked out. If the nutriment be normal, and there is a sufficiency of contact, but insufficient oxygen, the result may also be made favorable. If the nutriment is normal, and the oxygen is sufficient, there is deficient contact, the constitution may be helped to get over the difficulty.

That is, if we represent the three elements of nutriment, oxygen, and contact, respectively by the letters N, O, and C, and assign positive and negative values for their being normal or abnormal, the positive for the normal, and the negative for the abnormal, we may represent the subject symbolically thus:—

plus N plus C > — N, or — N < plus N plus C

plus N plus C > — O, or — O < plus N plus C

plus O plus N > — C, or — C < plus O plus N

These may be regarded as the standard of safety.

Again:— (O plus C) > plus N, or plus N < — (O plus C)

— (N plus C) > plus O, or plus O < — (N plus C)

— (O plus N) > plus C, or plus C < — (O plus N)

These may be regarded as the standard of danger. That is, normal nutriment sinks in the scale when put against insufficient oxygen and insufficient contact; and insufficient oxygen is outweighed by abnormal nutriment and deficient contact; while a normal contact can be of little efficacy as against a combined deficient standard of nutriment and oxygen.

Again, using the same symbols:—

plus N plus O > or < plus N plus O

plus N plus C > or < plus O plus C

plus N plus O > or < plus O plus C; and *vice versa*.

Here the forces stand equalised.

All which may be summarised thus:—

(1) plus N plus O plus C;—the normal balance and standard of health.

(2) — N plus O plus C }
(3) — O plus N plus C } ;—recovery probable.

(4) — C plus N plus O }
(5) — N — O plus C }
(6) — N plus O — C } ;—recovery difficult.

(7) — C — O plus N }
(8) — C — O — N; *death*.

To each of from (2) to (7) have to be added or subtracted personal and other elements; and each of the three elements N, O, C, has varying degrees affecting and varying the result.

II. Let us now return to our chemical and physiological observations.

All substances present in any part each maintain a certain proportion and each perform a special part, to the requisite performance of which part the proportion is necessary and cannot be disturbed.

Of 1000 parts of blood, there are nearly 790 parts water and nearly 11 parts salts and fatty matter. This is the limit of dilution within which the red corpuscles retain their integrity, for when water is added they immediately become attacked. These red corpuscles, so easily dissolved by water, remain uninjured in the fluid portion of the blood owing to the presence of saline matter. The globules float in a saline liquid in which there is equilibrium between the contents of the globules and the fluid surrounding them. Salt contracts. The corpuscles are insoluble in a strong solution of chloride of sodium.

The blood is invariably alkaline, containing the common phosphate of soda $\text{PO}_5 \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} 2\text{NaO} \\ \text{HO} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$, a salt which is always formed when the phosphoric acid of *juice of flesh* acts on the chloride of sodium or salts of soda, and which is strongly alkaline.

The change from dark venous to florid arterial blood depends on the presence of oxygen, but also requires the presence of a saline solution. A similar change of colour may be seen taking place *in vacuo* if the clot of venous blood be there covered with a pretty strong solution of various salts.

Soda is as essential to blood, as potash to the *juice of flesh*. Excess of alkali is required to form the blood, to enable it to perform its functions, to promote the oxidation of effete matter. The blood must be alkaline in order to perform its functions, and it is rendered alkaline either by carbonate of soda or by phosphate of soda or by both. Two salts so different in composition as carbonate of soda $\text{NaO} \cdot \text{CO}_2$, and phosphate of soda $2\text{NaO} \cdot \text{HO} \cdot \text{PO}_5$ yet closely agree in being alkaline.

In cholera the proper salts of the serum may fall to *one half*, and thus affect the integrity of the red corpuscles. The blood becomes thick and dark in cholera. There is both destruction of the corpuscles and defective oxygenation; there being also transudation of water.

Diet affects the urine in *soluble* salts which are the same as those of the blood; and diet can also modify them in the blood.

III. The bile is always present in the blood in a small proportion. The bile is separated from the blood by the liver, and collected in the gall-bladder. When incinerated, among

other residuums there is chloride of sodium. The bile is a mixture, in a certain proportion, of two salts, of which the base is soda. Soda is the essential basic element of the bile. The basic element,—the soda is found also in the chyle and in the blood,—and the free muriatic acid always present in the chyme before it leaves the stomach, are both derived from the salt which is either originally present in the food, or is added to it by man.

All food capable of sustaining life must contain mineral salts. These are common salt, alkaline and earthy phosphates, &c. Animals cannot form blood or bile unless their food contain, along with the phosphates, salts of soda, or at least, chloride of sodium. Herbivorous animals which produce an enormous quantity of bile find salt—which is a chief source of sodium or soda for the blood and bile—in their food and drink, and show the greatest preference for salt springs, and for solid salt placed within their reach. When they are fed on the land plants of soils in which sodium is deficient, common salt must be given to them. Animals instinctively take it, and even search for it; nature has made the largest provision of it for all animals including man—even the very breezes blowing over wide oceans are made to carry salt; and its effects on their general health and all their secretions are most marked. Salt generally promotes the secretions. The absence of salt deranges the whole vital process, and particularly the secretion of bile, which requires soda, that is, oxide of sodium. Salt however acts as salt. Salt maintains the normal condition of the fluid portions and elements of the human body.¹

Lymph has 2 p. c of salts.

Soda, chiefly as chloride of sodium, is formed also in the *juice of flesh*.

IV. The change from dark venous blood carrying poisonous waste to florid arterial blood depends on the presence of oxygen as well as a saline solution.²

The oxidation of carbon and hydrogen carries on the vital chemical changes—evolves the CO_2 by the venous blood and secretes water by the lungs, skin, and kidneys—and also yields the animal heat which is generated everywhere, chiefly

¹ Thirty years ago I made a representation to the Government of India to reduce the tax on salt which fell very heavily on the poorest natives, and there was some reduction made; and yet, on this *free gift of nature so essential to the life and health and well being of man*, that Government still annually raises some ten million of pounds sterling of revenue from taxation of salt alone (!) from the poorest natives imaginable. But what are millions of lives and cholera epidemics to millions of revenue? Salt ought to be free; as free as oxygen and air. Whoever denies it to the poor, ought himself to be deprived of it.

² Arterial blood contains about twice as much oxygen and a third less carbonic acid than venous blood.

in the capillaries. This oxidation is constantly going on—every breath of oxygen maintains it, all the tissues and organs and parts are brought under its operation, and all the excretory and secretory organs are kept employed by it.³

The characteristic feature of the changes in the animal body when oxygen comes into operation is that the changes strike deeper than when water alone is added, and we obtain the constituents of bile and of urine, as well as CO_2 to be excreted by the lungs. For the formation of albumen, gelatine and chondrine, the chief materials of the tissues, water alone suffices. The acids, too, of bile are products of the destruction of sanguigenous matter by the oxygen of the blood. Lactic acid, which is present in large quantity in the *juice of flesh*, needs oxygen to consume it. Glucose transformed into lactic acid—which combines with the soda of the blood—needs oxygen to be oxidised and burnt off in the blood. The insoluble uric acid needs oxygen to convert it into soluble products which may pass out. In cholera the urine is stopped. According to Voit there are 2.43 *grammes* of *urea* in 1000 parts of blood of a cholera patient. According to Chaluët 3.60 *grammes* in 1000 parts. [*Gautier: Chimie Appliquée, vol. ii., p. 337.*] At the same time salt also is necessary to promote the oxidation of effete matter in the blood. Where there is a deficiency of it we have the uric acid diathesis,—the oxalic acid diathesis being promoted by a little more oxygen but also deficiency of alkali.

Where oxygen is deficient, combustible matter accumulates in the blood beyond due proportion; at the same time the liver is called on to work beyond its powers in secreting bile or forming fat.

The products of the waste tissues are sent out of the body, by the lungs, the skin, the kidneys, and the intestines, and the occurrence of an impediment in any of these, calls into increased action the others, an action that may injure them.

V. We have seen in detail CO_2 , blood, bile, other fluids, &c., oxygen, and salt in relation to them all, as they have an internal bearing on cholera. Let us now see some of them, bearing on cholera externally.

Cholera, as a rule, prevails in summer, or under certain conditions of the atmosphere, when there is less oxygen in the

³ The lungs and skin excrete carbon, with oxygen, as carbonic acid; the kidneys, with nitrogen and oxygen and hydrogen, as urea and uric acid; and the liver, with oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen as cholic and glycocholic acids.

Of 3,950 *grammes* of *regulated* food and drink Vierordt gives water 2818, oxygen 782 (from air 744 and food 38), carbon 282. Thus, the oxygen is about a fifth part by weight of all the solids and liquids taken as food; and twice as great as all the rest not water. But what if while the oxygen is *less*, the carbon is also *greatly in excess*?

air to carry off the oxidised products in the blood. At the same time, owing to the presence of fruits, &c., in excess, the nutriment is affected and the bile disordered.

During a former visitation of cholera in the West, a great fire in a city—which increased the currents of fresh air and of oxygen—was marked by the subsequent cessation of the disease which was raging there at the time. Similarly, in last year 1882 in Manila cholera was raging when the occurrence of a violent hurricane put a sudden end to the visitation.

The track and course of (Asiatic) cholera has been marked by a diminution of ozone in the air. Ozone is formed when oxygen is charged with electricity. The less electricity the less ozone; the less oxygen the less ozone; the less oxygen the less respiration; the less respiration the less oxygen taken in the less respiration the less CO_2 , &c., exhaled, and the more poisonous matter retained, with consequences to the blood, bile tissues, &c.

Here, then, we come back to our symbols N. O. C. Abnormal conditions induced internally in abnormal nutriment⁴ with general alkaline deficiency = -N. Here are the milder forms of cholera including all preliminary symptoms.⁵ This minus N is presented to the O at seasons or circumstances—as in overcrowding, Hindoo and Mahommedan pilgrimages, &c.,—when it is abnormally, that is, is—O. What, then, can be the value of any contact C, when the very elements presented for the contact are in an abnormal condition? The combination of the negative values of the three is death. Of two, Asiatic cholera. The results vary according to combinations and personal and other elements; and include between health and decease all possible and numerous gradations according to the degree of each of the three, and the other elements. Thus, there is an infinite diversity from the strong and healthy man suddenly carried off in three or four hours, with hardly

⁴ In connection with this abnormal nutriment, and what it may effect by itself, without other elements of evil, we note that the bile, by its alkalinity, aids the pancreatic fluid in neutralising the acid chyme, and precipitating any imperfectly digested albumin (parapeptone). But in cholera of 100 parts of serum, 133 part of albumin have been found, whereas the normal average is about 70.

Nitrogen is an essential constituent of the proximate principle of albumin, but does not support combustion and destroys life from the want of oxygen.

Again; mal assimilation of the albuminous constituents results in the formation of uric acid; and a tendency to mal-assimilation is given by habitual excess in the use of the several constituents of the food which predominates in those taken with cholera.

The blood is freed from its carbon almost entirely by the lungs, and the large quantity of this carbon is known. But what if it be greatly increased, and there is also, *proportionally less salt, increase of acid, &c., and less oxygen?*

Excess of acid in the blood is a disturbance of the vital process. The blood becomes black by contact with acids. The blood is dark and "tarry" in cholera.

⁵ See note (7) following.

any evacuation, to the weak, asthmatic patient who struggles easily through an attack for three or four days and comes out recovered at the end. Symptoms, and treatment, are therefore as diversified, and appropriate.

VI. I might stop here, for I am not writing for tyros, but masters and teachers. ⁶ But a few notes on symptoms, and treatment, may be acceptable.

We have seen the presence of chloride of sodium in the blood, the blood's alkalinity the integrity of the red corpuscles preserved by it, its necessity to enable the blood to carry on the vital functions, its presence and need elsewhere even in the bile and lymph, and the equilibrium of forces—in other words, normal vital electricity—maintained (in conjunction) by it ; and we have seen that it may fall even to *one half* in the serum of the blood of a cholera patient. The blood and bile, &c., are ready to do their duty and maintain the vital process if they have enough of oxygen and soda. It is this oxygen and salt we have to supply the body with. Of course, all the symptoms have to be considered ; but these strike at the root of the disease. Chemistry, physiology, pathology symptoms, morbid anatomy, all indicate them, and all practice confirms them. The vomiting and purging of cholera is an effort of nature to get rid of the poisons working within, and so re-establish normal conditions. Mild cholera is distinguished from Asiatic cholera by the purging of bilious feculent matter. In Asiatic cholera the matter ejected from the stomach and bowels is free from bile and colourless. We see the comparative immunity of danger of the former, as the poisons are evacuated ; in accordance, too, with the symbolic *formulæ*. (See I and V). Hence the general success of the castor oil cure in this form. In the latter Asiatic form, the abnormal conditions are so much more aggravated, or more effective, owing to a number of causes, that the secreting and excreting organs are much disorganised, and disfunctioned ; the liver is gorged ; the fluid exuded through the mucous membrane of the alimentary canal a token of the general dilution of the fluids, an evidence of the dire contest raging between life and death in the blood, and the desperate effort of nature to maintain the red corpuscles even if by that way—the loss of the vital electric condition, heat, &c. In extreme cases there can be no evacuation at all. As soon as bile re-appears in the motions, a favourable condition is begun. In the pathology and morbid anatomy we find the spleen, a blood gland, bloodless and collapsed. The kidneys are congested. The

⁶ Even to these it is possible the proof may not be clear at first. I would recommend such to read the *SEQUËL* ; and then reperuse this carefully. A *thorough* knowledge of medical chemistry is requisite, as well as of the diseases themselves.

lungs are congested, or otherwise severely affected. The liver and gall-bladder gorged with bile. The veins and arteries all alike loaded with thick dark blood. The red corpuscles perished. Urea in the blood. The urinary bladder contracted and empty. All the organs, and all the blood, the vital fluid, have everywhere been engaged in the terrible struggle, the fight between life and death! All the fluids of the body have wanted consistency. The water of the blood has been poured out in a fruitless effort to save the corpuscles. The organs have been required to do others' duties when they were hardly able to meet their own engagements, and all have been placed *hors de combat*. Externally there was collapse. Respiration fell below the average, and was difficult. There was little oxidation, the vital process was stopped, and the temperature may have fallen down to even 72° F.

VII. In the treatment, supply the oxygen or fresh air, as much of it as possible. Maintain the integrity of the red corpuscles, and restrain the outflow of all the fluids by chloride of sodium. These are always sufficient for premonitory symptoms;⁷ and are also indicated afterwards. Injections also of solution of salt into the veins effect prompt and marked relief of all the symptoms in the worse stages.⁸ The lungs ought to be brought into free play, in increased, or fresh, oxygen. Diffusible stimulants as camphor, and oil of pip. menth., and cayenne, to meet the nervous depression, and opium for a stimulant as well to counteract pain. Of astringents acetate of lead, in very moderate doses. Champagne as a drink, as cold as possible—iced. And external warmth and comfort.

We supply the oxygen to ærate the blood and evolve CO₂, &c.; chloride of sodium to save the blood and fluids, and also work with the oxygen in recovering the vital process; the generation of sulphurous acid SO₂, or a weak solution of it—which absorbs oxygen—to affect the lungs and stomach;

⁷ The first General Board of Health in England in the epidemic in 1848 and 1849 accordingly found the evidence unanimous, that cholera was preceded by conditions of generally felt bodily depression, or by premonitory symptoms which admitted of dietetic and medical treatment, which, when combined with or preceded by measures of sanitation which reduced foul atmospheric conditions, was always effectual.

⁸ The composition of the following (by M. Marcet) is near that of serum without the functional oxygenation. When used, dissolve and heat the solution to 98° F.

R Chloride of Soda	...	...	...	grs. xxxi.
Phosphate	...	...	...	" v.
Carbonate	...	...	...	" vi.
Sulphate	...	...	...	" i.
Distilled Water	...	...	...	oz. x

acetate of lead and opium to restrain immoderate evacuations and moderate suffering ; and diffusible stimulants, drinks, warmth, &c., to meet nervous depression and other indications. ⁹ All work together for the cure, for Nature is one : there is no charm.

The scientific practitioner will graduate and proportion his remedies to particular cases ; and the more thorough and accurate his diagnosis under the principles laid down above, the more successful he will be in his treatment if that is also according to what has been indicated above. The appropriateness of all the varied symptoms, and the appropriateness of the varied successful remedies ignorantly and partially applied, will be perceived. I have had the most extended individual practice in this disease in the East ; among the helplessly poor and weak, in seasons of epidemics ; and in the most hopeless of situations, in ancient, filthy, crowded Hindoo cities, and in crowded buildings. There is of course a stage in which cure is hardly possible, and yet it may be tried. Nature has many surprises and favours for those who go right and follow her scientific truth. A caution about the after-treatment ; patients who have actually got over the worst form of cholera have died the next day from the effects of meat-broth.

To conclude :—Cholera is the result of certain internal and external conditons, as shown before, and affects all the various organs and parts ; and the constitution can be helped to recover by the supply of oxygen, æration of the blood (and thus production of heat), by chloride of sodium to save the red corpuscles and the balance of all the fluids, by acetate of lead, &c., &c, as shown before ;—by the graduated administration of these remedies according to the length and strength of the attack, the elements, and their various degrees, concerned in causing the disease, the powers and history of the patient, external considerations, and every other circumstance necessary.

Note.—The late chemical researches of M. de Luna and his statement about hypoazotic gas confirm the above. See also Part II. SCARLET FEVER, its CURE ; from which the following extract is here added :—

“ Hence—

{ Defect of carbon or,—and,—excess of oxygen }
 { and „ „ potash or,—and,— „ „ soda }
 furnish us with all the blood and other symptoms of scarlet fever ; and the cure. The equation is perfect.

“ VII. Our task is over ; but it is interesting to observe the *balancing* parallelism and analogy between cholera and scarlet

⁹ Assafœtida is a good diffusible stimulant as well as antispasmodic ; and *strong tea* may be useful as a *paratriptic* and nerve-restorative.

fever, one illustrating and confirming the other. We have already shown how the cholera *formulæ* may be applied here, and we proceed to other points. In scarlet fever the temperature rises to even 112° F., the pulse is even 130, there is great surface heat, and an external eruption; in cholera the temperature goes down to even 72° F., the pulse is hardly perceptible, there is great coolness of surface, and an internal exudation. In the one the tissues are relaxed, and the tendency is to dropsy; in the other the tissues are collapsed, and the sequel is fever. In the one excess of oxidation and deficiency of carbon; in the other deficiency of oxidation and excess of carbon. In the one the bile is emptied and lost; in the other the bile is full to congestion. In the one the juice of flesh is affected because there is deficiency of potash and excess of soda; in the other the vital fluid is affected because there is deficiency of soda and excess of potash. In the one there is destruction of albumen; in the other accession of it. In the one the hemato-fibrin solidifies through excess of oxygen and soda and defect of carbon; in the other the blood corpuscles perish through excess of carbonic acid and potash and defect of oxygen. In the one the upper air-vessels are seized; in the other the lower intestines. The one appears when ozone is excessive and carbon deficient; the other when ozone is deficient and carbon excessive. The one appears when there is a want of vegetables and fruits; the other when there is a superabundance of them. The one shows in winter or early spring; the other in summer or early autumn. The one is unknown in the sultry plains of torrid climes. The other is unknown in very cold and elevated regions. The one has its *habitat* in cold climates; the other has its *locale* in hot climates. The one in bad cases shows a skin vividly scarlet; the other in the worst cases almost dark blue. The one should be treated with chlorate of potash carbon (a vegetable diet), and coolness, etc.; the other with chloride of sodium, oxygen, warmth, etc. Both the diseases present every degree of severity between the mild and malignant forms, as even in scarlet fever sometimes the patient sinks at once and irretrievably under the virulence of the attack, and life is extinguished in a few hours. In both the fatality depends on the type of the prevailing epidemic. Both assume an epidemic existence.

"We need not carry on the parallelism and analogy any further. It is perfect like the equation furnished above the scarlet fever, which equation also, to make the parallelism still more remarkable, may be applied for cholera with the changes implied in the parallel; thus:—

{	Defect of oxygen or,—and,—excess of carbon	}
{	and „ „ soda or,—and,— „ „ potash	}

furnish us with all the blood and other symptoms of cholera ; and the cure. This equation, too, is perfect.

"I have impressed the abstract sciences of logic and mathematics, and the physical sciences of chemistry, physiology, pathology, morbid anatomy, and the observation and practice of disease, to discover, by *formulae*, and rigid rule, the truth, and to prove it ; and this, notwithstanding *lacunæ* to the unlearned."

Scarlet Fever : Its Cure.

Sufficient has been said in the preceding part on cholera for me to refrain from adding much here. A cure is not of the nature of a charm ; nature is manifold in the human mikrokosmos and marvellous in diversity, as are also symptoms of a disease and remedies, but all agree in one and to one end. The knowledge of any disease requires the most varied, minute, difficult, and intricate, scientific study, united with large and extended practice ; and after a disease is fully made known, it is left to scientific practitioners to apply the knowledge varied in every individual instance.

As also in the part on cholera, I need not to describe here the varieties, symptoms, pathology, and morbid anatomy of scarlet fever. I must assume all these to be known.

Without any other observation we may note that here, too, the *formulae* furnished in cholera may be retained ; but for N, nutriment, understanding principally the carbon of it ; O for the oxygen ; and C the contact of the N and O in the blood, *i.e.*, the oxidation of the carbon of the food. But here it is the excessive contact of the oxygen, and which may imply defective carbon, and not, as in cholera, the deficient contact, that creates the abnormal condition resulting in scarlet fever. Hence these two diseases present, within very nearly the same chemical range, such exactly *balancing*, and sometimes similar, characters ; the defect of the soda of the body in cholera too, being replaced in scarlet fever by the defect of the potash ; and the death of the corpuscles in cholera in one way, by their death in scarlet fever in another way. Let us now see these things more particularly.

1. Becquerel and Rodier furnish the following as the mean composition of male blood :—

Water	...	...	...	779'00
Fibrin	...	...	...	2'20
Fatty matters	...	...	...	1'60
Albumen	...	...	...	69'40
Corpuscles	...	...	...	141'10
Salts, &c.	...	...	...	6'80
Iron	...	...	...	0'57
In blood there is of serum	...	87	} or {	serum... 869'15
clot	...	13		clot ... 130'85
		100		1000'00

Of the serum 869'15	there is water	...	...	...	790'37
	albumen	...	...	...	67'8
	salts, &c.	...	...	...	10'98
					<hr/>
					869'15
Of the clot 130'85	there is globules (albumen, and fibrine)	...	...	...	125'63
	hematosine	...	...	...	2'27
	separate fibrine	...	...	...	2'95
					<hr/>
					130'85

Take also the following once for all occasions in also subsequent sections, noting the carbon :—

<i>Components.</i>	<i>Albumen.</i>	<i>Fibrin.</i>
Carbon	... 55'46 (atoms 216)	... 54'45 (atoms 216)
Hydrogen	.. 7'20 (" 169)	... 7'07 (" 169)
Nitrogen	.. 16'48 (" 27)	... 17'21 (" 27)
Oxygen	.. 18'27 (" 68)	... 19'35 (" 68)
Sulphur	... 2'16 (" 2)	... 1'59 (" 2)
Phosphorus	.. 0'43 ———	... 0'33 ———

Note in both, the proportion of carbon. Excessive oxidation, by using up all the carbon, destroys the albumen. The microscopic character of mucus and albumen corpuscles are both identical. They vary under different pathological conditions of the patient. Their difference is in the composition of the fluid in which the particles float. Albumen is soluble in potash. Phosphoric acid, too, has a decided solvent action on it. Nitric and hydrochloric acids precipitate it, and nitrate of silver also affects it.

II. We see also in the above analysis the proportion of fibrin in the blood. If moist, fibrin is digested in a solution of nitrate of potash containing a little soda, at a temperature of about the blood (a little higher), it gradually becomes converted into a substance in almost every respect identical with albumen. In inflammatory diseases the proportion of fibrin goes up as high as 10 in 1000. The coagulation of blood is due to fibrin previously dissolved becoming insoluble, and forming a fine network or jelly, in which the globules are enclosed, as may be seen from the morbid anatomy of scarlet fever. The coagulation of blood presents the same fibrinous aspect as when blood is drawn and exposed to the oxygen. Coagulation is retarded for a considerable time by a strong solution of nitrate of potash, or of muriate of ammonia; and fibrin, after blood has been allowed to coagulate, is gradually dissolved by the latter.

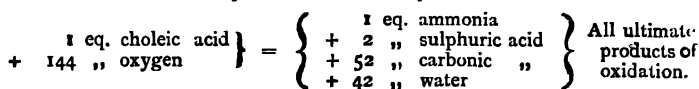
Hematofibrin is formed from gelatine and choleic acid = albumen and water :—

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \left. \begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ eq. hematofibrin} \\ + 18 \text{ " water} \end{array} \right\} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 \text{ eqs. gelatine} \\ 1 \text{ " choleic acid.} \end{array} \right.
 \end{array}$$

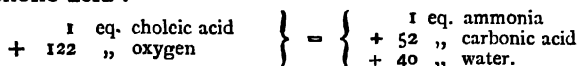
Consequently, loss of bile, as albumen in a state of conversion

is bile (and gelatine), which loss occurs in scarlet fever, means non-renewal, non-supply, of fibrin.

III. Choleic acid fully oxidised will yield as follows :—

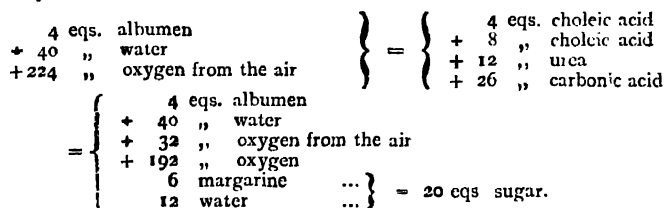


And cholic acid :—



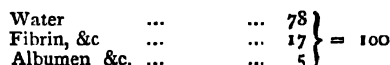
These acids are the products of the destruction of sanguigenous matter by the oxygen of the blood. The colouring matter of the bile exhibits changes connected with the formation or destruction of the bile ; and we know that blue colouring matters are turned green by alkalis, and red by acids. A red colouring matter is turned green by alkalis, and is also very fugitive. It is also soluble in water and alcohol. Bile may be decolourised by dissolving it in absolute alcohol to separate mucus, and digesting the alcoholic solution with animal charcoal till the colour is removed.

We may note here also the oxidation of albumen :—



Thus (20 eqs.) sugar yields both fat and oxygen. Sugar is a source whence blood may obtain oxygen when respiration is impeded.

IV. The juice of flesh is uniformly, or more frequently, acid. The acids present are lactic acid in large quantity, phosphoric acid, and other acids. The bases are potash in large proportions both as phosphate, lactate, inosinate, etc., and as chloride of potassium ; soda in much smaller quantity, chiefly as chloride of sodium, etc. The composition of flesh is :—



Acid tribasic phosphate of potash $\text{PO}_5 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{KO} \\ \text{HO} \end{array} \right\}_2$ exists in large proportion in the juice of flesh, chiefly contributing to its acidity, and is produced by phosphoric acid acting on chloride of potassium or salts of potash. Just as soda is essential to blood, potash is essential to juice of flesh. As excess of

alkali is required to form the blood to enable it to perform its function of destroying the tissues by oxidations, so phosphoric acid in excess is required for the production of the tissues. In scarlet fever, where there is great oxidation, a plentiful supply of potash is needed,—also to solve fibrin.

V. Animal heat is promoted by everything that increases the supply of oxygen, as increased respiration, as in children from running about; or cold with abundant food, or warm clothing, both of which exist in and immediately following winter, the period for scarlet fever, and children and the young form the subjects of attack. Carbon and hydrogen are the chief sources of animal heat in their oxidation; that is, oxygen acting on starch, sugar, and fat, the principal food of the young. The proportion of carbon to nitrogen, which furnishes no combustion, is as great in all the *excreta* as in albumen, or even greater. And the albumen, from which fibrin is made, is destroyed from the deficiency of carbon, which is rapidly oxidised in scarlet fever. We may also remember that uric acid, which is apt to be secreted in fever, is dissolved in moderately dilute potash.

VI. We thus see albumen a chief constituent of the body, and carbon of it; fibrin from it; and fibrin and albumen destroyed in scarlet fever. A deficiency of carbon affects both albumen and fibrin; or excessive oxygen and oxidation, which produces the deficiency. Potash is the great base of the juice of flesh; and potash acts on both albumen and fibrin. The bile supplies the carbon, but is oxidised by excess of oxygen to produce its acids, and hence bile and acids are equally lost in scarlet fever.

Hence—

{ Defect of carbon or,—and,—excess of oxygen }
 { and „ „ potash or,—and,— „ „ soda }

furnish us with all the blood and other symptoms of scarlet fever; and the cure. The equation is perfect.

VII. Our task is over; but it is interesting to observe the *balancing* parallelism and analogy between cholera and scarlet fever, one illustrating and confirming the other. We have already shown how the cholera *formule* may be applied here, and we proceed to other points. In scarlet fever the temperature rises to even 112° F., the pulse is even 130, there is great surface heat, and an external eruption; in cholera the temperature goes down to even 72° F., the pulse is hardly perceptible, there is great coldness of surface, and an internal exudation. In the one the tissues are relaxed, and the tendency is to dropsy; in the other the tissues are collapsed, and the sequel is fever. In the one excess of oxidation and deficiency of carbon; in the other deficiency of oxidation and excess of

carbon. In the one the bile is emptied and lost; in the other the bile is full to congestion. In the one the juice of flesh is affected because there is deficiency of potash and excess of soda; in the other the vital fluid is affected because there is deficiency of soda and excess of potash. In the one there is destruction of albumen; in the other accession of it. In the one the hematofibrin solidifies through excess of oxygen and soda and defect of carbon; in the other the blood corpuscles perish through excess of carbonic acid and potash and defect of oxygen. In the one the upper air-vessels are seized; in the other the lower intestines. The one appears when oxone is excessive and carbon deficient; the other when ozone is deficient and carbon excessive. The one appears when there is a want of vegetables and fruits; the other when there is a superabundance of them. The one shows in winter or early spring; the other in summer or early autumn. The one is unknown in the sultry plains of torrid climes; the other is unknown in very cold and elevated regions. The one has its *habitat* in cold climates; the other has its *locale* in hot climates. The one in bad cases shows a skin vividly scarlet; the other in the worst cases almost dark blue. The one should be treated with chlorate of potash, carbon (a vegetable diet), and coolness, etc.; the other with chloride of sodium, oxygen, warmth, etc. Both the diseases present every degree of severity between the mild and malignant forms, as even in scarlet fever sometimes the patient sinks at once and irretrievably under the virulence of the attack, and life is extinguished in a few hours. In both the fatality depends on the type of the prevailing epidemic. Both assume an epidemic existence.

We need not to carry on the parallelism and analogy any further. It is perfect like the equation furnished above for scarlet fever, which equation also, to make the parallelism still more remarkable, may be applied for cholera with the changes implied in the parallel; thus:—

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Defect of oxygen or,—and,—excess of carbon} \\ \text{and } \text{,, } \text{,, soda or,—and,—,, } \text{,, potash} \end{array} \right\}$$

furnish us with all the blood and other symptoms of cholera, and the cure. This equation, too, is perfect.

I have impressed the abstract sciences of logic and mathematics, and the physical sciences of chemistry, physiology, pathology, morbid anatomy, and the observation and practice of disease, to discover, by *formulæ*, and rigid rule, the truth, and to prove it; and this, notwithstanding *lacunæ* to the unlearned.

PHYSICIAN.

THE QUARTER.

SOUTH AFRICA.—Who thinks or who cares about South Africa? This question might well have been one that any one would have been justified in asking even a couple years back. India certainly then was the pivot, as Lord Curzon expressed it, on which the external empire and greatness of England moved. But now, and for two years past, the Boer "War," as it has been called, has excluded every other matter from the public ken. Even our important Indian dominion, and the immensely-important empire of China, have taken a second place. A series of huge political blunders in the treatment of a small tribe of remote Dutchmen,—who desired to be let alone to manage their own affairs in their own way, who professed a faith akin to that of Great Britain, and who were gradually rising to the light of English civilisation by the education of her best sons in English Universities,—perpetrated by a man innocent of the old high traditions of British policy, wanting in a sense of the proportion of things, and even of the culture imparted by University training and the associations of high birth, who had pushed himself to the front in the Cabinet through the opportunity afforded by the Home Rule question and the weakness of the Duke of Devonshire, and dominated his fellow-Ministers,—to the surprise of every one except "the man in the street,"—has almost entirely altered, and certainly entirely obscured, the true view of the world's politics, and launched England into a costly war without profit and without glory, preventing her from taking her proper position in the great and far-reaching questions affecting China and Russia and, in consequence, India, which have come up to the front, and which may be said to have been decided in favor of Russia. To enter into all the causes which led to the South African question assuming importance a few years back—from the general "scramble" for Africa initiated by Germany's acquisition of Damaraland and German East Africa, to the Jameson Raid and the falseness of the "Right Hon'ble" Mr. Rhodes to the duties of his high offices as Premier of Cape Colony, and a "Privy Councillor,"—which may remind us that we are at present literally sowing broadcast this hitherto rigidly guarded, most responsible, and most-highly esteemed, honor and privilege to anyone and everyone,—is not our work here. Neither have we the time, space, and occasion, to trace the Chinese troubles, from Germany's seizure of Kiaou-Chaou, and

her course of duplicity in openly moving with England and secretly working with Russia, to the latest development of Russia acquiring Manchuria, and England retiring from the scene, with Germany left in possession of the field. Were the whole of South Africa to be drowned under the depths of the sea to-morrow, there would not be the slightest loss politically to the great world. The true centre of gravity in Africa is Egypt—and that because of India and the East—and England's loss of her usual political vision must be keenly felt alike by our Viceroy and the eminent soldier Governor-General of the Soudan now shut up in a far obscure corner engaged in destroying the independence of a small race, akin to us in blood and language. (We write with perfect knowledge, for the South African Boers are partly British both in blood and language.) Nay, in "wiping out" their very existence! Again asserting without the least doubt that India is the centre of gravity of England's foreign and external empire and her position among nations and that Russia and China have an intimate bearing on India,—that Russian domination in China spells the passing away of England's dominion in India,—we are perforce compelled, owing to the continued "Brummagem" sway of "the man in the street" (the most ominous sign of the times) in English politics, to view South Africa and its trumpery concerns first. How have things gone on there during the period that has elapsed since we last viewed the subject? The answer is, we are still but holding on to the lines of communications—and barely even that—and the principal towns and a few strategic points while making great plundering movements with detached columns. The Boer "Governments" still exist, and have even their recognised "capitals." The Boer forces, even if diminished, still take our smaller "posts," beleaguer us in parts for months, and even assemble bodies of five thousand men to give us battle! Commandos still are raiding in Cape Colony—it is asserted even that De Wet is again with them—and even an invasion again of Natal is planned by Botha! Our troops are still being thinned at the rate of one officer and ten men a day by the operations of the enemy, and one hundred men a day by the operations of typhoid. We are still drafting large bodies of fresh troops—now procured with difficulty—from Home. And with England "staggering" under the imposition of heavy and unusual taxes, we are still throwing away, a million-and-a-half every week on this reprehensible and, at present causeless, struggle. Nay, things are even worse than before, for the Plague has now established itself in South Africa and has even entered into the ranks of our soldiery. And besides this, a wise and humane attempt of the great and eminent British

soldier in command to induce the surrender of Botha and the Boer "Governments," which had well nigh succeeded, was quickly frustrated and rendered nugatory by Mr. Chamberlain, confirming the Boers in their determination to further prolong the struggle to the utmost. We cannot arrive at understanding the true position, military and political, by being blind to the truth. Our telegrams have been woefully "censored and doctored" even from the beginning of the "War"—and even previous to it!—to suit the purposes of "party" and the "man in the street" at home. The Boer "Ultimatum"—a piece of undoubted folly—was largely and prominently set forth, but what led to it, and how it was forced on the Boers, were carefully concealed. War facts which told for the Boers, and against us, were carefully excluded. Calumnies and slanders, and even falsehoods, were scattered broadcast to rouse "the man (or hooiigan) of the street," and even the indignation of Englishmen. Even to the present day, that there exist the Boer "Governments," and armies operating under different leading Boer Commanders; that the great portion of the Transvaal is still almost unvisited by our troops; that we hold only some towns and the lines of communications—too often interrupted—, that Cape Colony is actually under invasion, and that our men and officers are being decimated at the rate of ten of the former and one of the latter every day by the enemy, and at the rate of a hundred every day by illness and disease, that the Boers would readily submit if only treated fairly and honorably;—all these naked truths are carefully concealed. There will doubtless be a rude awakening, of how the nation has been deceived, befooled and led astray, and there are signs that the awakening process has begun, and that "the man in the street" will be ejected from ruling in the councils of the nation and deciding its politics. But, alas! who will restore to us the tens of thousands of brave soldiers we have lost? Who will restore to us our *prestige* which has been so sadly diminished? Who will pay back the two hundred millions sterling cost of the "War?" Who will restore us the position we have lost in China?—that means, in Asia? Not all the Chamberlains and Colonial "Premiers" in the world, nor all the "men of the street"—and the music halls. We have said that to understand where we are, the true position, we must not be blindfolded and misled as to facts. Take only the following few brief lines which dribble out occasionally in spite of the censorship:—"General French's column is suffering great hardships;" "Schalkburger is carrying on the Boer Government at Totesburg Pit, in Middleburg District, east of Pretoria, which has long been the principal supply depôt of the Commandos;" "Rustenburg, with a garrison of 1,500, about

half way between Mafeking and Pretoria, has been practically invested for nearly three months ; " " Zeerust (30 miles north-east of Mafeking) telegrams show that it was still blockaded by the Boers ; " " DeLarey, with 5,000 men, has occupied a strong position in the hills, with General Babington in close touch, who was not sufficiently strong to attack ; " " British casualties during April were 8 officers killed and 20 wounded, 122 men killed and 206 wounded " (or at the rate of one officer and ten men a day !) ; " Eastern and Western Transvaal again being massed with the enemy and General Campbell harassed by 1,000 Boers with four guns ; " " Boers, with four guns, including a 12-pounder Creuzot, thrice attacked General Bullock's column, and all efforts to capture their guns failed " ; " Botha left Ermelo on the 15th instant (May), marching eastwards ; " " Boers active in Cape Colony, and fighting has occurred in the Districts of GraafReinet, Steynsburg, and Barkly East " ; " De Wet is rumoured to be again in Cape Colony ; " " Vanreenan has led another Boer force into Cape Colony, and has reached Zuurberg ; " " Sir Bindon Blood (who replaced General French, who has been invalided), has renewed his operations in the Eastern Transvaal against the main gathering of the Boers under Botha ; " " 100 men of the 5th Lancers were surrounded and captured ; " " Botha and Viljoen have joined forces and are occupying Carolina, on the Pretoria Delagoa Railway ; " and a great many others similar, including almost daily derailments and captures of trains. Lord Kitchener himself writes, that " his constant endeavour has been to improve his fortifications and works on the lines of communication, and, by evacuating certain posts, to increase the mobile columns," and that Botha's plan to invade Natal had been narrowly foiled by General French's sweeping movement. General Penn Symons to die first, and General French to leave last, of how many of our best Generals, including such names as those of Yule, Warren, Buller, Colville, and others (Baden-Powell too has gone !) South Africa has been their grave, literally or metaphorically. And yet, while the *Times* can say that we should send fresh troops (!) and letters from its correspondents show that unless the " war " is finished by September it will continue for another year !—and Sir Alfred Milner can write that " loyal South Africa is sick to death of the war, which has brought ruin to many of them, and imposed considerable sacrifices on almost all," and that " it is no use denying that the last half year has been one of *retrogression* : seven months ago this (Cape) Colony was perfectly quiet as far as the Orange River ; the southern half of the Orange River Colony (the Free State) was rapidly settling down, and even a considerable portion of the Transvaal, notably

the South-Western Districts, seemed to have definitely accepted British authority ;—to-day the scene is completely altered ;”—(and England been obliged to take a back seat in China) ;—Mr. Chamberlain, with his orchid in his buttonhole, can have the effrontery—in his native pinchbeck and shoddy Birmingham—to publicly speak about the “mandate” and “opinion” of “the people” not having changed in the slightest degree, and fool young and silly women, in a speech at a Women’s Meeting elsewhere by promising them plenty of husbands in South Africa “after the War !” Whether the much-enduring British nation will stand much longer such unblushing, and even criminal effrontery, and befooling, is a question. It is only the disunion of the Opposition,—Lord Rosebery’s ambition to *pose* as chief regardless of old experience, good work, and better claims,—that keeps the effete party now in power, headed by an infirm statesman, in office for a day. Meantime, “acts of rebellion” are notified in the *Cape Gazette* to be removed from the mild penalties of the Special Tribunals Act, and hangings and long penal sentences—which will probably at last rouse up the Cape Dutch—are taking their place. Lord Kitchener, too, has had grave differences with Sir Alfred Milner, who has returned home, as said, for a few months. Altogether, with Chamberlain in charge of the cooking, and keeping up the fire, we have as pretty a kettle-full of fish as can be desired, or possible. We have answered the question of what about South Africa and the Boer “War ?” and we trust we have shown the true position of affairs there. Mr. Merriman, an Englishman, but a Boer Peace-Delegate, speaking the other day in Edinburgh, said all that the Boers wanted, was an honorable peace, with self-government such as Canada enjoys, all South Africa to be united, and under the protection of England. Is this too much to grant to people whom we wish to become one with us in the future, and who have made good their claims to even exceptionable honorable treatment ? Is not this what we really want ? Is not this the “mandate ?” But if this be granted Chamberlain’s “occupation will be gone,” and the “Khaki” Ministry will fall ; *therefore* the “War” must be kept on to the loss of England’s brave troops in South Africa, and of England’s power and *prestige* in the Far East, and to the possible extinction of the Boer race kindred with our own, and if not, to a forced but hollow submission rendering certain future rebellions and outbreaks. We pass from this very painful subject, to one, its direct consequence, still more painful, the loss of our leading position in China, and the rising supremacy of the Russians and Germans there—leading to the most serious ultimate consequences for India—this great and fine Empire which we have

taken centuries to build up, and which is civilising and raising a fifth of the globe's population.

THE CHINESE EMBROGLIO.—Our remark, in the last Quarter's Notes, that an alliance with Germany in Chinese matters, may cost us too dear, has already been verified. We may say that it has cost us China, and what that implies in reference to India we should not like to express. Let us proceed in the order of events in the Far East. After burning, butchering and plundering as much as possible—charges from which the Americans and Japanese are free, and from which the others have attempted to free themselves—long drawn consultations between the representatives of Europe present in Peking and the Chinese Court resulted in a number of executions, and some agreement as to the amount of the indemnity. Prince Tuan and General Tungfoo Tsiang escaped, and set up a rebellion on their own account and are yet at large with a considerable body of troops. One by one the powers withdrew from the "Concert," leaving Germany with England tied hard and fast to her. Troops also began to be withdrawn, the Americans and Japanese going first. Of those that remained, there was much disgraceful rowdiness displayed by the French towards the British, kept under only by the superior authority of the officers; a German sabred an English officer; and the Russians and British nearly came to an open rupture in connection with some railway land at Tientsin. Meanwhile, Count Waldersee, whether to justify his position, or to keep his Germans in trim, or by orders from home, kept on harassing the Chinese with incessant expeditions. We learnt only subsequently that his master-stroke, to make a cat's-paw of the British by sending an expedition commanded by General Gaselee to Singanfoo, which we referred to last Quarter, was foiled only by the refusal of the British Cabinet direct from home. In some of these small expeditions, the Germans did not always fare very well, and in one, would probably have been severely handled by the Chinese, but for the accidental presence of the French. The Germans have indeed been so "active," that they have created a perfect state of anarchy. Amid all these minor and major troubles the Imperial Palace, in which Count Waldersee had taken up his comfortable quarters, as if refusing to be further degraded, took fire one night, and while one German General, Schwarzhoff, was burnt to death, Count Waldersee himself escaped in his night clothes with the greatest difficulty after receiving what is described as a "considerable shock." Finally, certain forts were to be dismantled, a suitable permanent guard for the Legations was fixed on, and some reforms promised in the Chinese mode of Government. All seemed to be at an end. But it was the end only of the First Act. The

Second opened with Russia making a separate treaty with China about Manchuria. This was stoutly opposed by England and Japan. The latter even showed her teeth, made grandiose speeches in her Parliament, fussed about military preparations, and finally subsided owing to being practically bankrupt and unable to raise a loan. In reference to England, Russia threw in her teeth her going behind the other Powers to make an agreement with Germany. Such has been the result of Lord Salisbury's supposedly-clever but sneaking policy ! Or, was it the policy of the German Emperor, by which he worked for, and with, Russia, while hood-winking England ? Count von Bulow declared in his home Parliament that "the Anglo-German Agreement did not refer to Manchuria, and there was no antagonism between Russia and Germany in China." Of course not. Only our British statemen are so tied hand and foot with South Africa, or are so easily hood-winked with a little show of seeming cordiality by Kaiser William, that they dare not, or cannot, see. Japan unable to act, and Germany refusing to do so, England has withdrawn from her position, and also recalled her troops. As the conclusion of Act the Second, Manchuria remains to Russia, Japan is revenging herself with small experiments in Corea, America is clean out of the game (as was always to be expected), Germany remains in strength, and so does France, and Great Britain leaves. The Third Act opens with our power and *prestige* gone in China, with the Russians strengthening their forces and their fleet, with Germany in force, and with her fleet watching her (!) interests on the Yang-tze, and with the French, too, in force. The last report, as we write, is that Count Waldersee has been suddenly recalled home. The question may arise, why ? Is he wanted in Europe ? What significance had the astute German Emperor's late speech about if a war should come, he had a "great Ally in Heaven ?" (!) We may view this question a little further when noticing Germany below.

The nett result so far of our share in the Chinese embroglio is that Germany, France and Russia, remain in force on the field ; that we leave after a cost of £4,000,000, and being rebuffed by Russia, and abandoned by America ; nothing really settled in China, Prince Tuan still at large and powerful, and the Boxers again becoming active.

The conclusion of the Third Act is not yet ; meanwhile, knowing the Chinese well, we endorse every word that Sir Robert Hart with his ripe knowledge says of them, when he writes, that "they have more respect for justice than any other nation ; that they are well-behaved, law-abiding, intelligent, economical, and industrious ; they can learn anything and do any-

thing; they are punctiliously polite, they worship talent, and they believe in right so firmly that they scorn to think it requires to be supported or enforced by might; they delight in literature, and everywhere they have their literary clubs and coteries for hearing and discussing each other's essays and verses, they possess and practise an admirable system of ethics, and they are generous, charitable, and fond of good works; they never forget a favour; they make rich return for any kindness, and though they know money will buy service, a man must be more than wealthy to win public esteem and respect; they are practical, teachable, and wonderfully gifted with common sense; they are excellent artisans, reliable workmen, and of a good faith that everyone acknowledges and admires in their commercial dealings."

It is to destroy such a nation that Germany has been bent for some time, but the engineer may be "hoist with his own petard."

OTHER COUNTRIES.—France has not only made her presence prominent in China, but has made real progress in Europe. She has drawn closer to Italy, which has long been kicking against the lead of Germany. She has also united herself to Russia in the Chinese policy of the latter, M. Delcasse having paid a special visit to St. Petersburg, and maintains her forces in the Far East ready to act should occasion arise. A trifling fanatical outbreak in a village in Algeria, magnified by the press patronized by "the man in the street" into an Algerian rising, was summarily and easily suppressed even as we should do with a similar "Mad" Moulvi in Allahabad! A strike, which threatened to become formidable, in Marseilles, too, has happily ended. The *Marseilles Hymn* had actually been sung!

Germany, too, has moved forward considerably after another sense. Her interest centres in the Kaiser's sayings and doings, who seems to be as absolute in Germany as the Czar in Russia. The clever "dodge"—we can call it nothing else—by which he got Count Waldersee to be recognised as Commander-in-Chief in China, was repudiated by all the other Powers save England, and even England at the last, on the occasion of the intended move on Singanfoo, threw it over. So Germany having created as much desolation and anarchy in North China as possible, is still there in force, along with France and Russia. The last move of Germany in China is sending a fleet of four war-vessels to watch her interests on the Yangtze! (England still remains in Shanghai.) What double game is in the Kaiser's mind in regard to China,—for she has openly sided with Russia in regard to Manchuria,—it is impossible for us to say. But

the—as we write—rumoured recall of Count Waldersee, and the Kaiser's late speech in regard to his "Great Ally in Heaven,"—his words were, "should we be surrounded by foes and have to fight in a minority against superior numbers, he had a Great Ally in Heaven,"—lead us to view the double game he has long been playing in Europe. Russia is well known to be united to France (and France to Russia) as against an attack from Germany. Meantime Germany cannot afford to break with Russia just at present owing to various reasons, the chief of which is the doubt of its strength to do so as against France and Russia combined. Another reason is the continued life of the Emperor Francis Joseph who holds the various German and other elements in the Austrian Empire together. The Kaiser looks forward to the Emperor's death as affording him the opportunity of incorporating German-Austria in the German Empire—probably guaranteeing Hungary a separate existence, thus becoming the great Central European Empire, and *inheriting Austria's title to Constantinople*. Hence, too, his playing with the "sick" Turk, and looking even beyond to Asia Minor. His support of Abdul Aziz also means the latter's support—which is very doubtful—of him in the event of a war with Russia should it occur before his designs are complete to absorb Austria and inherit Turkey's possessions. It is a great dream, no doubt, to extend his empire from the Baltic to Baghdad. But he is quite capable of dreaming such a dream; only circumstances must be favourable to carry it out, and he will have to fight hard for it. It is only this supposition that explains his pretended moving along with England, and his keeping Russia in play. We are afraid, however, that for such another "kettleful of fish" England's common sense will revolt, and his insane ambition will have no support from us, unless Russia has before that insanely gone into a war with us. Just as it is England's interest to keep out of European complications—even if Constantinople be involved—so it is to Russia's interest, if she is to successfully thwart the Kaiser's ambition, to remain on good terms with us. And that Russia is aware of the Kaiser's mad ambition is unquestionable from the way she also is playing with Germany. On the whole the outlook is a most extraordinary one, a convulsion that will shake Europe to its centre. Insanity is supposed to be hereditary in the Hohenzollern family, and also ambition and *cunning*, and the present Kaiser has his full share of the latter. But the Powers have begun to find him out, and the war-that-is-to-be may be begun before the death of the Emperor Francis Joseph. Hence the speech we quote—which appears to be wrung from him—and the reference to being "surrounded by foes and fighting in a

minority against superior numbers"—Italy, too, being detached from him. We will only trust that England's eyes will be opened to her false and time-serving "ally." Should the Kaiser succeed in his project of absorbing Central Europe, and extending the German Empire from the Baltic to Baghdad with a navy immensely strengthened, the next step will be to strike at England!

Russia has made the most solid progress politically of any power. She has strengthened herself immensely on the Pacific and acquired the vast country of Manchuria, dominating China on the North. She has also almost got over her trouble with Finland. Some students' riots have been suppressed, and a more liberal policy in regard to them announced by the Czar. The officials who are retrogressive, the Jews, and Count Tolstoi, are answerable for all the internal troubles of Russia. We cannot understand how it is that Tolstoi can be allowed to stay even in Russia. Finally, Russia has gone in for a loan of sixteen millions sterling.

Italy has begun well with her new King; and at the same time is beginning to see that her best interests lie in unity with France and not a military alliance with Germany.

Turkey has been peculiarly unfortunate in again trying to bring the combined Powers of Europe down upon her. She interfered with the Foreign Mails, and the Ministers had to employ their own messengers. Finally, Turkey had to climb down, and offered an apology. On the face of this we cannot understand the declaration of Lord Lansdowne that we were determined on reparation, while a fleet too is proceeding to Salonika. The fleet may proceed there for other purposes. At all events we are not, as we write, yet completely informed as to details, and Abdul Aziz's friend, the German Kaiser, was unable to help him to carry out his design to "censor" and supervise the Foreign Mails. Another unfortunate occurrence was a powerful shock of earthquake which disturbed and broke up a public audience of the Sultan. Taking occasion of this his very particular friend, the German Kaiser (who has, as we have shown, an eye to Constantinople and the rich inheritance of the "sick man"), sent him congratulations for his safety! What we must also regard as an unfortunate occurrence for Turkey, is that the Sultan has despatched an Ottoman Mission to China to enter into relations with the Mussalmans there! We are told that Russia has throughout been opposed to the Mission, but Germany favours it. This move of Turkey, even if encouraged by Germany in it, is most unwise. In the first place the Chinese Government will simply scout it, and send it back without any result, tantamount to an insult. But Turkey periodically invites these insults and humiliations, as

witness the hardly-closed incident regarding the Foreign Mails. In the second place, being an Imperial Mission with several military members in it, it is really an attempt under the plea of religion to gain some sort of political footing beyond Turkish waters, to which the British have hitherto confined the Turk. There was an instance during one period of the Achinese War in Sumatra when the Turks wished to send a war-vessel to aid their Malay co-religionists, but Great Britain would not permit the interference. The time may be favourable for the Turk to extend his political influence under the patronage of his (self-interested) German friend, but the last word will always lie with Russia and England, even in China. On the whole, it is an unfortunate revelation of what the Turk is, and almost a disclosing of Germany's game. Nothing good can come of it. Finally, the "Macedonian Committee" is again active, showing a further diminution of Turkey's rule at no distant date, for that is what the Austrian Prime Minister's speech on a late occasion implies. It is quite possible that these troubles will hasten the end of Turkey, and force the German Kaiser's hand before its time. On the whole, things in Europe all over do not look very reassuring, and we must be thankful that England is out of it, and at all events strong enough to make her decision heard. Lord Salisbury's warning recently that she would not be defied, had perhaps a deeper reference than to the mere passing Boer troubles. We may close our review of Europe by adding that Spain is full of revolutionary and anarchist troubles. And in the midst of all, the charming Queen Wilhelmina of Holland has given her hand with her heart to Duke Heinrich of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and the Dutch are all very satisfied by it, as they well may.

Turning to Asia, exclusive of India and China which we review separately, Japan is bankrupt, and has (as yet) wisely forbore declaring war against Russia. She is, however, making small bites at Corea. Corea evidently allows it, and at the same time wanting money and not being able to get it, dismisses Mr. McLeavy Brown of the customs. The Hermit kingdom is a remarkable one, and our readers will find it very pleasantly described in an article we publish in this issue on the *Eastward Route Home*—the reading of which will, we believe, induce many of our Service readers with a little time on their hands to also go there when taking long leave. Our Viceroy, as is well known, has already been there, and spent some of his most enjoyable travel days there. Siam is moving ahead in—Buddhism, and Palace-building. Cabul's Amir has written a book setting forth his own manifold virtues, and his great desire to be more liberally

treated, both politically and financially (!) by the British. His appetite is evidently growing on what it feeds, and we all, by this time, ought to know the Cabulee character. It is essentially that of the Israelite (not "without guile") whose lineal race-descendent he is. At the present moment he seems to be laid up by his old enemy the gout, and his sons are carrying on the government. Arabia, not to be outdone by the rest of the world, has gone in for a military diversion—a great tribal fight—on her own account. The powerful Koweit chief invaded Nejd, sacked it, then had to retreat, and finally had to escape with only a few followers! The Turkish Vullée of Baghdad thought of interfering, but did not—perhaps wisely. Meanwhile Arabia is agitating to have a railway from Jeddah to Mecca for the pilgrims, and sums of money all over the Moslem world are being collected for the purpose. This railway will let day-light into Arabia with a vengeance! But imagine Arabia having a railway line before enlightened Persia, and our wise Ally the Amir who can talk about "politics!" From Asia to the South Seas, or Africa, is no great step, and in the former a distinguished millionaire Hanoverian Scientist named Menke has been caught, roasted and eaten by the cannibals, whereat the German Emperor became "furious" according to his wont, and ordered a gun-boat at once to "burn, slay, and destroy." The Rev. Mr. Chalmers, one of the oldest and most successful Missionaries in New Guinea, has also been killed and eaten. In Somaliland a "Mad" Mullah has got a following of some 10,000 men, and both the British and Abyssinians have been unable to deal with him. A British expedition also against the Ogaden-Somalis has been turned back. Our African troubles are evidently not confined to the southern portion of the continent. It is very possible that these Somali affairs are the direct result of the batch of so-called "Abyssinians" taken to Rhodesia to work under a practical system of slavery some time back. Meantime, the Rhodesian Chamber of Mines are wanting Chinese labour! Plague has gained a footing in Cape Colony, and we are afraid has established itself there, and the ravages are yet to come. In South America a Monarchist conspiracy in the Navy has been nipped in the bud; and Venezuela is assuming a high tone with the United States, erstwhile her protector as against England.

ENGLISH COLONIES AND THE UNITED STATES.—From the seething mass of war, desolation, confusion and misery in the outside world we turn with a feeling of relief to view our own inheritance. Canada has, as usual, been spouting perfervid loyalty to the mother country, with the result that the Premier has been made a "Privy Councillor,"—an honor

that has also been bestowed on a number of other Colonial Premiers, some of whom, we believe, have risen from nothing, and could not write a decent line. Australia has been entertaining, and almost going mad, over the Duke of Cornwall's visit to open the Federal Parliament, which he did in Melbourne, it is stated, in the presence of 12,000 people. The Duke also visited Ballarat, one of the finest cities on the Australian continent. What Melbourne and Victoria are like our readers will learn from an article in the present issue on *The Evolution of a British Colony*. The Duke subsequently proceeded to Sydney and Brisbane. The elections for the Australian Federal Parliament have resulted in a protectionist majority ; and already a "Monroe doctrine" is being talked of for Australasia ! New Zealand is out of the Federation. Statistics disclose the startling fact that the Australians are becoming a sterile race. It is not a wonder to those who know Australia and its society, etc. Of course, there is much of it good ; but the mass of it is—nowhere. Politically, too, like its national emblem of the Kangaroo, it will be feeble at the head, and rest on its buttress—the tail ! We believe Australia will never become another United States, in any respect whatever—not even a Canada. This is too long a question for us to further discuss here. Finally, our kith in the United States have made substantial progress in, at last, catching Aguinaldo by a clever stratagem, reminding one of the Wooden Horse at Troy. Aguinaldo has now given in his adhesion, and is calling on his compatriots to submit. At home, the United States, under the guidance of Mr. Morgan, is going into huge Trusts in everything, and Andrew Carnegie has sold out with a fortune of fifty millions sterling, of which he is making such a good use, that not only will his name live as long as the world exists, or millions unborn bless him, but his example will probably lead other great millionaires to make as good use of their "talents." Carnegie is determined to distribute all his money, except a little reserved for a young daughter, before he dies. His wisdom, Scotch and practical, does not run in the line of endowing "Bishoprics." Yet we think some portion of his millions may yet go towards spreading the consolations of true religion among the outcast hopeless in a few great cities, as well of elevating *character*, and not mere intellectual attainments, in some of our greatest centres of education.

HOME—ENGLAND.—King Edward VII has justified the expectations of all who wish him, and the state, well. He began with three addresses to his home subjects, to Britain beyond the seas, and to the princes and peoples of India, which are models of kingly resolves and declarations. Nothing

could have been better in style, matter, and brevity. And everyone must be pleased to see not only in these, but in all his replies to the numerous public bodies, his references to the Divine blessing, and his anxiety to do what is right. Indeed from his past history for very many years as Prince of Wales nothing but sobriety, earnestness, and attention to duty may be expected of him. He has always shown strong common sense, made a model chairman, and helped the poor and sick in various ways. He has also been the head of the Masonic Fraternity, a body union with which, placed him on a level with the poorest and meanest of the land. He has never exhibited himself in false, impudent and assuming lights like his nephew of Germany. He has always honored and obeyed his excellent and memorable parents. His religion has been unostentatious, and from the side-gleams the public have had of it, humble and according to his lights. Nothing, therefore, but good may be predicted of him and his reign in English history. He knows the times, and has been a patient learner of politics and political lessons, and we feel sure will make one of the best kings—with his saintly predecessor and namesake Edward VI's example before him—that have sat on England's throne. That grace will be given him—to recognise and maintain England's true honour, while advocating peace and making "wars to cease," we must all specially hope. Finally, he is blessed with one of the most excellent consorts who have even ascended a throne or become a Queen of England, not excluding his very remarkable mother even. His Civil List and Allowances have been fixed on a liberal scale, and some of his expensive tastes which always hitherto left him in want of money, must necessarily disappear with his exaltation to another position requiring other aims than a pursuit of private and selfish pleasure. One of his first acts has been to dismiss the late Queen's Indian servants who had made themselves too notorious, and whose services were no longer required. As we write, his life has been mercifully spared—not for the first or the second time—from a sudden ending by accident on board Sir Thomas Lipton's yacht *Shamrock II* in the Solent.

One of the first acts of the Parliament under the new reign has been to appoint a Committee to examine and report on certain words alleged to be offensive to Roman Catholics in the Accession Oath. They are doubtless so, but so are the words to maintain the Christian Faith—even if "Protestant"—to the Jews, and we may also add, to the Mahomedans, a very much larger body than the Roman Catholics. The question may be raised, among many other pertinent ones,—such as the historical character of the words,—where shall we stop if we

once make a beginning? Shall we do away with the oath in deference to the prejudices of the different sections of the Empire? Ought not the words to be viewed politically, constitutionally, and as reserved for and sacred to its own special sphere as apart from the consideration of religious convictions and beliefs? We express no opinion, but throw out the above suggestions as contributing to a right understanding of a difficult matter—one, too, that only comes once in a lifetime, and which materially affects no private individual.

Parliament has been occupied almost wholly with the consideration of the Budget—a War Budget. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach has indeed been called to his post in trying and difficult times. Notwithstanding the enormous increase in the revenue, the deficit amounted to nearly sixty millions sterling. Provision had also to be made for enormous expenses in the future, both in connection with the South African “War” and future additions to the Army and Navy. The deficit has been met by a loan. But for other expenditure the income tax has been raised to a still higher figure, the tea duty has been continued, sugar has been taxed, and also—coal! The last has called forth a large amount of protest from both miners and coal proprietors, and the matter is not yet quite settled as we write. The particulars of the Budget as received by wire are as follows:—

Last year’s deficit fifty-three millions sterling. Without the War a surplus of fifteen millions. The estimated expenditure for 1901 is £187,602,000, of which that on the war amounts to sixty millions. There will be a deficit of fifty-five millions. The Chancellor adds 2*d.* to the income tax and imposes a duty of 4*s.* 2*d.* per cwt. on refined sugar polarising above 98, including West India. The duty will diminish for raw sugar polarising below 98, by a complex graduated scale to a minimum of 2*s.* per cwt. for sugar polarising at 76. This scale is tentative, and revisable under experience. The Budget also imposes a duty of 2*s.* per cwt. on molasses, 1*s.* 8*d.* on glucose, and an export duty of a shilling a ton on coal. Altogether, the new taxes yield eleven millions sterling. The Government proposes to suspend the Sinking Fund and borrow sixty millions of Consols, which exceeds the deficit, but is needed to finance the Exchequer.” Meanwhile, trade is shifting to America—which is ominous for the future of England. Under all these circumstances it is not strange that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach should say in the House, that it is “unnecessary that the tax-payers should continue always to bear almost the whole charge of the Naval defence of the Empire.” This means that the Colonies

should contribute, somewhat, to *their own defence*. This is nothing but just. We have been treated *ad nauseam* lately to the loyalty of the Colonies in sending contingents of troops to South Africa, the real truth being that England has been taking off, and paying for, so many thousand of unemployed men in the Colonies. The "loyalty," however, which has been overflowing lately in Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane, on the occasion of the Duke of Cornwall's visit, will be put to a severe test when the question comes of paying, say, only a couple millions annually towards the Navy which safeguards Australia. We shall not be out when we say that it will—evaporate! Even a proposal to give Australia representation in the House will not do. Australian "loyalty" consists in holiday ebullitions, and in living on the heavily-taxed little home country reeling with its burdens. Whether our words are true or not, let a contribution for the Navy proportionally to population—and why should the Army even be excluded?—be asked for.

Of other public measures and men, Lord Salisbury has—what was to be expected, only people would not see—burked the enquiry that was promised in regard to the "War." He has also made one or two other speeches, again referring—needlessly we think, for England will never allow it—to the Home Rule question, and stating that England was not to be roused with impunity—*by whom?* This, along with certain utterances of the German Emperor's, which we have already considered, and other matters more or less manifest, lead us to think that some European trouble is brewing. Even in India we are preparing for eventualities by improving our armaments, etc. Mr. Broderick has proposed some Army Reform under Lord Roberts' support which has disappointed everyone, including all the Service Members of the House. He subsequently retreated from his position by virtually giving up the whole thing! Would Lord Cardwell have done so? The truth is, that while we all know what we want, no one knows how exactly to arrive at it. Meanwhile, three more battleships, the largest that will be afloat, and which will cost four millions sterling, have been ordered. With regard to these, our opinion is that what are wanted are very small active wooden vessels carrying only one good gun each to pound the giants, but this is not the place to enlarge on the future of the Navy. And in reference to the Army, whatever may be the lessons taught us by the Boer "War," we can never actually say what our Army should be, or how and where reorganised without a great European War shaking everything down to its proper place. And, with the command of the sea, which we must always necessarily maintain, conscription

is certainly not needed. As regards Mr. Chamberlain and his public utterances, we have already seen what they are and need not take them up again. He is the "fifth wheel" in the coach which, if detached, would considerably increase the efficiency and speed of the Tory vehicles. The "Union" was unnatural, and was made for a special purpose—Home Rule which has long now been dropped, and which, simply, England will never allow. Mr. Chamberlain and his speeches remind one of Shakespeare's characters who can fly at Cæsars and also be at home in tackling fish-wives in their own dialect. A scene by a few disorderly Irish Members ended by their summary ejection from the House, and by Mr. Balfour carrying their exclusion for the rest of the session. Mr. Balfour, however, makes but a poor "leader," and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman a worse, however decent and estimable they may be otherwise. Sir William Harcourt has been both criticising the Budget, and drawing attention to the folly of entering into European alliances and complications. Let us trust that the eyes of England will be opened to the consequences of any sort of alliance whatever with Germany, or Austria. The German Emperor cannot be trusted except to make a cat's-paw of England to serve his own ends, and Austria will probably be in the throes of dissolution ere long. There have, however, been two remarkable contests in Parliament, both in military matters, and almost personal. The first came on in the House of Lords between the late Commander-in-Chief and Lord Lansdowne, the late Minister for War. We are afraid Lord Wolseley did not shine in it. Lord Wolseley, ever since Lord Roberts' appointment to South Africa, has been a falling star. Besides, he has always had too high an opinion of himself, and also of his position; and his hopeless present fall, reminds one of his extraordinary and unjustifiable summary closing, of General Hamlyn's career. What measure he meted out to others he is now himself receiving. The other case was General Colville's enforced retirement from the Army, and though nominally the contest was with the War Office, really it was one with Lord Roberts. General Colville may have been a perfect soldier, and may have shone even in Waterloo, but he had not the literary qualifications to advertise himself; and of course, in a contest with Lord Roberts could only fail. But the contest showed that Lord Roberts is not the "idol" of the higher ranks of the Army, nor perhaps such a commanding genius as some have supposed him to be. Had not General Buller been in Natal keeping Joubert and the bulk of the Boer troops engaged; and had he not had the assistance of such an eminent soldier as Lord Kitchener, Lord Roberts could simply have done

nothing. He might even have egregiously failed. But he has been always "lucky"—even from the march to Candahar, the real credit of which is well known to belong to the late Sir Donald Stewart, who had already cleared the way, and who equipped him so fully;—reminding us of the old adage, "it is better to be born lucky than with a golden spoon." Lord Roberts, however, is about the best General we have at present, and with Lord Kitchener and General Buller in reserve—not to say a few others—we may be thankful. Besides these the only other incident of note in Parliament has been in connection with Mr. Arthur Markham designating Messrs. Wernher and Beit of South African fame a "common gang of thieves and swindlers," and having been challenged to repeat the words outside, has done so, and has had an action lodged against him.

Among other matters of home interest may be mentioned the following. The Duke of Cornwall with the Duchess left England in the *Ophir* for the purpose of being in Australia to open the Federal Parliament, the King seeing him off, saying that the object of the journey was to express appreciation for the Colonies participation in the "War." In this matter of Australians in connection with the "War," however, we are one with the *Sydney Bulletin*. England has notified to Belgium that she is prepared to join a Sugar Bounties Conference. The largest steamer in the world, the *Celtic*, has been launched at Belfast. In a dispute regarding the retirement of certain professors at Cooper's Hill College, the scientific body of Great Britain, headed by Lord Kelvin, has come off second-best, Lord George Hamilton scoring heavily. He had a reserve of scientific opinion in the Visiting Committee hid up his sleeve. In the Varsity Boat Race Oxford won by half a length after an exciting contest, Cambridge leading to past Barnes Bridge. The Census shows 32½ millions for England and Wales, and 4½ millions each for Scotland and Ireland, or a total of 41½ millions, being an increase of 3½ millions, so that the race at home shows no signs of dying out notwithstanding the great preponderance of the unmarried female element. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who has retired from America with a fortune of 50 millions sterling, has made a gift of two millions to the four Scotch Universities for the support of poor students of Scottish birth, and also provides funds for equipping the Universities with the most complete system of scientific instruction. He is making a noble use of his wealth, and we have referred to it elsewhere previously. The "Annual May Meetings" have been held, the Church Missionary Society showing the largest income, and the Baptist about the least. The latter, however, shows the greatest

amount of evangelical and "discipling" work; while the former has fallen away to latitudinarianism, and is very much concerned with education, the natural result of latitudinarianism. We know we shall be taken to task for saying so, but we are prepared to meet any lame apology (and confession of defeat) that may be advanced. The foundations of whatever Native Christianity there is in India, were laid by the early converts, obtained from among the poorest and most ignorant, through the instrumentality of preaching—of the Living Voice preaching the Living Word, and not the diluted intellectual curriculum of the class-room. Finally, the Victoria Memorial Committee appointed by the King has reported for a Personal Memorial opposite Buckingham Palace, which may at least show our excellent and well-meaning Viceroy that, as we even expressed it in our last Quarter's notes, his plan of a Museum could never have been thought of by any one but himself, that it is unsuited to the object, and that the highest and best English opinion is against him.

INDIA—THE VICEROY.—With the exception of making a self-congratulatory speech on the Budget, and spending the best part of a month shooting on the borders of Nepal, there is nothing to record to Lord Curzon since we last wrote, unless it be making a speech at the M. A. O. College—which has been variously criticised—on his way up to Simla, and putting forth in print his objection to the appropriateness of Delhi being the site for the Victoria Memorial. This last is a bit of lame special pleading, the one great and almost insuperable objection being that Delhi is full of the grandest Imperial monuments of 3,000 years, and that any monument we could raise would look almost paltry beside these. There is, however, one extraordinary slip—we may almost say two slips—made by Lord Curzon in his "Note" on the question of the selection of Delhi which we would not have supposed him capable of making, and strange, which has not drawn the attention of any of his critics. The first is his assertion that Delhi represents only Mahomedan domination and was only a Mussalman capital. Delhi was in existence long before Mahomedanism was even born in Arabia, and was known as the capital of the leading Hindu Dynasty of North India under the name of Hastinapura, meaning, we believe, *The City of Elephants*, a name given to it probably from its royal parades of vast bodies of elephants. We may be wrong in this interpretation, but that is beside the question. In the next place there are monuments—and they are everlasting—besides the Mahomedan glories—of early Hindu and Buddhist rule. As we are not writing a treatise on the antiquities of Delhi and their historical connection, we may pass on by saying that, Delhi

being set aside—on not quite sufficient grounds—Calcutta is probably the best place for the Victoria Memorial. As to the *form* of it, assuming that a plan similar to Asoka's imperishable pillars be impossible—again we may ask, why?—there will be great divergency of opinion, save in the matter of its being a "personal" Memorial and not an ordinary and defective Museum to unite amusement with instruction. The next best thing to being in the right, is, when wrong, to confess being in the wrong, and certainly Lord Curzon—whom we all dearly love—will lose none of his dignity and reputation by doing so in the matter of this Memorial. Attention has been drawn to the exceeding bad taste of the remarks in the *Journal of the Queen Victoria Memorial Fund*, in regard to the criticisms, that have been passed on Lord Curzon's scheme. Who can be the Editor of the *Journal*? The scheme is bad enough as it is—and unless Lord Curzon sees fit to amend it and put it in the hands of a representative Committee to decide, it may at least be allowed to quietly glide out of sight—but to rouse further opposition and attention to its defects—! So much for the site, and the form. As regards the subscriptions for it, the amount is woefully small, the total being only thirty-four lakhs, whereas to make an imposing marble building of the kind contemplated, which will not be overshadowed by the proximity of the white lime-washed Government House pile, there will be at least a *hundred lakhs* needed. A brick-and-mortar erection will be disgraceful in the connection. We are afraid even the fifty lakhs called for will not be forthcoming. There can be no doubt that, but for striving to please Lord Curzon, not more than ten lakhs would have been forthcoming. And among some of the names we notice among the subscribers, we are aware that the sums down to them will be paid with difficulty. Of the separate collections for Provincial Memorials the North-West Provinces stands first with nearly eight lakhs, the Madras next with nearly one lakh, and Bombay with nothing at all! Yet Bombay is the first in true charity, and on the occasion of the Viceroy's last visit to it, presented him with the most florid address which he must have been greatly pained to hear if he had any self-respect.

We may pass over the spending of a twelfth part of the whole year in shooting, and have a few words to offer regarding the last Budget and his speech on it, as well as his Aligurh address to the students of the M. A. O. College. The Budget was a quite satisfactory one, the only blot in it being the lame defence—which, too, was not required—of the Salt Tax. But the Viceroy's speech, showing what a lot he had accomplished, and what a deal more he was going to do, was neither in good taste, nor true. "Let another praise thee," says the wise King

Solomon, "and not thy own tongue." As for the "twelve or fifteen" measures for which he took all the credit, they have been always before every Viceroy and Government of India, and everyone has been doing something in them. We are not aware that Lord Curzon has done anything new or remarkable in them. The times are moving on, and Lord Curzon and the Government must only move on with them. Can he say that agriculture and irrigation have been a whit more advanced than might have been expected? or famines rendered safer and more preventible? or a large flow of home capital induced? or education bettered and rendered more practical than turning out thousands of hungry "B. A.'s" of no good to themselves or the country every year? or any other of the many points he referred to improved in any way? This is not a review of his Viceroyalty—which will come at the close of his period;—but if, when he leaves, he can show anything beyond his "speeches"—and the Queen's Memorial of old chain armour and faded letters, etc., he may then congratulate himself. We mean anything lasting such as have been left to India for her progress and development by Viceroys like Lords Dalhousie, Mayo, and Dufferin. We trust we shall be reckoned both "true" and just in making these observations, which seem to be necessary.

As regards the Aligurh speech there is not much to be said except to draw attention to a mistake made by Lord Curzon, and his pronouncement in regard to "religion" in education. In regard to the mistake, he is not aware that the real originator and "founder" of the College—of whose name, however, he is perfectly aware, as is also Sir Antony Macdonnell, so that they at least cannot honestly still style Sir Syed Ahmed as the "founder," who was not and is not (for he is still alive to refer to) a Mahommedan,—incorporated religious worship and religion in his plan, but that Sir Syed Ahmed stoutly opposed it, and tried to do without religion, and failed to meet support, and only after some years of the existence of the College gave way. When the College, then, was started, religion was out of it,—this is Lord Curzon's mistake, and it was kept out of it by Sir Syed Ahmed. So much for Lord Curzon's mistake. The other point, in whichever way we view the Viceroy's words relating to it, is of greater importance. It refers to "religion" and its place in education. The following are Lord Curzon's words as reported:—"Adhere to your own religion which has in it the ingredients of great nobility and of profound truth, and make that the basis of your instruction, for education without a religious basis is, though boys at school and at the University are often too young to see it, like building a house without foundations."

The main idea, of course, is for education to have a "religious basis," and this, of course, is a remarkable pronouncement made by the Viceroy of India in view of the recent discussion about "neutrality" in religion, and the godlessness of the present system of Government education to which reference was made by us in our last Quarter's notes. We have here neither the time nor space to enter fully into the question, but we are in possession of the entire inner history—a remarkable one—of the exclusion of the Bible from Government Colleges; and should the Hon'ble Rev. Dr. Miller, C.I.E., favour us with an original paper working out the conclusions on "neutrality" he tried to enforce in the "Note" on the subject, to which we also referred previously, we shall set forth how a "religious basis" for education, which had been promoted by Dr. Duff and which was agitated for, came for decision before Lord Canning, and how Sir John Peter Grant—very probably a member of the *White Rose League*—and the Rev. Dr. Kay united together and "dished" it, Dr. Kay being an intimate and old College friend of Lord Canning's, and at the time holding the highest rank and having the greatest influence in India both for his great learning and saintliness. This is the serious aspect of Lord Curzon's words. But the first or opening clause about, "adhering to your own religion which has in it the ingredients of great nobility and profound truth" have been taken by some as if the Viceroy, from his exalted official position, exhorted his hearers to continue Mahomedans as against the light of truth or Christianity. If so, we must give him the discredit of either not understanding, or running counter to not merely the Christian faith, but such great masters and metaphysicians as Plato, Sir William Hamilton, Kant and Hegel; and of recommending Mahomedan youth never to expand their minds, and enter into the knowledge of the science of being. We believe, however, that such an idea never entered into Lord Curzon's thoughts, unless sarcastically, by wishing his hearers to remain in ignorance of the mind and its problems, he would really urge them to higher flights than the *Koran* takes them to. We acquit him, however, of such deep "guile," as also of any great knowledge of the *Koran*, or its theology. We do not believe that in the little leisure left him during his travels and intervals of writing for the Press, he has had much time to study comparative religions or "THE TRUE LIGHT," and that the last thing he would *pose* in would be that of a Doctor of Mahomedan Theology showing forth the Originality and Beauties of the *Koran*. The words, however, were ill-chosen. "Adhering" to either the Bible or the *Koran* is not religion. Had he merely said "stick to religion, and make the fear of God and the love of man" the basis, etc.,

he would not have laid himself open to misunderstanding either by Christians or Mahommedans, or even Hindus or philosophers.

POLITICAL.—Sir Lepel Griffin has severely attacked Lord Curzon for taking the principal share in separating the "Frontier Province;" but Sir Lepel Griffin's weight in Indian matters of moment may be discounted. He retired, we believe, a disappointed man—Viceroy's and the public could not appreciate his clearness and we may remind him of the obligation of the Burmah Ruby Mines Company to refund the remissions made by the Government of India when prospects were low, as the mines are now paying handsomely, and there is no reason why the tax-payers of India should be mulcted for a private company's profit even though a Sir Lepel Griffin be in it, and it be also to his private profit. It is true, however, that the "Frontier Province" idea is not Lord Curzon's, but of several of his predecessors and others. Sir Power Palmer has been confirmed as Commander-in-Chief in India. The Hon'ble A. T. Arundel of Madras has succeeded Sir Arthur Trevor with the charge of the Public Works Department. The Budget we have already referred to, and it hardly bears a "political" aspect. Burmah is dissatisfied in being made the milch cow of India; while the Shan States show progress. The Governor of Madras, having made a first tour among the rural population, has been supplied first hand with a number of serious grievances suffered by agriculturists, and has already attended to one or two of them. Lord Ampthill may yet do great and noble work for the millions of Madras and emulate the lasting name of Sir Thomas Munro in the Presidency. A rumour that Lord Curzon will succeed Sir Alfred (now Lord) Milner in South Africa we only notice to remark on its utter absurdity. There is more likelihood of his being appointed to the charge of our relations with Corea, or the Moon. An Agricultural Banks Conference at Simla is looked for to evolve something practical and definite for application to India. We trust so. Different plans may be tried to different provinces, as best suited to the case of each. The question is being put "how are the new Mining Rules being worked in the Central Provinces—?" Rules which Lord Curzon expected would open up India to mineral enterprise. Is merely the promulgation of Rules sufficient? Ought not a Report to be furnished once a quarter at least to the Viceroy to show what—if anything—is being done, and how it is being done? The results of the Census have been published, and do not show the increase in the population that was looked for. This is attributed to the mortality caused by the famine, by plague and by various diseases.

Calcutta, too, now leads in numbers, and Bombay takes the second place. The actual figures in detail are as follows :—

BRITISH TERRITORY.			Percentage increase
	1901.	1891.	or dec.
Ajmere-Merwara	... 476,000	542,000—	12'17
Assam	... 6,122,000	5,433,000+	12'67
Bengal	... 74,713,000	71,346,000+	4'72
Berar	... 1,491,000	2,897,000—	4'99
Bombay	... 15,330,000	15,957,000—	3'93
Sind	... 3,212,000	2,871,000+	11'88
Aden	... 41,000	44,000—	6'48
Upper Burma	... 3,849,000	3,362,000+	14'49
Lower Burma	... 5,371,000	4,408,000+	21'81
Central Provinces	... 9,845,000	10,784,000—	8'71
Coorg	... 180,000	173,000+	4'28
Madras	... 38,208,000	35,630,000+	7'24
N.-W. Provinces	... 34,812,000	34,253,000+	1'63
Oudh ..	... 12,884,000	12,650,000+	2'40
Punjab	... 22,449,000	20,866,000+	7'53
Baluchistan	... 810,000*		
Andamans	... 24,000	15,000+	56'95
Total British Territory	... 231,085,000	221,266,000+	4'44
NATIVE STATES.			
Hyderabad	... 11,174,000	11,537,000—	3'14
Baroda	... 1,950,000	2,415,000—	19'23
Mysore	... 5,538,000	4,943,000+	12
Kashmir	... 2,906,000	2,543,000+	14'24
Rajputana	... 9,841,000	12,016,000—	18'1
Central India	... 8,501,000	10,318,000—	17'5
Bombay	... 6,891,000	8,059,000—	14'49
Madras	... 4,190,000	3,700,000+	13'23
Central Provinces	... 1,983,000	2,160,000—	8'19
Bengal	... 3,735,000	3,296,000—	13'33
N.-W. P.	... 799,000	792,000+	'91
Punjab	... 4,438,000	4,263,000+	4'12
Burma	... 1,228,000*		
Total Native States	... 63,181,000	66,050,000—	4'34
Total all India	... 294,266,000	287,317,000+	2'42

* No comparison possible.

Examining the figures in another way, we get the following increase as compared with 1891 :—

Assam	... 688,000	Bengal States	... 439,000
Bengal	... 366,000	N.-W. P. States	... 7,000
Sind	... 341,000	Punjab States	... 175,000
Upper Burma	... 487,000	Berar	... 144,000
Lower Burma	... 962,000	Bombay Proper	... 627,000
Coorg	... 7,000	Aden	... 2,800
Madras	... 2,578,000	C. Provinces	... 938,000
N.-W. P.	... 558,000	Hyderabad	... 362,000
Oudh	... 233,000	Baroda	... 564,000
Punjab	... 1,582,000	Rajputana	... 2,175,000
Mysore	... 594,000	C. India States	... 1,810,000
Kashmir	... 362,000	Bombay States	... 1,167,000
Madras States	... 489,000	C. P. States	... 177,000

Finally, we have India in Parliament at home. It may be remembered that the Director of Public Instruction in a Report remarked on the disloyalty couched in some of Mr. Malabari's published works. Mr. Malabari thereon made much-to-do and got as a reply from the Government of Bombay that the Director of Public Instruction only did his duty. The question—a most trumpery one—was actually raised in the House of Lords, and Mr. Malabari strongly supported by several past Viceroys and others. We make no question of Mr. Malabari's honesty, sincerity, or loyalty, but we agree with the Government of Bombay, and the Director of Public Instruction that Mr. Malabari's words do bear a disloyal interpretation. He may have been only unfortunate in his use of them—but the whole thing has been “a tempest in a teapot.” Cooper's Hill College has had a flare-up of its own, and was introduced into the House, but we have already previously referred to it. An Irrigation Blue Book has been promised by Lord George Hamilton: our readers will see the subject fully treated in this issue in an article. The Imperial Government, after years of consideration, will now pay £10,000 annually towards the expense of the Zanzibar-Mauritius Cable. The Viceroy's unfortunate circular about Indian Princes travelling to Europe was again commented on in the House, Lord George Hamilton declaring that the sanction of the Home Government was not necessary. General Badcock has been appointed the Military Member of Council of the Secretary of State for India in succession to the late Sir Donald Stewart. The Secretary of State has sanctioned a reduction in Inland Parcels Postage to two annas for each twenty tolahs up to forty tolas and two annas extra for each forty tolas thereafter up to 440. The postage on such parcels to be prepaid, the registration fee being reduced to two annas for each parcel. These concessions involve a sacrifice of Rs. 5 lakhs revenue. We would have draw attention to the article on “Postal Reform” as the most valuable contribution on the subject we have seen. We hardly say that it embodies the views of the very top grade of the service itself.

With reference to the Commission of Enquiry into the management of estates by the Administrator of Bengal, Lord George Hamilton could say nothing definite till orders had been passed on the report by the Government of India, which had not yet been done. In regard to matters connected with the coinage and gold in India, we extract the following:—

Thursday, 2nd May.

Rupee Coinage.—Sir John Leng asked the Secretary of State for India: Whether he can state what amount of silver in rupees has been coined and issued in India up to the end of March since April, 1900; and what sum, if

any, as representing profit on such coinage has been credited to current revenue; what amount of gold coin has been paid out in the same period from the Treasuries or Currency Department on tender by the public at the rate of Rs. 15 in silver or currency notes; what is the total sum of currency notes now in circulation; and, can some general or average statement be presented showing the rise or fall at the up-country markets in prices of seeds, jute, and other non-edible export products since the beginning of 1897.

Lord G. Hamilton: The number of rupees coined in India during the official year 1900-1901 is 171,479,318. The gross profit on this coinage is £3,150,000, and the net profit £3,030,000. The whole of this sum is in the accounts credited to revenue, a corresponding amount being debited to expenditure as transferred to the gold reserve fund, so that the balance is unaffected. The amount of gold coin which has been issued to the public in the same period is £6,374,880, of which about half is estimated to be still in their hands. The value of currency notes in circulation, on the 31st March, 1901, was Rs. 29,86,59,000 (29 crores, 86 lakhas, 59, thousand). The statistics available in this country as to prices do not show the rise or fall in respect of non-edible export products in up country markets.

Gold Held by the Indian Government.—Sir John Leng asked the Secretary of State for India: Whether he can state what amount of Gold is now held by, or on behalf of the Indian Government, as compared with the £9,400,000, held in April of last year; how much of this metal is now held as reserve against currency notes; up to the close of last month what has been the net export and import into India of gold since April last; what are the corresponding net values of silver as shown in the Indian trade returns; how much or what proportion of these net imports or exports of treasure have been on Government account; and, what are the present amounts of the Indian Government's cash balances here and in India, respectively.

Lord G. Hamilton: The amount of gold held by the Indian Government on the 31st March, 1901, was £7,115,047. Gold to the value of £5,708,487 was on the 22nd April held as reserve against currency notes. In 1900-1901 there was a total net import of gold £561,423, and of silver £6,337,788. The transactions on account of Government included in the foregoing figures were a net export of gold £4,482,242, and a net import of silver £5,389,051. The cash balances on the 31st March, 1901, were, in England, £4,090,660, and in India about £10,650,000.

In the matter of Indian legislation, the Mines' Bill, after a deal of opposition, has been passed, and it was explained that it was mostly needed for the inferior class of native-managed mines. The Indian Christians Relief Act in the matter of Succession Duties has also been passed and given general satisfaction. The Assam Labour Bill was passed after the most strenuous opposition, but the provisions are not to operate for two years. We do not see, then, what need there was of passing it at all. Two years may give a completely new aspect to many matters. But Mr. Cotton's "face was saved." In the matter of the Punjab Land Alienation Bill passed some while ago, the provisions are to come into operation at once.

THE BISHOPS AND MATTERS COGNATE.—We regret that the Metropolitan has been obliged to go home to get over the effects of a fever. He has been very earnest and anxious to do his duty, and during the brief period he has been in the country has tried both to form and to lead religious public opi-

nion, of which we reckon his drawing attention to the "Sunday Observance," with the reason assigned, the principal. Much here remains to be done besides the admonitions of the clergy. The Viceroy himself, like Lord Dufferin, might set an example. We have no time or space at present to enlarge on the subject. When leaving Bishop Welldon wrote a farewell letter to his Archdeacon, in which he said, "I am sure you will understand that the very last thing I should wish to do, is to cling to my office, if I feel I cannot regularly discharge its sacred duties." We can only trust that these words do not look forward to his severance from India, for it would be difficult to replace him, although we have not always agreed with his public deliverances. Neither do we agree with him that it is so essential, even for an Episcopal Church, to form immediately a bishopric for Assam, and another for the Central Provinces. These provinces contain Church of England Clergy so few in numbers. To quote the example of the American Episcopal Methodists of India would be of little avail to "Churchmen," but, with an immense organisation and very large congregations and numbers of clergy all over India, they are most efficiently managed by a single "Bishop." To merely have a "Bishop" does not increase either Church power or the "kingdom of heaven." Meanwhile we observe a whole tribe called "Mangs" in Western India coming forward to claim an admission into the Christian faith, which movement, as being self-generated, is remarkable. A cry for marriage with a deceased wife's sister is being heard in the Native Christian Church in India, which, as it has first happened to come before the Bishop of Madras, is sure to be disregarded. We cannot say whether the whole body of the Anglican Bishops in India will agree in this. At any rate, the other Reformed Churches will assuredly grant the "relief" if they do not already practise it. The vexed question of the use of Government Churches, which have hitherto been under the rule of the Anglican Church, for the use of other denominations, has now been decided, making it as circumlocutory and difficult as ever. A Home Department Resolution, in the *Gazette*, announces that, in supersession of the existing rule, a Chaplain or Minister desiring to obtain the use of a consecrated Church shall first address the General Officer Commanding the District, or the Lieutenant-General of the Command, simultaneously informing the Church of England Chaplain that such an application has been made. The Military authorities will forward the same to the Bishop of the Diocese. The Bishop of Madras or Bombay, whichever has been first consecrated, is nominated to act during the absence of the Metropolitan in the matter of the functions devolving upon the latter under the Rules relating to the loan

of churches. The Central Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association are erecting a building four-storeys high in Chowringhee, Calcutta, at a cost of over two-and-a-half lakhs of rupees, and will board and accommodate thirty or forty people, besides having the usual offices. Everything connected with it will be "first-class," and will clearly beat the fine Madras building hollow. The Bishop of Bombay is still at home, and the Bishop of Madras gone up to cool Ootacamund for the summer. Meanwhile, Bishop Gell, late of Madras, but still in the Presidency, has held a very successful "reunion" of Missionary labourers in the Southern Presidency. Finally, in religious matters, an inter-denominational meeting, from which the Church of England Clergy seem to have been absent, has been held in the Union Chapel Hall, at which Baptists, Congregationalists and others fraternized, and carried on proceedings after the manner of the "May Meetings" at home. This plan of May Meetings in India to correspond with those at home might be considerably enlarged, Allahabad being the most central place for them. But the heat would be something to be considered. As the Rev. A. North at the Meeting above alluded to said :—"The Baptists, with their evangelising success, and their great leaders in Mission fields, have no reason to be ashamed of their ancestry."

LITERARY, SCIENTIFIC, AND EDUCATIONAL.—Journalistic literature in India suffers a loss in the departure of Mr. T. Jewell Bennett, Editor of the *Times of India*, which will be difficult to replace. But England will be the gainer, for Mr. Bennett retires in good health, and not "broken down" as has been asserted. We trust he has many years of usefulness before him in the home country. His literary "culture" could always be traced in his articles ; and it is such men—and they are not many—that elevate the tone of the Press whether in India or elsewhere. Referring to journalism in India, there have been some notable "lapses" lately among some of the leaders. The *Englishman* called attention to consigning the Boer prisoners to Ahmednugger, and had to apologise. We do not think the *Englishman* deserving of all the journalistic wrath that has been poured on its head for the "lapse." On the contrary, we think, he was the only one who drew attention to the matter, and showed the greatest amount of moral and journalistic courage and independence in doing so, for which he should rather be praised. It is well to have a powerful organ of public opinion who is not afraid, on occasions of telling the truth—even if on behalf of "prisoners of war" and they—Boers ! The *Indian Daily News* made a dreadful "lapse" in coming out with the Budget before it was delivered. This led the Secretary to Government to cancel the giving of "advance"

copies of the statement to every newspaper in India, which was quite wrong, punishing the many for the sin of one. Clearly only the offending paper should have been punished. Following suit with bigger papers in excusable "lapses" a native journal in Calcutta came out with a detailed story of horrible outrage by a European. This story was a concoction, and the paper had to apologise. We wish the native paper we refer to had a little more respect for itself, if it has none for others. Among other matters journalistic the *Madras Times*, long the property of a member of the Arbuthnot firm of Southern India is, we learn, about to pass over to a joint-stock proprietary mostly of tradesmen. Finally, we may be permitted to notice the loss this *Review* has suffered by the re-ignation of its late Editor, Mr. James W. Furrell, and to contradict the alleged breaking down of his health. For a period of over fifteen years he has guided the fortunes of the old, stately, and learned *Calcutta Review*—the leading and only "Quarterly" in India, founded by Sir John William Kaye, and edited in succession by men of the highest position and note in India, including Secretaries to Government of India, Generals, and Judges of the High Court. As some one said, "no one knows, or can know India, without the *Calcutta Review*," which has had enshrined in its pages the highest administrative thought and literary culture of Indian administrators, thinkers, writers, and scientific and literary men. And Mr. Furrell, notwithstanding the great change in the times from the past to the present, has always managed—amid the other serious difficulties which only an Editor of such a high-class "Quarterly" in India can know—to keep abreast of the age and to win the respect of all. Mr. Furrell, we believe, came out early in the ranks of the Civil Service in the N.-W. Provinces, which he gave up for journalism else, with his talents, he might have been in the India Council. Now that he has severed his connection with the "*Calcutta*," in unbroken health, and still stays on in India, we trust yet to see him swaying the destinies of a leading "daily"—though some may consider it a descent—or, let us say a "weekly" after the style of the old *Friend of India*, thus filling a gap which yet remains.

In matters educational, Professor Ramsay has sent in his scheme for the College of Research at Bangalore. We need not enter into its details, but may mention that the Mysore Government has been very liberal in connection with it, and that, no doubt, it is this liberality that turned the scale in favour of Bangalore. It is of some importance, as well as interesting, to note the outline of Religious Instruction, on which the Benares Central Hindu College Text-Books will be based. It was circulated for six months for amendment and criticism

among the Members of the Board of Trustees, the Managing Committee, and various learned Hindus; the Managing Committee carefully considered all amendments, and incorporated the greater part of them, and then sent up the amended Report to the Board of Trustees; the Board reviewed the whole, amended, and finally passed the Report, on the 30th December, 1900. We quote it:—

HINDU RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. The object of the Central Hindu College being to combine Hindu religious and ethical training with the Western education suited to the needs of the time, it is important that this religious and ethical training shall be of a wide, liberal and unsectarian character, while at the same time it shall be definitely and distinctively Hindu. It should be inclusive enough to unite the most divergent forms of Hindu thought, but exclusive enough to leave outside it forms of thought which are non-Hindu. It should avoid all doctrines which are the subject of controversy between schools recognised as orthodox; it should not enter into any of the social and political questions of the day; but it should lay a solid foundation of religion and ethics on which the student may build, in his manhood, the more specialised principles suited to his intellectual and emotional temperament. It should be directed to the building up of a character—pious, dutiful, strong, self-reliant, upright, righteous, gentle and well-balanced—a character which will be that of a good man and a good citizen; the fundamental principles of religion, governing the general view of life and of life's obligations, are alone sufficient to form such a character. That which unites Hindus in a common faith should be clearly and simply taught; all that divides them should be ignored. Lastly, care should be taken to cultivate a wide spirit of tolerance, which not only respects the differences of thought and practice among Hindus, but which also respects the differences of religion among non-Hindus, regarding all faiths with reverence, as roads whereby men approach the supreme.

The Committee therefore lays down the following three fundamental principles, as governing all the religious and ethical instruction to be given by the Central Hindu College. (1.) It must be such as all Hindus can accept. (2.) It must include the special teachings which mark out Hinduism from other religions. (3.) It must not include the distinctive views of any special school or sect.

The religious instruction should be divided under three heads. I. Basic Hindu religious ideas. II. General Hindu religious customs and rites. III. Ethical Teachings.

The authorities from which religious instruction should be

given, and the books whence illustrations should be drawn, are :—The Vedas—including the Upanishads; the Dharma Shashtra—Manu, Yagnyavalkya, etc. ; the Puranas ; the Mahabharata and the Ramayana.

I.—BASIC HINDU RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

The One.—The One Eternal, Unchanging, Infinite—Parabrahman, Paramatman. The primary manifestation of the One as Ishvara, the manifested Brahmin, in the creation, preservation and dissolution of the worlds. (To be worked out in the text-book and every position supported by quotations from Shruti and Smriti.)

The many.—Jivas, born from diverse yonis into the moving and unmoving forms that make up the Universe—Devas, Asuras, Men, Animals, Plants, Minerals. (The various types to be explained and their work and place in the Universe to be roughly outlined, so as to give a rational and coherent view of the kosmos as a whole. Each position to be supported as before.)

Re-birth.—Jivas are born into forms over and over again, until Moksha is obtained by Karma, Bhakti and Jnana. developed and perfected by purity of life. (As before.)

Karma.—Jivas are re-born according to their thoughts, desires and deeds, each receiving a fresh body as the fruit of his past. (It is important that the working of the law, theoretically and practically, should be very clearly explained ; the theory should be supported by quotations at every point, and the practice should be illustrated by stories.)

Sacrifice.—The Universe having come into manifestation only by the Primary Sacrifice of Prajapati, it is pervaded and supported by sacrifice, that is by the continual surrender of a self for other selves. All lives are maintained by the sacrifice of other lives ; hence a constantly turning wheel of mutual obligations, an inter-dependence between all beings physical and super-physical, and a failure of any who endeavour to avoid turning this wheel. (As before.)

The visible and invisible worlds.—(As before.)

II.—GENERAL HINDU RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS AND RITES.

The Samskaras.—The meaning and importance of each to be explained, with the facts in nature on which each is based. (As before.)

Shaucha.—The rules of physical purity. (As before.)

The five daily sacrifices.—The significance of each of these. (As before.)

Worship.—Its obligation and necessity. (As before.)

The four stages of life.—The student : his duties and mode of life ; Brahmacharya. The house-holder : his duties and responsibilities to the family and the nation. The two last

stages, passing from active life. How the old ideal may be followed in spirit in modern life. (As before.)

Shrāddha.—Explanation of its meaning and use. (As before.)

The Caste System.—Its fundamental principles ; the typical stages of evolution ; the dharma of each caste ; abuses arising from clinging to the letter and ignoring the spirit of caste.

III.—ETHICAL TEACHINGS.

The place of the Emotions—Feelings the basis of family and social life and the roots of all virtues and vices. (To be worked out clearly, and simply explained.)

Virtues.—All are forms of Truth, *i.e.*, of what is, and are therefore constructive and durable. (A sequential scheme of virtues should be worked out, classifying them according to the emotions out of which they grow. Each virtue should be illustrated by stories exemplifying it.)

Vices.—Forms of Untruth, *i.e.*, of what is *not*, and therefore destructive and transient. (As above).*

Finally, in the matter of education, the Mahommedans of Southern India, who have an excellent institution at Vellore which competes with Aligurh without claiming to itself so much attention, have determined to establish a Technical Branch as an adjunct to the College, thus showing their practical good sense.

Turning to books, literature and learning, we notice the arrival in India of the American, Professor Jackson, who has brought himself forward by his studies of the Zoroastrian religion and literature. He was welcomed in Bombay by several leading Parsee gentlemen, and delivered several addresses during his stay. Our own early investigations into the same field have led us to the following conclusions :—

(1) That the *organic* unity, if any, of the *Avesta* has yet to be traced, and, if possible, proved.

(2). The same in regard to the indebtedness of the Zoroastrian faith to Jewish literature and the Jewish Scriptures. There are, thus, rich mines of research (and speculation !) yet open to Professor Jackson and men of his *cult*. Dr. Stein is still pursuing his archæological researches in Chinese Turkistan, a subject to which the first attention was drawn by the late General Nassau Lees, LL.D., then Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah and Principal of Fort William College in Bengal, in a communication to us. General Nassau Lees believed that a great deal of the ancient history of Asia and the world would

* All this is very good, but Orthodox Hindus may object to receive and work out at the hands of a non-Hindu Woman of the West what really amounts to a NEW SHASTRA and *subversion of the Old Faith*.—ED, C. R.

be discovered or elucidated by the remains of cities and books, etc., in the great then unknown region of Turkistan to which at the time we were bound. The following is a summary of Dr. Stein's results:—His labours in the inhabited part of Khotan have resulted in the identification of most of the ancient localities which are known from the accounts of early Buddhist pilgrims from China. Numerous objects of antiquarian interest, such as ancient coins, art pottery, seals, etc., found in the debris layers of these old sites, were acquired for the collection of Central Asian antiquities which has been formed under the orders of the Indian Government. Subsequently the adjoining parts of the Taklamakan deserts were explored, and the remains of ancient settlements, which had been overwhelmed by the moving sands, yielded many interesting discoveries. At one site, to the north-east of Khotan and some fifty miles from the nearest now inhabited part of the oasis, Dr. Stein was able to excavate among other ruins half-a-dozen Buddhist shrines partially buried under sand dunes. Mural paintings of remarkable freshness, together with numerous finds made there of stucco sculptures and votive pictures on wood, strikingly illustrate the thoroughly Indian character and high technical development of the art practised in ancient Khotan. Not less interesting are the finds of ancient manuscripts, mostly Sanscrit, which have come to light in the monastic dwelling places attached to those shrines. Miscellaneous documents in Chinese, and in what is likely to prove the early indigenous language of Khotan written with old Indian characters, were also unearthed in considerable numbers. The hearty co-operation and help which the Chinese local authorities have throughout accorded to Dr. Stein, have helped him along. Writing subsequently from Kashgar Dr. Stein states that he had reached Endere, and made another interesting find of Buddhist and Sanscrit manuscripts somewhat less ancient than the wooden tablets first discovered. We may add, that the vast region, between the Gobi Desert and L'hasa on the East to the Sea of Aral and the Caspian Sea on the West abounds with ancient buried cities, of which some curious legends have been preserved. On the 4th April last in a wire from Simla, we are informed that Dr. Stein was exploring in a desert north of Niya in Chinese territory, and that he has already discovered in two old monastic ruins some three hundred documents, including Buddhist texts, votive and legal records and correspondence, dating back to the first century of the Christian era. They are on wooden tablets, many being well preserved, with dates and clay seals intact. The modern world of mechanical, industrial, and scientific progress, however, cares little for such things. The romance and poetry of the world have departed. We could yet

point out sites in Eastern Bengal associated with wonderful legends which were fast dying out sixty years ago. We could furnish an account of a great and mighty and rich empire in the Central Provinces which went beyond the Buddhist and even the Hindu periods. But who would hear or care amid the rush of railways and the din of steam-hammers, or the whirr of wheels? We have to move with the age, and "let the dead (past) bury its dead."

We have also to notice a sad tale of the decline of Persian learning in India given by Mr. Beveridge—formerly a Judge of the High Court of Bengal and one of the Editors of the *Calcutta Review*—in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Beveridge was last year in India searching for Persian historical manuscripts, and he states, that the only collection now in Upper India is that of Khuda Baksh in Patna, generously dedicated to the public use. The collection is small, but choice and valuable, and rich in illuminated works of great beauty. The best and largest collection of Persian and Arabic manuscripts in all India belongs to His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.

In each of these two languages there are here more than 4,000 manuscripts. Mr. Beveridge found here a new authority on the history of Akbar, and some Tûrki verses composed by Baber and written in his own hand. Mr. Beveridge also says, that the principal treasures in the Patna collection are believed to come from the royal libraries of Delhi and Lucknow which were scattered during the troubles of the Mutiny.

Sir Thomas Munro's letters, on which the Viceroy has cast a longing, if not covetous, eye are thus referred to in the *Madras Mail*:—Considering the length of time and the number of hands which these letters must have passed through, it must be said that, far from being allowed to rot, they are kept in an excellent state of preservation. They are preserved in strong leather boards and kept in an open shelf exposed to light and air, which are considered necessary to preserve them in good condition. There are about fifteen letters, the majority of which refer to matters of local importance. In one of these, Sir Thomas Munro emphasises the importance of the sinking of wells as a protection against seasons of drought. He calculated that the price of land on which a *well was sunk was increased three times by reason of that fact*, and that it took ryots Rs. 240 to sink a decent well. Taking the average cost of a *gunta* of land at Rs. 30 when there was no well on it, he calculated that it would take a ryot four years to recover the outlay on the well. He suggested that during the first six years the ryots should not be charged any extra assessment on account of the enhanced value. He was of opinion that a

great inducement for making wells would be levying on garden lands a fixed revenue. Another letter, which is in Munro's writing, but does not bear his signature, contains the earliest allusion to the ryotwari system. A third letter gives an excellent account of the origin of *Shrotriems* and *Agraharams*, which were resumed by the Government in return for money compensation. In a fourth letter, he gives an account of the economic condition of the weaving communities in the Baramahal and Salem Districts at the close of the war of 1792, and protests against the weavers being forcibly made to work for the East India Company by their Dubashes and Agents. We are afraid the Madras Presidency will be unwilling to part with such a treasure as these letters, even to be placed in a corner of Lord Curzon's Victoria Museum of ancient curiosities and misplaced busts where no Madras official could refer to them. Mrs. Max Müller having undertaken to write a life of her late husband, the Messrs. Longmans and Green notify that she would be much indebted to any of his friends and others if they would lend her any letters of his they may possess. They should be sent to Mrs. Max Müller at 7, Norham Gardens, Oxford, and it is stated that they will be returned when done with. There is a chance, of course, of their being lost or mislaid, as happened to a very characteristic and valuable letter from the late Dr. Duff to us written more than forty years ago, and which we entrusted to the late Dr. Norman Macleod for the purpose of writing up Dr. Duff's biography. As we gave a few lines in the last Quarter's notes to notice Professor Max Müller's death, so here we briefly refer to the decease of an author of a very different stamp, unassuming, practical, and influencing her generation—or rather two generations—through the young women and mothers, in a very remarkable degree. We refer to Miss Charlotte Yonge, with some of whose numerous well-written works even some of us may not be unacquainted. She was the Editor of the *Monthly Packet*, an exceedingly tasteful publication for young people of the middle classes, and first came into notice with her novel of *The Heir of Redclyffe*, followed rapidly by *Heartsease*, *The Daisy Chain* and others. Besides these, she has also given us a life of the Martyr Bishop Patteson of Melanesia. Altogether she wrote nearly fifty works. Middle class England of the present day may be said to owe much to her. She did not rank, however, in literary power with the famous authoress of *John Halifax Gentleman*. Mr. G. W. Forrest, who was formerly in charge of the Government Records in Calcutta, and is now similarly employed in the India Office at Home, is shortly to come out with *Sepoy-Generals—Wellington to Roberts*, which will include all the great Army-leaders we have had

in India. We can only express a wish here that two of the most eminent of these, Sir Donald Stewart, and Sir William Lockhart, will not be omitted, and that justice will be done to them. Any partizan tone, or marked omissions, will be sure to destroy the value of the work. We learn from some antiquarian correspondence in the press that the first book printed in India was a *Catechism* by the Jesuits in Goa in 1557; so that India is indebted for her printing press as well as education to Missionaries. The paper read in the Indian Section of the Society of Arts on the 14th March last is called "The Growth and Trend of Indian Trade—a Forty Years' Survey," by Mr. H. J. Tozer, M.A. We are not sure that this paper was suggested by, or is derived from, a very long article on the same subject, but taking a more extended survey, in the *Indian Daily News* of Calcutta, early in 1895—an article that was reproduced in the Home press. If Mr. Tozer has not seen it, he might with advantage study it; and we shall be glad to give him space for modification or extension of his paper referred to above.

Passing from matters literary to matters scientific, the Bengal Government, with a wise liberality, grants half a lakh annually for three years for experimental research connected with the Indigo industry provided the Planters find Rs. 75,000 annually for the same period. Sir John Woodburn's Government also establishes three Sanitary Engineering Scholarships in the Shibpur College. Such wise measures and liberality speak well for the Lieutenant-Governor, who declared lately that the great earthquake, the famine, and the plague, had already cost the Bengal Government nearly fifty lakhs of rupees. But Bengal is the richest province in India, and can well afford much that is simply impossible to the other Governments. A party of Jesuit teachers from St. Xavier's College, accompanied by the former, and now pretty old Secretary of the Calcutta Municipality Mr. Turnbull, proceeded to Sumatra to take some observations during the late eclipse of the sun. We are afraid nothing much that is startlingly new can now be recorded regarding these eclipses. Some observations regarding magnetic earth-currents and earthquake-vibrations, for which sunk buildings have been sanctioned, are shortly to be undertaken by Mr. W. Küchler, who is in charge of the Alipore Observatory. An enormous kite will also be made use of for tapping the atmosphere for electricity, temperature and meteorological data which cannot be accurately ascertained from mere surface observations. We noticed in our last Quarter's notes the great Nobel Prizes. The following is a copy of a Despatch from the Home Colonial Office relative to the same subject:—

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of any persons who may be interested in the matter, that an official translation (in French) of the statutes and regulations with regard to the late Dr. Alfred Bernhard Nobel's Bequest, approved by His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, has now been published, and that the Charge d'Affaires for Sweden and Norway at this Court has asked that as much publicity as possible may be given to the contents of the publication. It is understood that the amount available under the Bequest for distribution annually in prizes to meritorious inventors and others is about £40,000; that it is divisible into five equal parts to be assigned (1) for the most important discovery in physical science, (2) for the most important discovery or improvement in chemistry, (3) for the most important discovery in physiology or medicine, (4) for the most remarkable literary work, and (5) for the greatest service in the cause of International Peace; that the first distribution of prizes will take place on the 10th of December in this year; and that the competition is open to every one without regard to nationality. There are, thus, five awards of £8,000 each for successful competitors. We feel perfectly sure from the difference between the Norwegian character and that of the French, that these munificent prizes will not be "hocussed" in the way the great *Prix de Bréant*, for the discovery of the nature and cure of cholera, has been for so many years by the Paris Academy of Sciences, to whom was left the making of the award. The French are notorious for jealousy to outsiders; and as the sum is a large one, 100,000 francs, they have determined that no one if not a Frenchman shall get it. As it has now been accumulating for a generation, with compound interest, it must amount to a very large sum. In this connection we may be permitted to draw attention to the remarkable paper on the "Cause and Cure of Cholera and Scarlatina" that appears in this issue of the *Calcutta Review*, and which seems to be mathematically (science is full of mathematics) and scientifically demonstrated, and though we have little hope that the writer—a "Physician" of half a century's large and successful experience in cholera in the East—will meet with the recognition that seems to be his due (from the number of French authorities quoted) from the Paris Academy of Sciences, it is probable he will fare better with his Norwegian brethren should he decide to send in a claim for an award from the Committee. And should he do so and the Committee award him the Prize (No. III), the Paris Academy of Sciences will have no option but to follow suit with the *Prix de Bréant*. And it will be a greater and more enduring glory to have conquered cholera and scarlatina than to have "annexed" the unwilling Boers in

South Africa even though no Order of the Garter or "patents of nobility" be forthcoming. The Supreme Government has ordered an Ethnographic Survey of India under the direction of Mr. Risley. The cost is expected to be about a lakh-and-a-half, and the time occupied in it a year or two. If we multiply these figures by five, we shall probably be nearer the mark. We remember what happened with the *Gazetteer* entrusted to the late Sir W. W. Hunter. The materials were all to hand in the old Settlement Reports and other publications, and we are quite sure that Sir W. W. Hunter himself would have taken the "contract" to have brought out the work for a tenth what it actually ultimately cost. So it will be with this Ethnographic Survey. But, the Government of India, which cannot sanction a couple of lakhs for a few "Model" Technical Colleges say one at each of the Capitals to increase the wealth of the country, or even looks askance at pitifully small allowances for rewarding proved merit and services, rushes headlong into indefinite lakhs of expenditure merely for the gratification of temporary whims or misguided notions. The *Gazetteer*, for instance, is already out of date—by saying so we certainly do not mean to imply that it should be re-written, or a few more lakhs spent on it—; and the results of this Ethnographic Survey, however interesting, will only lie in the libraries of a few students of Ethnology—"unpractical and useless humbugs" as somebody called them. A Director of Archæology, too, is to be re-appointed, after the post had been abolished, and there is less need of it. All the archæological remains of India are in the hands of the District Officers, who, if they merely added a few lines in their Annual Reports, would amply suffice for them. As for making future and fresh discoveries, we guarantee that no Simla-appointed "Director" will ever do anything much, even with Lord Curzon's special assistance to aid him. A Director-General of Scientific Agriculture is also promised as well as farming experiments for which, see one of the papers, in this number. A very apt instance of how matters may be muddled, or even fat sinecures made for favourites at the public expense, is afforded in the recent appointment of Mr. Hatch, a gold expert from South Africa (!), to the work of finding out mineral grounds in India. It seems he was brought out at considerable expense to merely report on the Kolar Gold Mine; or, in other words, as confessed by Mr. Griesbach, the Director of the Geological Survey, in a letter to the *Pioneer*, to supplement the utter ignorance in practical mineral matters of the highly-paid and overmanned Geological Department! As for India being even remotely benefited by the expenditure of probably over a lakh on Mr. Hatch—who was appointed by Lord George Hamilton,

and who set aside other far more experienced mineral specialists and who were acquainted with India—there is not the most remote likelihood. And it is for all this precious waste of untold lakhs in the aggregate that we impose an unnatural and unpopular grinding Salt Tax, continually breaking out in Riots, or an infamous Opium “Monopoly” which is the scorn of the enlightened world, the shame of England, and the bane and destruction of China.

NATIVE STATES AND PRINCES.—The Gaekwar of Baroda has again appeared in a “new (and striking) light,” highly to his credit as an enlightened prince. Indeed, we doubt if any crowned head in Europe, or even a science professor, could have done and spoken better. We refer to the Chief’s speech at the meeting of the Grant Medical College. Let us trust that the speech was not written out for him. In any case, the sentiments must be his, and in every respect they do him credit. The young Mysore Prince has returned from his trip to Burmah, and has expressed his surprise at seeing Rangoon and the Shway Dagoon Pagoda. He should also see St. Peter’s Rome, and the Cologne Cathedral—if not, Chicago and its palaces. But here that ill-advised and absurd resolution, proclamation, and other, of Lord Curzon’s, bars the way! Mysore now rejoices in a new Dewan, Krishna Moorti, whose name even ought to be a guarantee of the highest ability and excellence. Indeed, we think Mysore particularly lucky in having such an enlightened and liberal-minded man at the head of its affairs. The following, which we reproduce from a portion of the Dewan’s reply to an address of congratulation from the Protestant Native Christians of Bangalore, while they would make the hairs stand on end of the leaders of “orthodox” Bengal, shows that the man who could utter such sentiments, considering who he is, would be a leader wherever he was and stand always in the van of true progress and enlightenment. He said :—I am very glad indeed to meet you here and to receive assurances of your good wishes. I thank you sincerely for your very kind congratulatory address. Yours is a progressive and growing community, possessing every facility for advancement and reform. Your numbers are increasing, and at present they are, I believe, about 28,000. Your religion and education both combine to make you peaceful, contented and truthful subjects ever striving to advance in the scale of civilisation, devoted to your chosen pursuits and loyal to your Sovereign. It is a feature very pleasant and encouraging to contemplate that you have already assumed the leading position of sending 59 per cent. of those of the school-going age to be educated, while this is only 12 per cent. among the rest of the Hindus. It is my earnest wish that you may always keep yourselves in the van of progress

I am glad you recognise that in the past the interests of the Native Christian community have always been given fair consideration in Mysore, and to this policy of the Government with which I have been more or less connected in my long official career I shall gladly adhere. Your legitimate claims and aspirations will always receive at my hands liberal and sympathetic treatment.

The Maharajah of Jodhpur, who is also one of our Native "travelled" Princes (*pace* somebody) has shown much enlightenment in getting himself inoculated for the plague as an example to his subjects. We are also pleased to learn, even from private letters from Home, of his (as well as the Baroda Chief's) courtesy and hospitality to lady-travellers of note who pass through Jodhpur. There have been wholesale removals of "Nawabs" and high Officers of State by the Nizam in Hyderabad. We have no reason to believe this is the initiation of a new policy to send back the needy "foreigners" from North India who swarm about here, and live on the fat of the land to the exclusion of the native-born. Even the Government of India has, we believe, a rule by which no Bengalis—why Bengalis alone?—can be employed in high offices in the States under the Political Department, and Hyderabad a Southern State might well copy it by excluding Northern India folk. There are quite enough of enlightened Mahommedans in Southern India, besides Hindus, to draw from. And who is not aware that much of the renown of the great Akbar's rule is owing to his very able Hindu Prime Minister—Bir Bâl of immortal memory among even the Bhâts and wandering minstrels of India down to the present day! Let the Nizam copy a leaf from the great Akbar's book, and he will have no occasion to regret it. *Punnah*, too, one of the largest and finest States of Bundelkund, has long been most efficiently ruled or governed by a Native *Christian*! The Chief of Khetri in Rajputana, who had previously spent lakhs on a visit to England and grudged a few hundreds to open up the rich mineral resources of his State, just as probably Bhopal and Gondal have been doing, being debarred from making further visits outward, went about sight-seeing in Agra, and while standing on a tile on one of the lofty blue-glazed small minarets which crown Secundra, Akbar's tomb, lost his footing and was dashed to pieces down below—a sad fate and a warning not to stand on slippery eminences. The Maharajah of Tipperah has, we learn, granted a concession of all the minerals of his territory to a Calcutta firm of builders (!)—rather "a large order," and one which it is the policy of Government to discourage since the sad example of the Hyderabad-Deccan Company, who, according to their last report, with all their

possession of the famous Golconda Mines, and Gold Mines of Raichur, and exclusion of others from the field, and the much-talked-of Singareni Coal Mines, have never yet paid a dividend, and have been obliged to reduce their £5 shares to three shares of £1 each. Truly mining enterprize in some parts of India proceeds under great disabilities of waste, bad advice and lax management. And here, in regard to operations in *British* territory, especially the Central Provinces and Burmah, we would again urge on the Viceroy the requiring of "quarterly" returns (after the plan of Sir Charles Napier when he wanted to see a thing done) of mineral applications, the granting or refusing or delay of them, reasons, and every other needful detail, in order that he may himself see how the new Mineral Rules, on which so much was built for attracting capital, are actually worked. The naked truth in such matters would probably be a revelation to him, and explain why ready capital, anxious to enter, flees away, and the wealth of India is left untouched and buried in the earth. To revert to our Native Chiefs and Princes, the Mian Bhûre Singh of Chamba gets a well-merited C.I.E. for having afforded Lord Curzon such excellent sport at the close of last year. Lord Curzon is fond of sport, but there may be too much of it. The notorious Sir Bir Shumshere of Nepal has deceased and early gone to that home where it was said he sent Sir Ranodip Jung and others when he seized on the supreme power of his State, to expose which Sir C. E. Girdlestone, our Resident, is reported to have come to his own early death. How Lord Dufferin, who had also then the opportunity of adding Nepal to our territories, could have recognised Bir Shumshere's usurpation without fuller proof of his innocence passes our comprehension. Let us, after all, hope that even Bir Shumshere was innocent of the heinous crime of which he was accused, and that Lord Dufferin was convinced of his guiltlessness. The numerous exiled Nepal Princes residing in various parts of India—in Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad and Jubbulpore, will now have an opportunity of returning to their homes, and getting back portions of the estates which Bir Shumshere's rapacity is stated to have deprived them of.

Finally, we have here to note the death of Dhurumjit Singh, Deo Bahadur (called by courtesy "Rajah"), Political Chief of Udaipur, South of Sirguja, and owner of two or three other principalities to the North. He died in the middle of his years. He was a most excellently-disposed, and hard-working Prince. He had himself taught English, and never neglected for a day to personally attend to the duties of his various states, which, together, comprised a very extensive area—although he was unknown to *Gazette* honors and even to the outside public of India. He was a genuine father to his people, and ruled

his subjects in love on the old Hindu fashion. And to our surprise we learn,—and we bring it to Sir John Woodburn's notice,—that immediately on his decease, some native employé of the Commissioner's Court at Ranchi, was sent to take charge of the whole so-called estate, but really comprising several principalities and this large State of Udaipur! How the poor primitive inhabitants must regret it. Surely a European Collector or Magistrate might have been made available for such an extensive and important charge—even if only temporary. The Native Press must not hence conclude we object to natives ruling—our previous remarks on Mysore and other States will disabuse them. And if any further proof be needed of our sentiments, it will be seen when we say that it was also a mistake on the part of Government not to have exercised due pressure on the extensive state of Doomraon, to have also an *Official* Collector or Magistrate in the place of a private European, even if a local “planter, appointed.” We consider that the ruling of these large States during minorities or interregnums should be reserved to members of the Services, and not given away to inferior *amlah* as in this Udaipur case, or to outside folk whoever they may be planters or others. There are certain vast estates now under the Court of Wards to which our remarks equally apply. A rule should be made that estates of over a certain area, say 7,000 or 8,000 square miles, or over a certain income, should be entrusted to a member of one or the other of the two Services. We do not care at the end of this portion of our Quarter's notes to take up the question of small Indian chiefs and others starting for Europe as “Princes,” and other cognate matters in reference to the titles “Maharajahs” and “Nawabs” now used in a slipshod way, but we hope to find space some time or other for a subject of some importance—namely, the confusion resulting from the want of a well-defined phraseology in regard to Indian Political Chiefs and Princes, and others non-political dignified with honorary titles.

OTHER MATTERS.—In the connected rapid and brief notes recorded above, there are necessarily some matters which come to be thrown out, and which yet are deserving of notice. Of such are the following:—And first in regard to Mr. Pennell's case. Mr. Pennell may be a very able man, and a righteous judge, but he lacks one or two very essential things—one being ordinary prudence. He is also somewhat intemperate in language, and oblivious of a due proportion of things. There are times when imprudence may betoken the highest courage, and it be necessary even to call a spade a spade. But with all due qualifications, Mr. Pennell has succeeded in making decorum a farce. He may have been perfectly right in his

judgment, but he was unquestionably wrong in bringing in Mrs. Cargill's name along with her husband's as threatening him in the execution of his duty. Imagine a lady frightening Mr. Pennell—she ought rather to have softened him. His treatment of Sir John Woodburn was shocking and inexcusable. The only excuse that can be made for him was that he was really very ill with a very painful disease, which being intimately connected with the brain, made his head go wrong. He was perfectly right in resisting unauthorised calls by unauthorised people, even if made in the name of the High Court, to deliver up important papers. And here we come to the real trouble of the whole matter—his suspension. We are no apologists here for Sir John Woodburn or the Bengal Government, but it is clear the latter had no option left but to suspend him, that is, simply carried out the orders of the High Court authorities. From the evidence before us, these latter were completely in the wrong, and had lost their heads, and they compelled Sir John Woodburn to suspend Mr. Pennell. If the Subordinate Judge of the Mofussil was wrong, his superiors of the High Court were still more wrong; and what is worse, succeeded in placing Sir John in a false position. Exonerating, therefore, Sir John and the Bengal Government entirely, we lay the whole blame on the High Court authorities for having lost their heads for being unjust to Mr. Pennell, and leading Sir John into a false position and bringing on him needless blame. It has been a high serio-comedy played by the official world to an admiring public, in which the stomach and its troubles, as with Napoleon at Waterloo, bore a principal part, and the High Court figures as an imperious and unreasonable hot-headed despot breaking its own rules; the sufferers being Sir John Woodburn and Mr. Pennell. The proper ending for the whole thing is apologies all round, and first the High Court should confess its mistake and apologise to Sir John Woodburn for having led him wrong, and to Mr. Pennell for having treated him unjustly. Next, Mr. Pennell should apologise to Sir John Woodburn for his shameful treatment of the latter's kind and even fatherly efforts. Then Mr. Pennell should be granted leave of absence for a year, from the date of his suspension, on full pay, to balance his stomach and recover his judicial equilibrium. We may conclude with a moral: be merciful and never refuse leave of absence when urgently requested by the poorest subordinate; and never act in a hurry as the High Court did. The old Arabic proverb says, "Hurry is from the Devil!" The Vernacular Press of India has found an amiable apologist in Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., late of Madras, and also a severe and hostile critic in its own camp writing in the

Twentieth Century, a new native monthly review started in Calcutta similar to the monthly *Indian Review* of Madras. The subject is one of great importance, and we should wish to see it justly treated by some competent pen, failing which, on some future occasion, we may ourselves proceed to set forth what we know of it. The Madras and Bengal Provincial Conferences have come off, and, as usual, only a grain of wheat in a bushel of chaff! A correspondent writes to us to state, that he "believes India is afflicted with plague and famines for it to turn from its degrading idol-worship and seek the Living GOD." The evils of tom-toming reached a climax the other day in South India when a European got inside a temple and thrashed the horrid din-makers. Why should not tom-toming be legally put down, or put "out of bounds?" It is simply noise, and a nuisance, and excruciating to many. There has been a severe riot in the Khulna district in Bengal over illicit salt. Salt was said to be cheap now in the late talk in Council over the Budget, but we know the time when a handful of salt sufficient for the day's use used to be "thrown into the bargain," that is, for nothing, along with other small bazaar purchases. Indeed, the very poor of the population are most heavily taxed by this impost, far beyond their means. We believe a Persian proverb says, that "even a dog would not tax salt." Among our correspondents, and we have several, one requests us to take up Lord Curzon's "twelve or fifteen" famous articles of his Indian creed, and another sets forth a woeful array of Railway delinquencies. The former we reserve for future special treatment; and we may set forth the latter on some other occasion. The Central Railway Station Committee's Report puts the matter of both the Station and Bridge further back than ever. The cost will be enormous. Ceylon tea it seems is underselling Indian teas in India—which betokens a fine state of things. We have no space in this number to deal with the question of a new Chief Commissionership to be formed out of Orissa, Chota-Nagpur, and the eastern portion of the Central Provinces. The plague at first increased rapidly, and has again suddenly diminished. A plague riot in the Punjab cost a poor Naib-Tahsildar his life. The partial famine anticipated in Western India has already sent nearly half a million of men into relief. Eastern Bengal is reported to be growing more and more disorderly. Eastern Bengal has been famous for disorder since the days of Doodoo Meeah some seventy or eighty years ago. The causes are many, and we have no space to consider them at present. Some have said the Bengalis are the Irish of India, with a special aptitude for turbulency. The natives are taking to having Banks of their own conducted on English principles. Should these Banks

spread, as they assuredly will, they will take off much business from our present local Banks. Where should the capital of India be located ?" We have no time or space to answer this question now. We do think, however comfortable the Boer prisoners of war may be made in India, they should not have been sent to this country. Professor Ramsay in his Report says, evidently with surprise,—“I have seen several skilled workmen in India.” He is not aware that the natives of India with their fine sense of touch and patience, have the materials in them of making the best skilled workmen in the world. Dacca muslins and Cashmere shawls could never be made in any other country. A Madras paper thus lugubriously laments the results of the carrying out of the present Viceroy's Resolution about the curtailment of Administration Reports :—

In former years the Administration Report of the Public Works Department, Irrigation Branch, was an annual of considerable length. The Report itself, interspersed with many tabular statements, occupied close on one hundred pages, a space which, making due allowance for the statistics which have to be shown, was none too much to describe the working of the Department for a year. To this Report were attached some interesting diagrams, exhibiting at a glance the working and progress of all the more important irrigation systems since their commencement, and as a little *bonne bouche*—a luxury, no doubt, but a legitimate one—a few photographs of the more important works carried out during the year under review, accompanied by a few lines of letter press describing them. The Report was also interspersed with sketch maps of the various irrigation systems, which, if not absolutely necessary, added greatly to the amenity of the volume, and, once produced, involved little or no further labour. But what have we now ? Gone are the maps, there are no more photographs, we look in vain for those useful diagrams which gave the life history of each project, and the Report itself is boiled down into 26 pages. To make up for all this, we have the administrative accounts of the Department, pages and pages of figures which we make bold to prophesy not even the veriest expert will find cause to dip his nose into.

We have no space at present to notice Mr. Vaughan Nash's “*Empire Adrift*”—referring to India, in a late number of the *Contemporary*. But we may furnish the following extract from the proceedings of the House of Commons, adding that no reply was given to Mr. Caine :—

Mr. Caine asked the Secretary of State for India : Whether his attention has been drawn to the evidence of the 7th February before the Famine Commission of Mr. Lely, Commissioner in Guzerat, to the effect that owing to the exhaustion of the soil, the fall in price of sugar and cotton, the disuse of the old custom of grain storage for Home consumption, and the loss of 70 per cent. of their cattle, there has been a complete breakdown among the cultivators of Guzerat :

And, whether, seeing that Mr. Lely repeatedly urged a suspension of 45 per cent. of the revenues last year in Guzerat, he can state the grounds on which the Bombay Government refused to remit more than 20 per cent. ; is he aware that owing to the force of circumstances only 28 per cent. could be collected ; and can he explain why the proposed suspensions of revenue were not earlier made known to the people.

Finally, a paper friendly to the Boers furnishes the following description of the situation in South Africa. We believe it is nothing but the truth. A single turn in the tide in reference to the "loyalty" of the Cape Dutch, and South Africa, even yet, would be lost to us. And in our opinion, it would be to quote an expressive phrase, "good riddance of bad rubbish." We believe the Empire would not in the least be affected by it, but, rather, be stronger than ever. The pivot on which England's greatness turns is not South Africa, but India. Has not the Viceroy said it? Lords Cromer and Kitchener would probably be inclined to say Egypt. We leave the matter undecided here! Here is the South African situation:—

"Our invading columns hold that portion of the Free State upon which they are encamped. Their necessities are such that they have evacuated several important towns during the last few weeks so as to keep close to the railway; also during the last few weeks about a battalion of the British invading force have surrendered (to the Republicans). We do not make any serious pretence of holding the back country of the Orange Free State. In the South African Republic, of course, our armies are more unfavourably situated. A few days ago we were attacked almost within gunshot of Pretoria at Kaalfontein and at Geldenhuys's farm, only about six miles from the centre of Johannesburg. Whenever our troops have put their heads out of a heavily fortified town they are fired upon. The greater portion of the Transvaal is not only unconquered, but untouched, and it is held by an army of 8,000 to 9,000 veterans under General Louis Botha. The Presidents of the two Republics are free, and with their deputies and counsellors continue to exercise their functions in a great part—the Transvaal the greater part—of the countries. In addition to this there is the invasion of our territory by several thousand Boers."

Our obituary list includes the following names:—

General H. G. Waterfield, C. B.; Dr. Creighton, Bishop of London; Mr. Justice Ranade, of Bombay; Duc de Broglie; General Gourko; Rev. H. R. Haweis; Ex-King Milan, of Servia; Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, D.C.L. (a Sanscrit scholar); Admiral Commerell; General Sir Sam Browne; Sir John Stainer (Mus. composer); Bishop Stubbs of Oxford; Dr. Tanner, M. P., for Cork; General Barnard (late of Madras); Ex-President Harrison; Miss Yonge; Sir Edward Watkin; Sir Dinshaw Pettit; Sir Arthur Strachey (C. J., Allahabad).

 *Special articles to appear in our next number:—*

Women as Rulers, by Sir W. H. Rattigan.

Our Bengal Lieutenant-Governors.

Tantra Literature, by Rev. Dr. Macdonald.

Continuation of A Returned Empty, by an Old C. S.

Serpent Worship in Malabar.

Also some others under consideration.

THE EDITOR.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Imperial and Colonial Magazine and Review. Illustrated.
Vol. I, Part I, November, 1900. 1s. nett. Edited by "Celt"
and E. F. Benson. London: Hurst & Blackett. India:
Thacker, Spink & Co., Thacker & Co., and A. H. Wheeler
& Co.

THIS is a dainty production, got up in the best style as regards paper, illustrations, &c., so that it may even grace a drawing-room table. The articles are mostly all on interesting present-day subjects, written by leading writers; with a tale, and an account of Colchester; and avoid the error, for a magazine, of being too long. There are also the usual reviews of the month's events, political and other, and of publications. We can only wish it every success. A serial tale by an author of repute may hereafter well find a place in its pages.

Rue with a Difference. By Rosa Nouchette Carey. 3s. 6d.
London: Macmillan's Colonial Library.

THIS author of a dozen-and-half other novels, some of which have gone to the 30th thousand, and all told a sale of over a quarter of a million of copies, must be popular with a certain class of young-lady readers who live about Cathedral closes. The title of the novel implies that the ending is not "bitter," though very nearly so.

Modern Broods, or Developments Unlooked for. By Charlotte Mary Yonge. 3s. 6d. London: Macmillan's Colonial Library.

MISS YONGE has been about the most prolific tale-writer for half a century past, having written over fifty novels and other works in as many years. She writes for a very large class of young lady-readers, and her manners, style, and treatment are very superior. Just as we go to press, we learn that she has ended her earthly literary career.

The Attachè at Peking. By A. B. Freeman-Mitford, C.B. 3s. 6d. London: Macmillan's Colonial Library.

THE author of *Tales of Old Japan*, the *Bamboo Garden*, and other pleasant and instructive works is well known and generally liked. The present volume familiarly impresses, in the form of "Letters," all that may be seen in, or should be

known of, the Flowery Land now so prominent before the public. The writer takes the reader with him from Hong-Kong to Peking. Even Mongolia is treated. Higher subjects as trade, politics, and the like, are very lucidly set forth. We should think this work is one of the most readable in Macmillan's Colonial Library Series.

The Increasing Purpose. By James Lane Allen. 3s. 6d.
London: Macmillan's Colonial Library.

MR. Allen's novels are always worth reading, and this one in particular, to those to whom—to quote him—"the Old Faith, the New Science, and the New Doubt," are of interest. There is an increasing tendency at the present day to treat of matters of Faith in novels which, whatever it may indicate, does not forebode well for the appearance of a classical class—that will outlive the age. Mr. Allen's tale is, of course, well told.

Eleanor. By Mrs. Humphrey Ward. 3s. 6d. London: Macmillan's Colonial Library.

WRITTEN in Mrs. Ward's peculiar style, the tale opens 15 miles from Rome; goes through a deal of Rome and adjacent life and scenery; and is concerned with Italy and her priests; the usual love-story forming the basis. Rome may loom largely in the view of a certain small class of—principally lady, readers; but is out of place in, and sympathy with, the busy, living, colonising world of to-day; and neither moves it, nor affects it. We have no doubt the novel serves a useful purpose, but of such works, in connection with Rome, we may have a surfeit—especially after Marie Corelli's last magnificent effort. We notice, with regret, that this work by Mrs. Ward is repeatedly disfigured by such phrases as "Good God!"—"In God's Name," and so forth which show neither culture, nor refinement, nor strength, but, on the contrary—vulgarity and weakness.

Kindergarten Teaching in India. Part I. Infant Standard, Part II. First Standard, and Part III. Second Standard. Eight annas each. By Mrs. Brander, Inspectress of Girls' Schools, Northern and Central Circles, Madras. London, Bombay, and Calcutta. Messrs. Macmillan & Co.

WE cannot too highly praise these small but useful and very well got up Kindergarten Manuals, and can only trust that they will be extensively adopted throughout India. A Missionary Conference of late expressed a wish to get them

in Hindi. There would be a larger sale of such works in Hindi and other vernaculars than in English.

The Fauna of British India, including Ceylon and Burma.

Published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Edited by W. T. Blanford. *Arachnida*. By R. I. Pocock. London: Taylor & Francis; Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co.; Bombay: Thacker & Co.

THIS is a work of the highest scientific value to those who take an interest in Scorpions, Spiders, and other such creatures. It contains descriptions of all the species of *Arachnida*, &c., and should prove useful to students of natural history.

Authorised Guide to Lee Warner's Citizen of India. By Rev.

A. Tomory, M.A., Professor of English Literature, Duff College, Calcutta. Macmillan & Co., Limited; London, Bombay and Calcutta, 1900. Price twelve annas.

THE title sets forth the object of the work, which is in the form of questions and answers, and is eminently adapted to impress on the pupils the lessons of one of the most valuable educational works ever supplied to India. No educational institution of any pretence whatever, should fail to be without this work in the curriculum of its teaching.

The Authorised Guide to Sir Roper Lethbridge's History of

India. By Isan Chandra Ghosh, M.A., Head Master of the Hughli Training School. Macmillan & Co., Limited; London, Bombay and Calcutta, 1901. Price twelve annas.

VERY much the same remarks may be applied to this useful little work for historical notes relating to India.

Supplement to Nesfield's Idiom, Grammar and Synthesis Book

IV, consisting of appendices on Accent, Pronunciation, Structure of Sentences and Structure of Paragraph as required by the Matriculation, or Entrance and First Arts Courses of Indian Universities. Macmillan & Co., Limited; London, Bombay and Calcutta, 1900. Price three annas.

THIS is an exceedingly valuable, though unpretentious work to the student of pronunciation, and Sentence-structure.

Macmillan's Atlas for Primary Schools in India. Macmillan & Co., Limited; London, Bombay and Calcutta. Price eight annas.

THIS is one of the very best atlases we have seen, even though modestly set forth as for Primary Schools, and is

fully worth ten times its price. It is unusually full, beautifully coloured, and brought down to the latest date except the population according to the last census. The variety of information on the cover relating to Religion, Shipping, Trade, Languages, Races, Railways and Cultivated Acres, are especially valuable. The Messrs. Macmillan, by their excellent School and College works, so well got up and so cheap, are fast taking possession of the extensive Indian educational market. We wish them every success.

The Indian Penal Code. Act XLV of 1860 (with all amendments to date) and Notes, Analysis and Commentaries thereon, by Reginald A. Nelson, M.A., LL.M., of the Inner Temple, Bar.-at-Law, Principal of the Madras Law College, and Advocate of the High Court of Madras. Third Edition. Madras : Srinivasa Varadachari & Co.; London : Sweet and Maxwell, Limited, Law Publishers, 3, Chancery Lane, W.C. 1901. [All rights reserved.]

TO quote from the Preface—"with the addition of the large number of cases (some 350) mentioned above, the present edition will, it is believed, afford a pretty complete Digest of the Case Law decided under the Code. Decisions under the English Criminal Law have also been referred to." The work, the compiler informs us, has recently been prescribed as the text book in Criminal Law in the University of Madras, in addition to the Punjab University.

A School History of Ancient and Modern India. By Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E. With Illustrations and Maps. Macmillan & Co., London, Bombay and Calcutta.

MR. Dutt has produced an exceedingly useful, and even interesting work in a small compass, and well adapted even for advanced classes. The type is clear, and the illustrations are numerous and instructive, though we remember to have seen them before. The numerous maps are also valuable, as showing at a glance India under early Hindu eras, and at various period of British rule. While we, thus, give the work its due praise, we note a number of Mr. Dutt's peculiar ideas and errors. For instance, in page 30, he says "the religion of the Aryan Hindus was adopted 'by all the great non-Aryan Natives of India in this age,' about 800 B.C. How he has managed to include one of the greatest of the non-Aryan tribes, the Gonds, as Hindus, it is impossible to guess. In a work on history, we should not sacrifice truth to vanity. Again, in page 44, after giving an extract from Fa Hian about a Buddhist festival in the fifth century, Mr. Dutt says, "it shows how the

worship of images crept into India with the spread of Buddhism!" An extraordinary inference indeed, that Hindu idolatry was begotten of Buddhism. This same effort to whitewash Hinduism may be seen throughout the book—in page 49, and again in page 60. We have always suspected that the early Vedic worship of the powers of Nature had considerably deteriorated before Buddhism rose as a protest—even against the sensual idolatry of the day. How does the great work of *Manu* affect the matter, as asserted in page 49? There is also a Syrian King called Anhiochus, of whom probably few have heard. But Mr. Dutt's sources of information are probably cryptic, if not even self-evolved. But for these—very glaring—defects, the History is, as we have said, useful, and even excellent.

A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar). A Contribution to the History of India. By Robert Sewell, Madras Civil Service (retired), M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S. London: Swan Sounenschein & Co. 1900. Price 15s.

MR. Sewell belongs to that class of Civilian officers of whom we could wish to see more*. Sir W. W. Hunter, lately passed away, was the latest most prominent member of this class. And Mr. Sewell in his style, too, and even in going back to dead and forgotten things, reminds us of Sir W. W. Hunter. Now that the latter has disappeared from public ken, Mr. Sewell rises worthily to take his place. Mr. Sewell was, however, in his earlier career in India, as compared with Sir W. W. Hunter's earlier career in this country, far more eminent and distinguished. His chronological tables and sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India, and his papers on archæological research and early Buddhist symbolism, as well as other contributions showed much research, and early marked him as an officer of high attainments and rare promise. This promise, though he has retired from the service, he has now fulfilled in this splendid work on Vijayanagar. For over two centuries, from 1336 to 1565, this city was the capital of a Hindu Empire that included the whole of Southern India. It was ably governed, and continued to increase in wealth and prosperity. It was the admiration of the Portuguese travellers of that day, who have given very full and florid descriptions of it which Mr. Sewell has incorporated, in translations, in his work. With power, prosperity and wealth, came pride, the usual precursor of a fall; and accordingly the Mahomedan scourge overtook it.

* What has become of Charles Arthur Kelly, — once a frequent contributor to our pages, — with his exquisite contributions on the days of classical Greece? Surely leaving India does not benumb one's pen? — ED. C. R.

The last Hindu sovereign, with nearly a million of men, went out to meet the invaders, carried on a litter, for he was 96 years of age. But he was captured and at once decapitated, throwing the Hindu forces into a panic. A hundred thousand of them are supposed to have been slaughtered in the pursuit, and the victorious Moslems entered the city. When, earlier, the news of the disaster reached the city "All hope was gone. The myriad dwellers in the city were left defenceless. No retreat, no flight was possible except to a few, for the pack-oxen and carts had almost all followed the forces to the war, and they had not returned. Nothing could be done but to bury all treasures, to arm the young men, and to wait. Next day the place became a prey to the robber tribes and jungle people of the neighbourhood. Hordes of Brinjaris, Lambadis, Kurubas, and the like, poured down on the hapless city, and looted the stores and shops, carrying off great quantities of riches. The third day saw the beginning of the end. The victorious Mussalmans had halted on the field of battle for rest and refreshment; but now they had reached the capital, and from that time forward for a space of five months Vijayanagar knew no rest. The enemy had come to destroy, and they carried out their object relentlessly. They slaughtered the people without mercy; broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings, that, with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls, nothing now remains but a heap of ruins to mark the spot where once the stately buildings stood. They demolished the statues, and even succeeded in breaking the limbs of the huge Narasimha monolith. Nothing seemed to escape them. They broke up the pavilions standing on the huge platform from which the kings used to watch the festivals and overthrew all the carved work. They lit huge fires in the magnificently decorated buildings forming the temple of Vithalasvami near the river and smashed its exquisite stone sculptures. With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never, perhaps, in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city; teeming one day with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity, and on the next seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors begging description."

And there ended the Empire of the "King of Kings, Lord of the Greater Lords of India and Lord of the Three Seas and of the Land!"

Açvaghosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana. Translated for the first time from the Chinese version by Teitaro Suzuki, Chicago. The Open Court Publishing Company London Agents: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner & Co. 1900.

THIS is a small work translated from the Chinese by Mr. Suzuki. It is supposed that there is a Sanscrit original, but it has not yet been found. The author is also supposed to have been a Bengali Brahmin, but his name does not support that view—a Ghose is not a Banerji or a Mukerji. It is said he became a Buddhist, and wrote this work. He propounded a peculiar view of metaphysics, which seems to have taken well with the Chinese race; hence a translation of his work is found only in China. The Awakening of Faith is, of course, in his peculiar view, though where any *Faith* comes in it is difficult to see—except to believe that he had attained unto Supreme Wisdom. The work is an attempt to show Nirvana may be attained by the Buddhistic process of thought—not by the practical self or ego crucifixion of the Christian: to get rid of suffering, and not to suffer. It is all “contemplate,” “contemplate,” “contemplate!” Hence the effecteness of Buddhism. We have no doubt that the American “Open Court Publishing Company” consider this work quite a prize; but we consider it as a hopeless attempt to revive a peculiar form of a small portion of metaphysics (or the science of the mind), which has been long dead and buried—a dead effort of Hindu metaphysics, pored over only by as dead old Chinese Bonzes.

The Tiruvāçagam, or ‘Sacred Utterances’ of the Tamil Poet Saint and Sage Mānikka-Vāçagar: the Tamil Text of the fifty-one Poems, with English Translation, Introductions, and Notes; to which is prefixed a summary of the Life and Legends of the Sage, with appendices illustrating the great South-Indian System of Philosophy and Religion called the Carva Siddhāntam. With Tamil Lexicon and Concordance. By the Rev. G. U. Pope, M.A., D.D., Balliol College and Indian Institute, Oxford. Pages c+440, Royal 8vo., cloth. Price 21s. net. Printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford. London, Edinburgh and New York.

THIS title-page gives a full description of the contents and nature of the work. The Rev. Dr. Pope is probably the only Tamil scholar of eminence in Europe, and his numerous works in that language are well-known. Alone he expatiates—and from the example before us, evidently revels—in that field. The *Tiruvāçagam* is the *magnum opus* of his

long life. That it is so, and its completion, are thus described by himself :—

“I date this on my eightieth birthday. I find, by reference, that my first Tamil lesson was in 1837. This ends, as I suppose a long life of devotion to Tamil studies. It is not without deep emotion that I thus bring to a close my life’s literary work.

“Some years ago, when this publication was hardly projected, one evening, after prayers, the writer was walking with the late Master of Balliol College in the quadrangle. The conversation turned upon Tamil legends, poetry and philosophy. At length, during a pause in the conversation, the Master said in a quick way peculiar to him, ‘you must print it.’ To this the natural answer was, ‘Master! I have no patent of immortality, and the work would take very long.’ I can see him now, as he turned round,—while the moonlight fell upon his white hair and kindly face,—and laid his hand upon my shoulder, saying, ‘To have a great work in progress is the way to live long. You will live till you finish it.’ I certainly did not think so then, though the words have often come to my mind as a prophecy, encouraging me when weary; and they have been fulfilled, while he has passed out of sight.”

The work is inscribed “to the memory of Benjamin Jowett, one of the kindest, and best, and most forbearing of friends—with all gratitude and reverence.” It is one which no student of the essence of the Caiva faith of South India can be without. There is not only the Tamil text with its translation and lexicon and concordance, but the numerous “Notes” are particularly valuable, and the book should find a place in every well-appointed library throughout India, Europe, and America.

The following couple of extracts, one from a “Note” and the other one of the translations will show the style and excellence of Dr. Pope’s work, though we are inclined to think that he has taken a very unaccustomed view in regard to the Tamil poet being on a par with the great Christian saint (and poet) St. Bernard in religious sentiment, which, with our knowledge of India and Indian peoples, we venture to assert is distinct one from the other in conception and essence as well as object.

The following extract from a “Note” describes the *Caiva Siddhānta* :—

“The *Caiva Siddhānta* system is the most elaborate, influential, and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of all the religions of India. It is peculiarly the South Indian, and Tamil, religion; and must be studied by everyone who hopes to understand and influence the great South Indian peoples. The

Vaishnava sect has also many influential followers in the Tamil lands, but these are chiefly immigrants from the North. Caivism is the old pre-historic religion of South India, essentially existing from pre-Aryan times,* and holds sway over the hearts of the Tamil people. But this great attempt to solve the problems of God, the soul, humanity, nature, evils, suffering, and the unseen world, has never been fully expounded in English." [*p.* lxxiv. The "Note" is a very long and particularly valuable one.]

In the following extract, we give a whole poem, called the "Tambour Song; or, Refuge with Civan," as it furnishes the very gist and essence of *Caivism*—a sort of elevated assurance and deliverance from "birth's illusions" as well as future "births":—

HYMN XI.

I.

Māl's self went forth a boar, but failed His sacred Foot
To find; that we His form might know, a Sage He came,
And made me His! To Him, Who hath nor name, nor form,
A thousand sacred names, sing we, and beat Tellēṇam!

2

The Lord in Perun-turrai's ever-hallowed shrine
Who dwelt, my birth with all its germs destroyed; since when
I've none else; formless is He,—a form He wears,
The Lord of blest Arūr, sing we, and beat Tellēṇam!

3

To Hari and to Brahmā and to other gods
Not manifested, Civan came in presence there,
Melted our hearts, received our service due; that all
The world may hear, and smile, sing we, and beat Tellēṇam!

4

From sinking in the vain abyss of worthless gods,—
From birth's illusions all,—the Light Supernal saved
And made me His. Soon as the new, pure Light, was given
How I in Bliss was lost: sing we, and beat Tellēṇam!

5

To 'wildered gods, to Ayan, and to Māl unknown,
Civan assumed a form, that men should joy.
That germs of birth consumed might die, with gracious glance,
How to my soul He came, sing we, and beat Tellēṇam!

6

The Lord, Who shakes the serpent dancing round His waist,
With His Hill partner, came to earth, made us His own;—
Say thus, soul-lighted, eyes like full bright lotus flowers,
Pouring forth floods of tears, and singing, beat Tellēṇam!

*[We take leave to question this for two sufficient reasons: (1) the "old pre-historic" faith or worship was either that of "stocks and stones" pure and simple, or the partially spiritual Deo-worship of the Gonds; (2) the form, essence, &c., are thoroughly Brahmanic.—Ed., C. R.]

7

Civan unknown to Hari, Ayan, Indra, heavenly ones,
On earth drew even me ; 'come, come,' said He, and made me His !
When imprint of His Flowery Feet was on my head impressed,
How grace divine was mine, sing we, and beat Tellēṇam !

8

Like rustling palm-leaves is this frame ! Its births and deaths,
With dread of good and ill, He swept away, and made me His ;
He gave me grace, though I, all else forget, ne'er to forget
His Foot ; Whose mighty dance sing we, and beat Tellēṇam !

9

As though some stone were made sweet fruit, the Lord in grace
Gave ev'n to me His golden Foot, and made me His.
O ye with slender waist, red lips, and winsome smiles !
' Lord of the Southern-Land,' call Him ; and beat Tellēṇam !

10

Even in a dream His Jewelled Feet 'tis hard for gods to see,—
With Her like laurel tree with jewelled arms,—entering in grace,
In waking hour He took, and made me His ! With loving souls
Your dart-like eyes be filled with tears, and beat Tellēṇam !

11

When He, Her spouse whose eyes shine bright, mixt with my soul,
And made me His, deeds and environments died out ;
Upon this earth confusion died ; all other mem'ries ceased ;
How all my ' doings ' died, sing we, and beat Tellēṇam !

12

Ascetic bands sore languish'd, longing for release.
Grace to the elephant He gave, made me his own ;
The light supreme deep plunged me in devotion's sea !
How sweet His mercy is, sing ye, and beat Tellēṇam !

13

Not those on earth, nor in th' abyss, nor heavenly ones,—
To none beside, so near He drew ; He made me His !
To sing His advent, or Him, th' only Great, conceive
Is hard, His glory-song sing we, and beat Tellēṇam !

14

Māl, Ayan, all the gods, and Sciences divine,
His essence cannot pierce. This Being rare drew near to me,
In love He thrilled my soul ! With this remembrance moved,
Let your bright eyes with tears o'erflow, and beat Tellēṇam !

15

The spreading sea of grace supernal that melts and swells,
From which 'tis sweet to draw and drink, we gather round.
The Feet of the bright Southern Lord call we to mind,
His slaves, praise we His sacred grace, and beat Tellēṇam !

16

Buddhan, Purandaran, the primal Ayan, Māl, praise Him,
The One-distraught, Who dwell in Perun-turrai's shrine,— the Sire
Who made births cease,—Lord of fair Tillai's porch,—His gracious
Feet
How in my soul they entered, sing, and beat Tellēṇam !

17

I lay bewilder'd in the barren troublous sea
 Of sects and systems wide discordant all ;—
 My care He banished, gave in grace His jewelled Feet ;
 Praise we His gracious acts, and beat Tellēṇam !

18

Though Ether, Wind, Fire, Water, Earth should fail,
 His constant Being fails not, knows no weariness !
 In Him my body, soul, and thought, and mind were merged.
 How all myself was lost, sing we, and beat Tellēṇam !

19

Prime Source of heavenly ones, the Germ of those beneath,
 Earth's Balm ; Māl's, Ayan's Treasure, open eyed
 We saw, sing ye, His gracious Feet, Who dwelt with us !
 Call Him ' Lord of the Southern-Land,' and beat Tellēṇam !

20

Sing His race ; sing the heron's wing ; Her beauty sing
 Who wears bright gems ; sing how He poison ate ; each day
 In Tillai's temple court He dances, where the waters play ;
 His tinkling anklets' music sing, and beat Tellēṇam !

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

- Luzac's Oriental List*, for January and February 1901. Annual subscription three shillings—a most valuable publication for all oriental scholars.
- Catalogue and Report* of the Bareilly Theological Seminary of the M. E. Church for 1900 shows what excellent work this denomination is doing for the N. W.-P.
- Indian Municipal Journal*. Bombay, Caxton Printing Works continue to grow increasingly valuable.
- Monograph on Ivory Carving* in the Punjab, 1900. Published by Authority. Lahore. Very interesting and well illustrated.
- Notes and Extracts* on the question of Neutrality in Religion—a reprint from somewhere not noted, and without imprint of press! Of course, the hand of Dr. Miller is visible in it. It is a pity he does not write more definitely about the teaching of the Bible, or of religion, in Government Schools and Colleges. We can add a great deal to the private history of this question from our personal knowledge.
- Shakespeare's King Lear and Indian Politics* by Wm. Miller, D.D., C.I.E., &c., a thoughtful essay by an old Friend of India.
- The Indian Magazine*, April.
- Report of Department of Land Records and Agriculture*, Punjab. 1900.
- Progress Report of Forest Administration*, Punjab. 1900.
- Madras Government Museum.*
- Bulletin*, Vol. IV., No. 1.
- Note on the Bengal Rabi Crops* for 1900-'01.
- Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*. Tome 1er. No. 1, Rue du Coton Hanoi (Tonkin). Illustrated, and interesting to Buddhist students.
- Report of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture*, N. W.-P. and Oudh. For the year ending 30th September 1900. Allahabad Government Press—interesting and deserving of study.
- The Silver Skull*. By S. R. Crockett. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.
- In Bad Company*. By Rolf Bodrewood. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.
- The Crisis*. By Winston Churchill. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.
- The Helmet of Navarre*. By Bertha Rundle.
- Macmillan's Colonial Library*.
- Agricultural Imports of the United States*, by countries, 1895-1899. By Frank H. Hitchcock, Chief Section of Foreign Markets. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1900.
- Agricultural Exports of the United States*, by countries, 1895-1899. By Frank H. Hitchcock, Chief Section of Foreign Markets. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1900.
- General Report on the work carried on by the Geological Survey of India* for the period from the 1st April 1900 to the 31st March 1901. Under the direction of C. L. Griesbach, C.I.E., F.G.S. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, India. 1901.
- Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*. Vol. XXXI, Part 1. Calcutta: Government of India Central Printing Office, 8 Hastings Street. 1900.
- Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Land Records, Bengal*, on settlements for the year ending 30th September 1900. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1900.
- Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab* for the Agricultural year, 1st October 1899 to 30th September 1900. Lahore: The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press. 1900.
- Annotated Returns of the Charitable Dispensaries in Bengal* for the year 1900. By Colonel T. H. Hendley, C.I.E., I.M.S., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Bengal. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXIII.

July 1901.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contended with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

CALCUTTA :

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY

THE CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET.

Messrs. THACKER, SPINK & CO., GOVERNMENT PLACE, N.

AND TO BE HAD OF ALL RESPECTABLE BOOK-SELLERS IN CALCUTTA.

MADRAS: Messrs. HIGGINBOTHAM & Co.

LONDON: Messrs. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co., Ltd.

PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHANCERY CROSS ROAD, LONDON, W. C.

All Rights Reserved

052.
CAL
VOL. 113
PT. 1

Uttara Pradesh Sahitya Akademi Library
Accn. No. 9866 Date 3.9.76

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CCXXV.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
ART. I.—VICTORIA QUEEN-EMPRESS, AND WOMEN AS RULERS	1
„ II.—SERPENT WORSHIP IN MALABAR	19
„ III.—IN MEMORIAM, VICTORIA R. ET I.	26
„ IV.—THE EVOLUTION OF A BRITISH COLONY	30
„ V.—THE JUDGE	53
„ VI.—BIRD MYTHOLOGY	71
„ VII.—A RETURNED EMPTY	76
„ VIII.—TANTRA LITERATURE	100
„ IX.—THE ARMENIA OF ST. NIERSES	112
„ X.—INDIAN THEOLOGICAL DEGREES	113
„ XI.—A TRIBUTE	120
„ XII.—THE NAMBUÐRI-BRAHMINS OF KERALA	121
„ XIII.—OUR PRESENT RULERS AND CHIEFS	137
„ XIV.—THE SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA	144
„ XV.—ACROSS THE PELOPONNESUS	149
„ XVI.—BROTHER PRINCE AND THE BRIDE, A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY	155
THE QUARTER	180

CRITICAL NOTICES:— .

1.—GENERAL LITERATURE :—

1.—The Indian Mines Act, 1901, with Introduction and Notes, by W. Graham, Barrister-at-Law, of Lincoln's Inn, Member of the Indian Mining Association. Price one rupee. The Indian Daily News Press. Calcutta, 1901	...	i
2.—Hindustani Idioms, with Vocabulary and Explanatory Notes. By Colonel A. N. Phillips. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.	... ..	ib.
3.—The History of the Ganjam Malliahs in the Madras Presidency. Edited by H. D. Taylor, Esq., I C.S., Collector and Agent to the Governor. Ganjam.—Government Press, Madras. 1901	... ..	ii
4.—The Spoilt Child : A Tale of Hindu Domestic Life, by Peary Chand Mitter (Tek Chand Thakur). Translated by G. D. Oswell, M.A., Court of Wards, Bengal. Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta	... ..	iii
5.—Essays on Islâm. By the Rev. E. Sell, B.D., M. R. A. S., S. P. C. K. S. P. C. K. Dépôt, Madras : Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., London	... ..	iv
Acknowledgments	... ..	vii

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 225—JULY 1901.

ART I.—VICTORIA QUEEN-EMPRESS, AND WOMEN AS RULERS.

NOW when a whole nation and indeed the entire civilized world are sorrowing at the death of our noble Queen, who has left behind her—

“ One of the few, the immortal names
That were not born to die,”

it seems a fitting time to consider what examples history affords us of women as distinguished political rulers. It was observed by Lord Bacon that “ all ages have esteemed a female government a rarity ; if prosperous a wonder ; and, if both long and prosperous, almost a miracle.” Had he lived at the present day he would have been compelled to admit that such a miracle had been accomplished to the fullest extent. But in truth the more we consider the examples that follow, which are furnished to us by nations not only geographically widely apart, but completely divergent in character, the less inclined we shall be to agree with the great Lord Chancellor of Elizabeth's reign, that a successful female ruler is so great a rarity as he asserts. On the contrary, we shall find that in many a political crisis of a nation's history it has been the genius and virtues of a woman which have saved it from impending ruin or raised its fortunes to the highest point of prosperity. To an Englishman, indeed, who has had the happiness of living under the late reign, who has seen his country expand year by year in greatness and in wealth under the wise guidance of a Sovereign whose life was as pure as her rule was beneficent, and who has made himself familiar with the past history of his own country, it may be said with truth in the words of the greatest poet of the Victorian era, “ faith in womankind beats with his blood.” At the present moment there is not a subject of this vast empire who, although bowed down by sincere grief at the great loss which has befallen him and his fellow subjects, does not feel a sense of just pride in the thought that it is to

his late beloved Queen that the world is paying the homage that is due to virtue and goodness, and that in death as in life Victoria the Great is loved, honoured and revered. For sixty-four years that noble woman had wielded the sceptre of the British Empire, and her subjects had learnt to love and reverence her as the Mother of her country, whose whole life was devoted to its service, and whose heart beat with a responsive sympathy to the trials and sufferings of the humblest of her people. Her fame as a wise, just and virtuous ruler had spread to lands in the four corners of the Globe, and white and colored races alike honoured her name as the emblem of true sovereignty and greatness. A Constitutional Monarch, Queen Victoria knew the limits which the laws of her country placed upon her power and authority, and she rigorously observed them. At the same time she knew the immense influence that was still reserved to her, and she never failed to exercise this influence for the good of her country. From the first she recognised the principle that a Sovereign's power and authority rest upon the love and confidence of the people over whom they are exercised, and her aim in life was to win and strengthen these ties. She succeeded, and the devotion and loyalty of a contented and grateful people gave her the highest and only reward she wished for. Schooled in sorrow, borne with heroic resignation, she could feel for others, and her queenly consolation brought comfort to many an aching heart. But it was not only in these womanly virtues that Queen Victoria could claim the title of Great. In statecraft and administrative affairs she brought to her aid wide knowledge, ripe experience, and sound judgment, so that as her ablest Ministers have acknowledged her advice and opinion were always valuable and unaffectedly given. Simple in her own tastes and averse to ostentation or extravagance she could nevertheless, when occasion required, uphold the dignity and majesty of her exalted position with befitting splendour and magnificence. An accomplished linguist she was well acquainted with current literature, while her acquaintance with contemporary European history was as wide as it was accurate. The high tone and purity of her Court were the theme of universal admiration, while the love and affectionate devotion of her children and numerous grandchildren and great-grandchildren testified to her maternal tenderness and sweetness of disposition. Such was the high souled Lady who has just passed away from us in peaceful sleep, and whose memory will live through countless centuries as the Greatest Queen of the Greatest Empire the world has ever seen. Well may her subjects rejoice that no Salic law deprived them of the privilege of having such a ruler ! Indeed such a law would have robbed them also of two other

Queens who have largely contributed to the building up of this great Empire.

Of these Queen Elizabeth holds the pre-eminent place in the popular imagination. To estimate her character properly we must take account of her early bringing up, and the atmosphere of intrigue and deception which surrounded her. Within three years of her birth her mother, the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, was beheaded to make room for Jane Seymour whom her cruel husband married the following day, and a subservient Parliament less than two months afterwards pronounced both the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth to be equally illegitimate in order to justify the declaration that the succession to the throne should devolve on "the issue of the marriage of Queen Jane." The latter did not long survive her union with Henry the VIIIth, for she died twelve days after giving birth to a son, who afterwards became Edward the VIth. At his christening Elizabeth carried the baptismal robe, being at this time only four years of age, and before she had reached the age of ten her father had remarried three times, having divorced one wife (Anne of Cleves), beheaded another (Catherine Howard), and married the third (Catherine Parr), who happily for Elizabeth was a woman of exceptional firmness and culture and took a special interest in her education. While still in her fourteenth year her father died, and was succeeded by Queen Jane's son as Edward the VIth, then in his tenth year, who died six years later, leaving a will, executed under the instigation of the scheming Duke of Northumberland, excluding Mary and Elizabeth from the succession. Thus before she was out of her teens she had been the witness of events which were calculated to blunt all her more refined feelings, to make her distrust those around her, and never having herself known any home ties or the tender nurture of a mother, to become thoroughly selfish and indifferent to human suffering. But if her past experience was such as to school her into a cold and unfeeling woman, the next five years during which her step-sister Mary deluged the country with the blood of victims to her intolerant bigotry, and in the course of which Elizabeth's own life was frequently in danger, were years in which the arts of dissimulation, cunning and deceit were learnt and practised in the cause of self-preservation. Persecutions and burnings had almost stamped out all feeling of loyalty in the hearts of the people towards the throne, while the nation had suffered humiliation by losing Calais and other possessions whose acquisition had been associated with the most glorious feats of arms. The one hope for a country so grossly misgoverned was the death of the religious bigot whose name has been handed down to posterity as the Bloody Mary. When that death came

as it did on the 17th November 1558 it was hailed with a sigh of relief and a feeling of thankfulness that God had not altogether ceased to guard the destinies of the land. A lone and friendless woman Elizabeth ascended the throne of her father at the age of twenty-five, and she wisely felt her way cautiously before she displayed the full force of that iron will and fiery temper which would make her enemies tremble in the near future, and startle to terror those who presumed to act on their own initiative. No one could have divined at first whether she was more disposed to maintain the Roman Catholic ritual or the reformed religion of Luther or Calvin, although it is probable that she inherited a predilection in favour of the latter from her mother, from whose eyes, as the poet Gray has it, the "gospel light first dawned" upon the King while he was still under the influence of her charms and beauty. But her shrewdness at all events soon convinced her that the national tendency was in favour of the Protestant cause, and that cause she accordingly espoused, with the result that in less than twelve years from the date of her accession she was excommunicated by Pope Pius V who absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance. But Elizabeth by this time felt secure of the loyalty of her subjects and could afford to despise the fulminations of the Roman Pontiff. Fear never entered her mind, and it was her indomitable spirit, her vigour and her untiring energy, qualities which she inherited from her father, that appealed to the sentiment of her people and won their admiration and unique devotion. She was, however, devoid of ambition and a war of aggression was alien to her nature. But she was resolute in her determination to uphold what belonged to her, and she knew how to arouse the martial spirit of her soldiers, as when, for instance, she rode bare-headed to the camp at Tilbury, and declared that she was resolved "to live and die amongst them in the midst and heat of the battle," adding that she thought it "foul scorn that Parma of Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of her realm." The fact that the Spanish "Armada" had already been sunk or scattered partly by the English fleet and partly by stormy tempests, and that Elizabeth's parsimonious policy had weakened both the Army and the Navy, did not detract from the enthusiasm which this stirring speech from the lips of the Sovereign excited. To her people, she was ever the great Queen Bess, the Gloriana whom fortune favored, and under whose reign "golden days of prosperity, brilliant achievements abroad, and progress at home, had succeeded years of disaster, rebellion, persecution and misery." A reign also which was distinguished by the presence of a Shakespeare, a Spenser, and a Bacon in literature, not to speak of lesser

lights, by such naval heroes as Drake, Hawkins and Frobisher, and by such an intrepid adventurer as Walter Raleigh, could not fail to be regarded as illustrious. Elizabeth herself, if not what any candid historian would call a great woman, was, at all events, a very remarkable one. She was learned even for an age when learning was not uncommon among ladies of quality, and she could speak Latin, French, Italian and German (though the last with less fluency or accuracy than the others), while in Greek she had read Demosthenes, Isocrates and Sophocles. She was a skilful player on more than one instrument, and amidst all her cares she yet found time to translate Sallust and Boethius. Indeed it is a singular fact that while her defects were mostly those which distinguished her sex, such as vanity, wilfulness and a suspicious nature, her virtues were more of the masculine order. Her pursuits also were those which we expect to be cultivated by men rather than by women, and she was prosaic, often coarse in her manners and language, wanting in sympathy, and in that gentleness which is the distinguishing charm of a true woman. But it is when compared with the Sovereigns who immediately preceded and followed her, that her claim to greatness stands out pre-eminently; and we may perhaps trust as sincere the last words she spoke to her people when in replying to an address from the House of Commons she declared, appealing to the Judgment seat of a higher Judge to attest the truth of her words, "that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good." "Though you have had, and may have," she continued, "many princes, more mighty and wise, sitting in this seat, yet you never had, or ever shall have, any that will be more careful and loving." Bacon sums up his estimate of her character by saying that "the only proper encomiast of this lady is time, which, for so many ages as it has run, never produced anything like her of the same sex for the government of a kingdom."

If we turn to Queen Anne we have another example in our own history of a woman whose reign was signalised by material prosperity at home, by brilliant victories against the Continental armies at Oudenarde, Ramillies, and Blenheim under the skilful leadership of Marlborough, and by the rapid growth of England's maritime supremacy. If the Queen had not the learning and intelligence of Elizabeth she was more open-handed to the soldiers who fought and gained her battles, she was a true daughter of the Anglican Church, prided herself on being entirely English, and she loved her country and shrank from no exertion of which she was capable in order to discharge her duties efficiently. Her chief defect was indecision of character which made her lean upon others, at one

time upon the ambitious Duchess of Marlborough, and, at a later period, upon Mrs. Masham, a poor relative of the Duchess who succeeded in supplanting the latter and in gaining the entire confidence of the Queen. But at times Anne could show determination and vigour, even if not always wisely applied, as in her measures to ensure the efficiency of the Clergy, and in her insistence on appointing ministers of her own choice, irrespective of party politics, which was of course incompatible with a system of party government. She was described by Burnet as a "very extraordinary woman," and she appealed to the affectionate sympathy of her subjects as a distinctly *national* Queen. Her reign was also distinguished as coincident with the Union of England and Scotland, and produced both in literature and science a worthy record. Such men as Newton, Berkeley, Prior, Pope, Swift, Addison, Defoe and Steele would cast a reflected glory on any throne, even if the occupant, as in the case of Queen Anne, had no personal taste for art or letters.

India may properly be chosen to supply us with our next example. In that land women have usually led a secluded life since the era of the Mahomedan conquest. But despite this fact instances are not wanting where force of character has asserted itself even behind the *purdah* and within the secret precincts of the *Zenana*, and the one we are about to mention is perhaps the most remarkable of any. *Sultana Ruzia*, commonly known as *Ruzia Begum*, was the daughter of *Shumsed-din Altamsh* (A.D. 1211), who was one of the ablest, most enterprising, and best Slave Kings of Delhi, who established an independent kingdom in India after the death of Shahab-ed-din Ghorî and the dissolution of the Ghorian Empire. The Sultana was called to the throne by the rebellious subjects of her brother Rukn-ed-din, who was deposed after a short reign of seven months after he had lavished his father's treasure on dancing women, comedians, and musicians, leaving the conduct of affairs to his mother, *Shah Turkan*, who is described by the native historian *Farishtâ* as "a monster of cruelty." Ruzia had already in her father's lifetime given evidence of administrative capacity of a high order when she had been appointed Regent during Shams-ed-din's absence in his southern campaigns, on which occasion it is said her father justified his selection of his daughter in preference to any of his sons on the ground that Ruzia, though a woman, had a man's head and heart, and was better than twenty such sons as he had. Her subsequent conduct on the throne confirmed her father's high opinion of her. Undaunted by the condition of open revolt which Rukn-ed-din's excesses and the cruelty of his mother had brought about, and which divided the country into two opposite factions, one

composed of irreconcilables bitterly hostile to the crown, Ruzia lost no time in meeting the crisis with firmness, tact, and considerable statecraft. She assumed the imperial robes, gave public audience daily, dispensed justice with impartiality, and confirmed with such revision as she thought desirable the laws of her father which had been abrogated in the brief reign of her brother. She skilfully also contrived to spread dissension in the rebel camp with such success that the chiefs distrusting each other separated and withdrew each to his own government speedily followed by her troops who overtook the leading chiefs, captured and slew them. Peace was now quickly restored throughout the kingdom and the people began to rejoice in a wise and just administration. "Ruzia Begum," says the native historian already quoted, "was possessed of every good quality which usually adorns the ablest princes; and those who scrutinise her actions most severely will find in her no fault but that she was a woman!" Alas! she yielded to a woman's frailty and gave her heart, or was suspected of having done so, to an unworthy object, who was none other than an Abyssinian slave whom she advanced from the office of Master of the Horse to that of *Amir-ul-Umra*, or Chief of the Nobles. Her nobles were deeply mortified at the favor shewn to an ignoble subject, and the first to cast off his allegiance was the Viceroy of Lahore. Ruzia at once marched against him, but her troops mutinied, and in the tumult which followed her favorite was murdered and she herself was sent as a prisoner to the fortress of Bithunda to be safeguarded by Mullik Altunia, who shortly afterwards married her. Ruzia had not however relinquished all hope of regaining her throne, and with the aid of her husband she collected an army and marched against the capital—Delhi—where the new Emperor Bairam had proclaimed himself. The hostile armies met at Delhi, but Ruzia's troops were totally defeated, and in attempting to escape with her husband she was seized and put to death, after a brief reign which lasted three years, six months and six days. Her unfortunate end was the result of a single act of indiscretion, but for which it is probable that a woman of her virtues and ability would have consolidated her power and fulfilled the promise of the first two years of her reign. But the marks of royal favour she showered on her Abyssinian slave were fatal to her cause and "blighted all her prospects." "How," asks Farishta, "are we to reconcile the inconsistency of the queen of a vast territory fixing her affections on so unworthy an object?" The question would require too close a study of the psychology of a woman's affections for an answer to be attempted in the present paper, and we must leave it as Farishta does to those who would find such an

inquiry profitable to solve the inconsistency he laments. Suffice it to say that it brought to an untimely end a reign that gave every promise of being one of the purest and brightest in the annals of India. Another famous female ruler was *Chand Sultana* of the Deccan, who is the heroine of many fabulous stories, and who was undoubtedly one of the most distinguished women of the East. She was acting as Regent for her infant nephew Bahadar Nizam Shah when her territory was invaded by Prince Murad, one of the sons of the Emperor Shah Jehan who described him, if we may credit Aurangzeb, as "a glutton and a sensualist." The first defence of Ahmednagar by Chand Bibi was simply heroic. She laid counter mines to those laid by the besiegers, and when one of these were prematurely fired, causing a sudden panic amongst her troops who began to abandon the fortifications,—she appeared at the breach clad in full armour with a naked sword in her hand, and by her resolution and courage recalled the retreating soldiers to their duty. The fierce contest was carried on till nightfall, and Chand Bibi's magnificent courage so animated the defenders that all talk of surrender was now hushed. The Moguls on their part saw little prospect of taking the town by assault, and they willingly agreed to terms of peace. But Chand Bibi had scarcely achieved this marked success when intrigues were again started against her, and her own Prime Minister was the chief conspirator. Prince Murad was once again induced to resume the siege with the aid of the King of Candesh. The gallant Queen was equal to the occasion, and a battle was fought by the contending armies on the banks of the Godavari. It lasted for two days and was maintained with great fury by both sides. Prince Murad claimed the victory, but if it was on his side it was of a pyrrhic nature and Murad showed no inclination to continue the control. The Emperor Akbar was so enraged at his conduct that he recalled him and determined to proceed to the scene of operations himself. Meantime treachery was undermining the Queen's heroic efforts to defend her capital, and it was not until she saw that further resistance was hopeless that she consented to negotiate for peace. But before these negotiations were brought to a close, her enemies induced some of the soldiers to rush into the private apartments and put her to death. It is satisfactory to know that this base act of treachery only hastened the doom of the besieged city. Within a few days of the Queen's murder the Moguls stormed and captured it, giving no quarter to the fighting men. Thus perished a Queen whose memory still lives in Deckan song and legend as that of a national heroine.

From the Far East, from that cold and unsympathetic land

of China where women are despised and treated as of no account, we can nevertheless draw more than one parallel example of a great Queen, whose genius has triumphed over difficulties which would probably have crushed many a ruler of the opposite sex, and who is reported to have maintained the dignity of the throne in a manner becoming a great prince. But one instance will suffice for our purpose. We shall select that of the Empress Wo, the widow of the great Emperor Tait song, who gave China the blessings of peace and good government. After her husband's death she married his son and successor Kaotsong, and for nearly twenty-five years during which her second husband nominally ruled she exercised all real power and authority and succeeded in maintaining the great Empire established by Tait song in the fullness of its glory. Upon her second husband's death in 683 A. D. she permitted Kaotsong's eldest son to succeed for a few days and then deposed him, setting up in his stead another puppet Emperor in whose name, but in accordance with her own absolute will, she continued to govern the Empire with all the attributes of sovereignty, and gave her own family name of Chow to the dynasty. She transacted all public business, appointed all the chief officers in the Empire, assumed the royal robes restricted to an Emperor, and offered sacrifice as the head of the state. This assumption of the outward symbols of imperial rank reserved by the custom of the country to a male ruler were distasteful to many of her subjects as contrary to usage and precedent. Plots were formed for her assassination and several risings against her authority took place. But the vigilance of the Empress was equal to the occasion, and her measures were so prompt and so drastic that all opposition soon subsided. She showed no mercy to guilty persons however eminent in rank, but, on the other hand, she took pains to sift all accusations and rigorously punished their promoters. Thus on one day alone it was found that out of a thousand accusations eight hundred and fifty were false, and those who promoted these false charges were promptly executed. By this discrimination and firmness she gained the confidence of the people, which she strengthened by wise administration and a just enforcement of the laws. She spared herself no labor, and so firm was her grasp of power that she caused her Empire to be respected by all her neighbours. Frequent frontier wars constantly engaged her attention, but they were always conducted with vigour and general success. Thus for twenty years after her second husband's death she continued to exercise an absolute sovereignty over the vast Empire with a wisdom and courage which entitled her

VOL. CXIII.]

to a prominent place amongst the imperial rulers of her country. But her position as a female ruler was anomalous, and was only maintained while she had health and vigour to support it. As age advanced and her strength of mind and body grew feeble, her enemies became bolder, and at last when at the age of eighty a serious illness compelled her to keep to her chamber, they saw their opportunity and appeared in a formidable body at the palace and forced her to resign possession of the imperial seal and the insignia of empire, which she appears to have done with a dignity worthy of her previous record. She lingered for another year and then died, having proved to the world that even in China a woman was capable of wielding the sceptre with the energy, the firmness and wisdom of the most able prince. Her one weakness is said to have been her infatuation for a Buddhist priest, but this may be the invention of the malignity of her enemies who have shewn no desire to treat her with any generous spirit. The charge served, however, as a means of undermining her influence, just as we have seen was the case of a somewhat similar accusation against the Indian Queen Ruzia. But with the example already furnished of the facility with which false accusations were trumped up in those days, we have little confidence in accepting the truth of a palace scandal.

Yet another Eastern Queen may be mentioned, the far-famed Zenobia of Palmyra, that city of palms in the desert of Arabia, which for a brief period was the rival of Rome in splendour. Gibbon says of her that she was perhaps the only female whose superior genius broke through the servile indolence imposed on her sex by the climate and manners of Asia. But Gibbon's knowledge of Asiatic history was imperfect, and he had probably not heard of either *Ruzia Begum* or *Chand Bibi*. Not that Zenobia would suffer by any comparison with these ladies, for she was also a woman of exceptional gifts. Equally proficient in the languages of Greece, Syria and Egypt, she could descant on the beauties of Homer, the philosophy of Plato, or discuss the Sublime with Longinus, her tutor. She traced her descent from the Macedonian Kings of Egypt, and Cleopatra the Fair was one of her ancestors, whom she is said to have equalled in beauty and far surpassed in chastity and valor. The splendid victories of her husband Odenathus over the Persians, are ascribed as mainly due to her prudence and fortitude. She accompanied Odenathus on his campaigns on horseback, and was known to walk for miles at the head of the troops, heedless of fatigue or the discomforts of the camp. After her husband's death she ruled her dominions which extended from the Euphrates

to the frontiers of Bithynia, and included also her own inheritance, the Kingdom of Egypt, for five years with wisdom, courage, and success. In the sonorous periods of Gibbon she is described as being "guided by the most judicious maxims of policy. If it was expedient to pardon, she could calm her resentment; if it was necessary to punish, she could impose silence on the voice of pity." Her military genius was acknowledged by so great a commander as Aurelian, but her power and resources were unequal to cope against the Emperor of the West, and after a heroic defence of Palmyra she was forced to seek safety in flight, was captured and brought to her conqueror. But it was in this supreme hour of her trial that the Queen of the East, as she called herself, proved unequal to her destiny. The clamour of the Roman soldiery who demanded her execution caused her to tremble and to save her own life she descended to betray her friends and even her old tutor. Thus fallen and degraded she was reserved to grace the triumph of her captor, following his chariot on foot laden with jewels and bound with fetters of gold. As a Roman matron she vanishes from the pages of history, and her former virtues and deeds are dimmed by the depth of her fall.

Returning from the East to Europe for our further examples, we have in the case of Denmark a notable instance of a successful female Sovereign. Margaret, the second daughter of Valdemir III, King of Denmark, and the wife of Hakon VI, King of Norway, succeeded in course of time to both her husband's and her father's kingdoms. But this Semiramis of the North, as she has been called, was not content with a double crown, she cast her longing eyes on the Kingdom of Sweden also, to which her husband would have succeeded by right of inheritance had he survived. An appeal to arms resulted in favour of the Queen, her competitor, the Duke of Mecklenburg, being defeated and taken prisoner. The States, or Parliament, of the three kingdoms, were convoked at Calmar, a town in the north of Sweden, and by an Act known as the Union of Calmar which was passed at this great assembly, the three kingdoms were united under one Sovereign who was pledged to govern each according to its own laws and customs. This great event which united all Scandinavia under one ruler would, in itself, be sufficient to give Queen Margaret a unique position in the history of her time. But she seems to have had other claims to distinction, for by her good government she preserved peace and concord throughout her extensive dominions, which she transmitted to her successor free from all intestine trouble. It was only a century later, in 1523 A. D., when, through the cruelty of Christian II, the happy union which had been cemented under the

reign of Margaret was dissolved, that the triple crown was again divided and Sweden became once more an independent kingdom. The later history of that kingdom furnishes us with our next example in the person of the learned and cultivated Queen Christina, the daughter and successor of the great Gustavus Adolphus, the hero of the Thirty Years War and the most illustrious of all the Kings of Sweden. Christina had been most carefully educated, and when she succeeded her father at the early age of eighteen, she astonished her counsellors by the vigour of her understanding. Like our own Elizabeth she refused to marry on the ground that she did not care to sacrifice her independence. It was due to her resolution, contrary to the advice of her most trusted counsellor *Oxenstjerna*, that she adopted measures which led to the peace of Westphalia, concluded in 1648, whereby Sweden obtained the duchies of Bremen, Verden, the whole of Western and a part of Eastern Pomerania, and Wismar. For a short time about the year 1650 her character seemed to undergo a sudden transformation and she became wayward and restless, indulging in great extravagance and neglecting her duties, which caused such great discontent that she resolved to abdicate. But her faithful friend and former guardian *Oxenstjerna* prevailed upon her to change her intention, and she then once more resumed her old mode of life devoting her best energies to the service of her country. Her court became the resort of men of learning from all parts of the world, and for the next four years she labored incessantly to restore peace and good government. But the Thirty Years War had increased the power of her nobility which they exercised in a manner which aroused serious discontent among the peasants, burghers and clergy. Feeling herself unable to cope with the difficulties which now surrounded her she again determined to abdicate and finally carried out her resolution by placing her royal insignia before the diet in 1654 in order that they might be transferred to her cousin Charles Adolphus, who had been one of her most ardent suitors. Christina was a woman of great intelligence, with a passionate love of art and learning, of much strength of character though somewhat eccentric, and in more peaceful times would have made a successful ruler.

In the Empress Maria Theresa, the daughter of Charles VI, who succeeded under the operation of the Pragmatic Sanction to the throne of Austria on the 20th October 1740, we have a woman who was, in Carlyle's estimate, "most brave, high and pious minded; beautiful, too, and radiant with good nature, though of a temper that will easily catch fire; there is, perhaps, no nobler woman then living." Her succession was immediately disputed by the Elector of Bavaria who, under the

title of Emperor Charles VII, invaded Austria with the aid first of the French and subsequently of the Prussians as well. But Maria Theresa appealed to the patriotism of her Hungarian subjects, and so bravely did they respond to her call, that she drove the French and Bohemians out of the Archduchy and compelled the Prussians to retreat from Prague after they had gained an initial success at the battle fought at Czaslau. The death of Charles VII in the beginning of 1745 altered the aspect of affairs, and the Empress was able to conclude peace with Prussia by the Treaty of Dresden in 1745, and with France by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. By this last treaty her succession to the throne of Austria was recognised, and Maria Theresa, having secured peace and the recognition of her title, had time to look around and set her empire in order. She was deeply mortified at the part Frederick of Prussia had played, and she begrudged the cession of Silesia which had been secured by the Prussian monarch under the earlier treaty of Breslau (1742). She began to mass troops on the frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia which aroused the suspicions of the ever-watchful Frederick, who demanded an explanation of this ominous demonstration, but receiving only an evasive answer he at once marched an army of 60,000 men into Saxony and took possession of Dresden. This was the commencement of that terrible Seven Years War in which no less than 853,000 fighting men are said to have perished, and from which none of the contending parties derived any material advantage. But Maria Theresa had at least the gratification of feeling that her soldiery had acquitted themselves well, and that her country had come out of the death struggle with honor and increased prestige. She now directed all her energy to the task of ameliorating the condition of her people and promoting the welfare of her country. She bettered the condition of the Serfs, she introduced schools throughout the Empire, encouraged commerce and industry, and removed many ecclesiastical abuses. On the whole she is entitled to be regarded as one of the most eminent monarchs who have ruled over Austria, and Carlyle's estimate of her character, which has already been quoted, fairly summarises her virtues, which were many. "No nobler woman then living" is high but not extravagant praise.

Catherine II of Russia was a woman of a very different stamp. She was able, ambitious, unscrupulous, and disregarded every moral restraint in her conduct. But it must be urged in her defence that she was married to a man (Peter III) who was depraved, drunken, and semi-idiotic, and that from the time of her marriage she lived at a Court where everything was corrupt, where intrigue was rampant, and where gross and

open immorality involved no social ostracism. For a handsome ambitious woman, bound to such a husband as Peter III, to find herself an absolute monarch in such an atmosphere, with no sort of restraining influence to exercise any check upon her, was a position which offered tempting allurements to license which it was not in Catherine's nature to resist. But while we have to draw a discreet veil over her private life, her public functions were discharged with a dignity, a capacity, and a thoroughness which mark her as a woman who was a born ruler of men. She triumphed over all her enemies, she extended the confines of the empire, she beat the Turks both by land and sea, she annexed the Crimea, Kuban and Taman to Russia, and lastly, by the partition of Poland she added two-thirds of that territory to the Russian dominions, although by this extinction of a nation's existence she incurred the odium of having committed the foulest deed in the history of the world. The splendour of her Court was magnificent, and her position among contemporary crowned heads was sufficiently imposing to satisfy her ambition. Her attempt to codify the laws of Russia on the basis of Montesquieu's plan did not succeed, but that amidst all her other schemes and occupations she should have directed her attention to such a work shows the breadth of her understanding and her desire to exert her energy in every department of administration.

With Queen Isabella of Spain we may fittingly bring our examples of Women Rulers to a close. She was the daughter of King John II of Castile, a weak but well-meaning prince who lamented on his death-bed that "he had not been born the son of a mechanic, instead of King of Castile." If he had Castile might have been saved a long period of anarchy and misrule, but then she might not have had an Isabella to restore her fortunes and to raise her to the position of a first-class power. Like many another instance which history records of a weak and incompetent prince, John II deserved well of his nation at his death by leaving at least one child of his loins who was destined to prove herself capable of retrieving his errors and those of his son and immediate successor, of bringing prosperity to the land, and consolidating and enhancing the grandeur of the monarchy, whose fortune he and his son and successor, Henry, had brought to the verge of ruin. A happy marriage with her kinsman, Ferdinand, the son of John II of Aragon, gave Isabella when she eventually succeeded to the throne of Castile on the death of her brother, Henry IV, a wise and faithful counsellor and an affectionate husband. But although Isabella was devoted to her husband, and constantly consulted him in all affairs of state connected with her own Kingdom of Castile, she never yielded

AND WOMEN AS RULERS.

to him the attributes of sovereignty of her own paternal state. Ferdinand, on the other hand, although at first inclined to demur at all the essential rights of Castile sovereignty being vested in his wife, had the good sense to submit to the arrangement being assured by Isabella that the distribution of power was rather nominal than real, and that as their interests were indivisible his will would practically regulate hers. And so they continued to maintain these relations to the end. But while Ferdinand was cold and selfish, and was far from free of the taint of the gallantry of the period, Isabella was as pure in her private life, as warm in her affection and friendship as she was just and considerate in her conduct of public affairs, and generous in her recognition of the public services of others. Her aim was always to pursue the noblest ends by the noblest means, and the sagacity of her husband, his industry, sobriety and moderation, coupled with an impartial sense of justice in the administration of the laws, his outward decorum and respect for religion, and his steady determination to uphold the weak against the oppression of the strong, added to her own popularity and secured for their united governments the love of their subjects and the fear and respect of their enemies. To appreciate their joint efforts in promoting the welfare of their subjects, and repressing the undue powers which had been hitherto exercised by the nobles, we must bear in mind that the period was one of political transition from the feudalism of the Middle Ages to that of the Modern State, and that the difficulties which lay in their paths were many and serious, which might well have baffled less earnest and less skilful administrators than Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand. Ability and loyalty were the only passports to royal favor, and the meanest subject of the land could look forward to the attainment of the highest offices of trust if he had the merit to fill them. No more striking instance of this need be given than that of the great Ximenes himself, who, from a poor Franciscan friar of humble origin, rose to be primate, and to exercise the most extraordinary control over the destinies of his country. It was not only, however, in the conduct of home affairs that Isabella showed her great capacity. She exhibited equal intelligence, vigour and strength of character in all her foreign relations. Disliking war for the bloodshed and misery it produced, she never shrank from it when the interests of her country demanded an appeal to arms. On such occasions she appeared at the head of her troops, inspired them with fresh zeal and courage, and never hesitated to participate in the hardships which war entailed. Succeeding as she did (1474) when the misgovernment of her father and brother had brought the Kingdom to a tottering condition, and when the

total revenues of the crown did not exceed 885,000 reals, such was the expansion that followed her beneficent reign, that in the year of her death (1504) the income had risen to 26,283,334 reals, or thirty times the former amount in the space of thirty years. And this magnificent development of the resources of the country was attained without the imposition of a single additional tax ; while the territorial limits of the monarchy were extended so as not only to consolidate the dominions of Castile and Aragon, but to include also Sicily, Sardinia, Granada, Navarre and Naples, the Canaries, Oran and other settlements in Africa, and the newly-discovered islands and continent of America. Every action of this great Queen was based upon some guiding principle, and if she erred she did so from an error of judgment, and very far from a spirit of indifference to what was right or wrong. It was from such a conviction of duty that Isabella fostered the Inquisition and tolerated the fanatical bigot Torquemada. But her punishment of the ecclesiastics of Truxillo shows that her reverence for the ministers of religion did not blind her to their faults, or prevent her from visiting them with her displeasure if they failed in their duty. Indeed a strong common sense dominated all her conduct, and enabled her often to discern what was best for her people and her country. Enough has been said to prove that Isabella was a great Queen, a good woman and a loving and faithful wife. On her death her devoted servant Peter Martyr wrote as follows : " My hand falls powerless by my side for very sorrow. The world has lost its noblest ornament ; a loss to be deplored not only by Spain, which she has so long carried forward in the career of glory, but by every nation in Christendom ; for she was the mirror of every virtue, the shield of the innocent, and an avenging sword to the wicked. I know none of her sex, in ancient or modern times, who in my judgment is at all worthy to be named with this incomparable woman."

As we read this eloquent tribute, if we only substitute the words " Great Britain " for " Spain," we cannot fail to be reminded how aptly it might be written to-day, when the whole land of Great Britain, and of that Greater Britain beyond the Seas, and every nation in Christendom is sorrowing for the death of even a greater and a nobler woman than Isabella of Spain. For while the souls of the countless victims of the cruel Inquisition would if they could speak and be heard, lay their persecution and corporeal deaths at the door so to speak of Isabella, who fostered and protected that monstrous institution, no human being could ever say that he or she had suffered an injury at the hands of that beloved monarch whose mortal remains were but lately carried to their

last resting place, accompanied by four foreign sovereigns, as well as by the representatives of every state in Europe and across the Atlantic, and through dense masses of her own devoted subjects who, bare-headed and in silence, paid their last respectful homage to the Queen who for sixty-four years had been the idol and pride of the country. Other women as we have seen from the examples given above, taken from the history of many nations, have proved that to rule an Empire with success and even glory is not the birthright of the male sex alone, and that women in this exalted sphere of activity as in other spheres of lesser importance have shown themselves to be endowed with equal capacity. But no woman-ruler whose name has come down to us, however eminent and worthy of admiration her record may be, can be compared with the peerless Queen who has just passed away from us. Some defect, some blemish, has left a speck on even the brightest of their careers. But it is not so with our late Queen. Her home life was laid bare to us and was found to be the centre of purity and love; her public life since she ascended the throne as a girl of eighteen has been open to the criticism of a free independent and enlightened press, and has been found to be blameless and in strict conformity with the obligations imposed on a constitutional monarch. Her ministers when they went to advise her found her already so well informed on the subject immediately in hand that there was nothing left for them to instruct her upon, but at the same time she recognised their primary responsibility and the limits of her own constitutional authority. If a calamity overtook any part of her distant possessions the Queen was the first to express her sorrow; and if any of her subjects were bowed down by any overwhelming grief it was the Queen's gracious message that was sure to bring the first words of comfort and consolation to the bereaved one. Her instincts were those of the nation, she anticipated with rare perception what was agreeable to her people, and her influence at home and abroad was immense, for she was revered and beloved by all. She has died in the fulness of years and honor, has reigned the longest of any other sovereign, and over the most mighty and the largest Empire that the Past has seen, and she has left behind her a name pure and spotless that has always been associated with the material and intellectual advancement of her people; with victory, triumph and prosperity. Her memory will be cherished by future generations as that of the Mother of Great Britain, as a Queen who was endeared to her people by every quality of head and heart that could appeal to a human breast, and the historian of the future will have to acknowledge that

"She has been

A pattern to all Sovereigns living with her,

And all that shall succeed."

Her earthly course is ended, her work is accomplished, but her
fame lives and will endure. As Körner beautifully sings,

Durch Todesnacht bricht ew'ges Morgenrot—

Wer mutig für sein Vaterland gefallen,

Der baut sich selbst ein ewig Monument

Im treuen Herzen seiner Landesbrüder,

Und dies Gebäude stürzt Kein Sturmwind nieder.

W. H. RATTIGAN.



ART. II.—SERPENT WORSHIP IN MALABAR.

THE God of the Bible made the serpent cursed above all cattle and above every beast of the field. He also put enmity between the reptile and the woman, and between its seed and her seed. But one of the gods of the Vedas, Vishnu, takes pleasure in resting on a snake, and another, Siva, prides himself in being called Nāgabhūshanan, on account of the rich display of the reptile creation over his person. Thus, while the Christian and the Muslim take advantage of every opportunity to bruise the head of the serpent, the Hindus regard it with veneration. In Malabar it is something more, it is reduced to a systematic worship. No traveller who has spent a week in this district can but have had his attention drawn to the small plots of uncleared forests in the compounds of every Malayali of importance. On enquiry these turn out to be snake groves of which the district is full. To explain this universal and intensive worship of snakes, we have only tradition to fall back upon. According to the *Kerala Ulpāthi*, a book of great renown in the country, the district of Malabar along with Cochin, Travancore South and a part of North Canara, extending from Comorin to Gokarnam, a distance of 640 miles north to south, was reclaimed from the sea by Śrī Parasurāma and colonized by him. This great man was an Avatār of Vishnu, to destroy the cruel Kshathriya Rajahs, who succeeded a noble line of sovereigns of the warrior caste. He carried out his object by destroying the warrior chiefs twenty-one times. The sin of killing brave men, though cruel, was too much even for this incarnation of Vishnu. He therefore retired to Gokarnam in North Canara, and there invoked Varuna, the lord of the waters, to give him some land. Varuna accordingly went back a few miles, and 646 miles of land, called Kēralam, came into existence. Images of the god were then fixed in 108 places and the pioneer brought Brahmin settlers from the north of India to colonize the new country. But these settlers all ran away, after the stay of a few months, for fear of the serpents, of which the country was full. The land was then for sometime in the possession of serpents. That his labours may not be in vain Śrī Parasurāma brought in a further contingent of Brahmins from the north. He then divided the country into sixty-four Brahminical colonies. To differentiate his colonials from the rest, and to prevent their running away, Śrī Parasurāma required his men to shave off their kudami (tuft of hair) from the back of the head and to wear it on the top as the Malayali races do at the present day. Then

he granted a freehold over the whole land to the sixty-four colonies through the agency of "flower and water saying "you enjoy it." Then to protect his new land from human enemies he required the Brahmins to take arms from him. Some Brahmins, afraid to damage their Brahminical sanctity by the use of arms, refused to accept the gift, but others numbering 36,000 took arms from the pioneer. They were trained in the use of arms, and covered with rich presents, were ordered to protect the country from external or internal enemies. The snakes were giving trouble even now.

Srī Parasurāma called together all the sixty-four colonies and advised his men to regard the snakes as their household gods, and to reserve special places in the land he had already parcelled out amongst them for the accommodation and worship of the reptile creation. A part of every house site was accordingly kept apart for the snakes and offerings began to be made systematically, and the country became free from the fear of snakes. Such in brief is the traditional account for the appearance in large numbers of snake groves in Kērala. These groves are mostly located in the south-eastern corner, but instances are not rare where they are found in other parts of the compounds as well. The most common trees we see in these groves are ungoo (*Bauhinia Variegata*) and Kanjeram (*strychnos nuxvomica*), other trees also may be seen growing there in their wild plenty. These trees are also generally entwined caressingly by several species of forest vines. The whole grove shows the appearance of a miniature reserved forest, as it is considered to be sacred, and the prejudice against cutting trees therefrom is very strong. During the hot weather, when the whole country is parched up, it is very pleasant to look at these snake groves, for they are the only places where a little greenery is found in a sea of dried vegetation all round. The size of these groves varies according to the capacities of the families. I have come across groves about three-quarter of an acre in extent. Ordinarily they would be of smaller dimensions. On peeping in you will see a "snake king" and a "queen," made of granite. On their right is found a tower-like place for holy serpents, made of laterite, called in the vernacular a Chithira Kūtam. It will be about a foot and-a-half in height and a foot broad. These groves are not always of necessity found in the compound in which a family resides. Every family in Malabar lives in its own compound and not in villages as in other parts of India; and each family has its own household snakes. These reptiles are said to have a partiality for their old habitations, and even if the family has, for some reason, removed from the ancestral dwelling place, the snakes are said to stick to their old places. In

Chethallūr Amshom, Walluvanad Taluk, there is a big colony of Tamil settlers called Mūthāns. On their first arrival in Kērala, they were only seven families. They built seven houses one contiguous with the others, as the Tamils do. On coming into this country they took to serpent-worship and seven serpent groves came into existence close to their houses. The seven original settlers were followed by others. The pioneers found there were more convenient places in their neighbourhood to live in. They removed their family residences to a distance of two and three miles. But the family serpents would not go, and we see the original settlers going all the way to these groves to make their offerings. The snakes were in the olden days considered a part of the property and transfer deeds of some fifty years ago make special mention of the family serpent as one of the articles sold along with the freehold-oases also are not rare, where the snake has refused to part with the family though the place where the grove stood was sold to a stranger. A respectable family in Angadipuram, Walluvanad Taluk, sold their ancestral house site to a supervisor in the Local Fund, P. W. D. He cut down the snake grove and planted it up. Some members of the vendor's family began to suffer from some cutaneous complaints. As usual the local astrologer was called in and he attributed the ailment to the ire of the aggrieved family serpents. These men then went to the Brahmin house of Pampu Mēkat in Cochin territory. This Namboodri family is a special favourite of the snakes. When a new serpent grove has to be created, or if it is found necessary to remove a grove from one place to another, the ritual is entirely in the hands of these people. When a family suffers from the wrath of the serpents they generally go to this Namboodri house. The eldest woman of the house would hear the grievances of the party, and then taking a vessel full of gingelly (sesamum) oil and looking into it would give out the directions to be observed in satisfying the serpents. In the case in point the family was ordered to remove the serpents to the new house site which was done accordingly and the ailments I am told were cured.

In addition to the groves found in individual compounds we have also snake shrines. I have come across five of them. Two are situated in the Namboodri houses of Athipatte and Etamana in Chethallūr Amshom, Walluvanad Taluk. A third in Pathirikunnath Mana, in Mundakōtakurshi Amshom, Walluvanad Taluk. A fourth is on a hill called Pāmpāti Mala, south of Kōttōye in the Palghat Taluk. But the most important of all these is in the Namboodri house, Pampu Mēkat, in Cochin territory. Leprosy and other cutaneous diseases and eye diseases in general are believed in Malabar to be the work

of serpents. Consequently large numbers of devotees are to be seen going to Athipatte Mana to be cured of their eye diseases. I went to this snake shrine one day. It is situated about twenty yards north of the house. The place is walled in on all sides and is open to the sky. On looking in we see prominently a snake "queen" made of granite. She is surrounded on all sides by granite specimens of snakes with one, three and five hoods fully spread. I counted nearly 300 of these granite snakes and they make a very gruesome collection. Pious devotees also bring snakes in silver and gold. These are taken inside leaving the "queen" to be satisfied with a surrounding of granite snakes. This shrine opens out on the west to a jealously-preserved serpent grove. While at a little distance, apart from the main grove, is another one of smaller proportions. This happens to have a history of its own. In the olden days a Namboodri of the Illom (Namboodri house), was going out to Travancore, when a Cheruma (agrisc slave of Malabar) appeared on the hill opposite and cried for help to cure him of his eye disease. One of the boys of the house chatteringly told the man to use a bundle of straw as a pillow and to bathe the eye with a poisonous fluid. The man did as directed. Three months afterwards, when the Namboodri returned, the Cheruman appeared with some presents. On being asked the reason for the unexpected gift the poor fellow replied that it was for the cure effected in his eye. The Cheruman was then required to bring the pillow he had used. On opening it a small golden coloured serpent with its hood fully spread was seen standing up. The Namboodri then sprinkled holy water on it. Thus purified the reptile went into the grove. But its stay for some months in the hut of an out-caste debarred it from associating with the rest of the snakes. The creeping thing was seen crawling outside the grove when the Namboodri made the special grove and offerings were made to this separately which continues to this day. A neighbouring shrine is the one at the Brahmin house called "Eta-mana." This is not so important as the one referred to. A more important shrine is the one at the Namboodri house called Pathirikunnath. When you go into that house you are terror-stricken. The whole place looks an asylum for snakes. In the front verandah are seen a series of snake holes which communicate to innumerable anti-hills inside the house. Services in this place is entirely in the hands of women. This Namboodri was a rich landlord and was in affluent circumstance before. His present means of livelihood is simply from the income derivable from this snake shrine which is not a little. Visitors from all parts of the district may be seen in this Namboodri house with rich presents for the serpents worshipped in the place.

People in Malabar believe that snakes guard treasure. But silver they will have none. Even in the case of gold the snakes are said to visit hidden gold for twelve years occasionally, and only when they find that the treasure is not removed in the meanwhile that they begin to guard it. When once it has begun to watch the snake is said to be very zealous over it. It is said to hiss at it day and night. This constant application is believed to diminish its proportions, and instead of being the long thing it is, the snake is said to assume a smaller appearance. In time, in the place of the pointed tail, the reptile is said to get wings and the treasure, by the continuous hissing, to assume the form of a precious stone. When this is done the snake is said to fly with its precious acquisition. So strong is this belief that when a comet appeared some ten years ago people firmly believed that it was the flight of the winged serpent with the precious stone.

Of snake festivals we have not many. The Star Ayiliyam, the 9th asterism, for feet Leo is considered auspicious for serpent worship. The rule in Malabar is that all snake groves must be purified, and a pūjah offered to the serpents every month on this day. But generally it takes place only once a year. The pūjah is performed by a Brahmin. The grove is carefully cleaned and holy water is sprinkled in it. Then a heap of plantains, powdered rice, and a little milk will be placed in the grove. The Brahmin will then offer it with appropriate *mantrams* to the serpents and the ceremony is complete.

A festival on a grander scale is what is called a Thullal. The snakes are believed to have a hold on the continuance of the family, and this festival is celebrated occasionally to win the favour of the reptiles. The officiating priests for this are a class of people called Palluvans. A special pandāl is erected and figures of snakes are made with powders of variegated colours. A man of the Nair caste is for the time being appointed as master of the ceremonies. Two women of the house, or near relatives, will now sit on the western side of the figures of the serpents. The palluvans will then sing songs in praise of the many snakes to the accompaniment of the tap by the women of the caste on an instrument called *Palluvakatam*. Now as the man sings, the women are alleged to get into a frenzy, and they give out what snakes they are and in what way they may be satisfied. There is more singing now and more frenzy. They then creep and crawl in the snake figure and finally lie down as if senseless. The same ceremony is repeated for three or four days and the snakes are satisfied.

But the most curious belief about snakes in this district is

that they wed mortal girls. They fall in love with women. Many stories are told of the attack of women by serpents. But no informant of mine was able to tell me the particular woman of a particular house who has been dealt with in this way. When once it attacks a woman in this way the serpent is said to be constantly pursuing her. When she goes for her bath it is there; it is with her at her meals and everywhere; the serpent never leaves her except for an occasional separation for its food. Gradually both suffer and both die. The snake is said never to use its fangs against its chosen woman. So strong is the belief that women in Malabar would think twice before attempting to go by themselves into a bush.

Next to cow-slaughter the killing of snakes is considered the most heinous sin a Malayali may commit; and even to see a serpent with its head bruised is believed to be a forerunner of calamities. Pious Malayis when they see a serpent killed in this way will therefore have it burned with the full solemnities attendant on the cremation of high caste Hindu. The carcase is covered in a piece of silk and is burned in sandalwood. A Brahmin is hired to observe pollution for three or ten days, and elaborate funeral oblations are made to the dead snake.

When a snake is seen inside, or in the neighbourhood of a house, great care is taken to catch it without giving it the least pain. Usually a stick is quietly placed on its head and the mouth of an earthenware pot is shown to it. When it is in, the pot is loosely covered with a cocoanut shell to allow free breathing. It is then taken to a secluded place, the pot is destroyed, and the snake let free. It is considered to be polluted by being caught in this way and holy water is sometimes poured over it this time. In Malabar there is a caste of snake catchers called *Karavans*. They go about the country exhibiting their snakes. Malayalis consider it a great act of piety to purchase these reptiles from them and liberate them.

A district that has snakes in plenty cannot but have its snake doctors as well. In fact one of our proverbs says "if you learn only one art, you should learn the art of curing cases, snake poison;" there are in the country several men with a reputation of curing cases of snake poison. But their operations are so carefully and jealously kept to themselves that I am not able to give an account of the local cures for snake bite. The practise of this branch of medicine is hereditary, and the older the family the more efficacious their cures are considered to be. But the work is said to arouse the wrath of the serpents and the practitioners are believed to

be impoverished by the influence of the snakes. To prevent the curses of these creatures having any effect on the practitioners or their families no one exercising the art would take any consideration from his clients however tempting the offer may be. With the advance of civilisation snakes are no longer the venerable creatures, or their groves the sacred places, they were. But all the old superstition is raked up when a Rajah, who may have killed serpents by hundreds, dies of a virulent form of leprosy, or when the near relative of an influential man, who is reputed to have shot down snakes in plenty, is attacked with a very bad specimen of skin disease.

C. KARUNAKARA MENON, B.A.

ART. III.—IN MEMORIAM.

VICTORIA R. ET. I.

Her Court was pure ; her life serene ;
God gave her peace ; her land reposed ;
A thousand claims to reverence closed
In her as Mother, Wife and Queen.

—TENNYSON.

THE Queen-Empress is gone! Her world-wide Empire is plunged into the depth of sorrow! A grand personality marked by rare virtues is now gathered to all the glory and greatness of the mighty dead. The world that was privileged to witness and admire that noble personality is in mourning. Never before was there such a loving and beloved Monarch. Never before was there an Empress so mighty in power, and yet so sweet in temper. Wielding the sceptre of the greatest Empire in the world, occupying the proudest position on earth, and foremost of the world's mighty potentates, Victoria the Great stands all alone as the embodiment of all the virtues of womanhood. And to her, rightly styled "the mother of her people," millions of her devoted subjects all over the sea-girt earth vie with one another in paying reverential homage. A long and useful life of regal toil has come to a close. Deep-toned bells toll their muffled notes. The black pageant of death is abroad.

If her reign was unsurpassed in length of time, her Empire was unequalled in its vastness, and her era was unparalleled in the grandeur of mighty achievements in every department of Literature, Science and Art. Her reign was a series of continuous acquisition of dominion and of the arts that contribute to increased convenience and comfort. Peace and concord at home, and honour and influence abroad! Above all, she was, by Divine appointment, the real Sovereign of India, whose people she loved with the warmth of a mother. And this love she evinced in a thousand ways. Bound to her by bonds of love, India mourns for her Queen, who alone, of all, was able to understand her best.

With the vanishing of the Nineteenth Century, the Queen of the Century passed suddenly but radiantly away from us. And who will adequately portray the glory of her who presided for so long a time over the destinies of millions upon millions? And who that is acquainted with the facts of History, who that can realize the force of the temptations which beset thrones, sceptres and mitres, can withhold admiration of a Queen who rose superior to all the blandishments of

wealth, and all the demoralizing effects of power? Such was she, whose loss with one voice the whole of India bewails to-day. She was the greatest among the great potentates who ever reigned over mankind. She was the most womanly of women who have lived on earth. And her reign was the longest and the most glorious that has been recorded in the pages of History.

Blessed with a long lease of life—God willed it so perhaps for the sake of peace on earth and good-will among mankind—she, our Empress-Mother, seated on her throne, shedding effulgent light on all around, had the unique privilege of witnessing the panorama of Peers, Ministers, Chancellors, Archbishops, Field-M Marshals, Viceroy s, Presidents, Kings and Queens come and go. Possessed of a good disposition and endowed with a keen sense of right and wrong, she, the born-Queen, popularized thrones, consecrated crowns, and strove to better the condition of the millions scattered all over the globe who rejoiced to be her subjects. Whatever might have been the passing discontents of her peoples, with her they were supremely satisfied, and to her throne and person they were indissolubly bound.

Born at Kensington Palace, May 24th, 1819, as the only daughter of the Duke of Kent and of the Princess Louisa Victoria of Saxe-Coburg, having lost her father while she was yet a few months old, and brought up under the care of her mother, Victoria Alexandrina, came in succession to her uncle, William IV., to the throne of England, on June 28th, 1837, as Queen Victoria I. Married in 1840 to his late Royal Highness Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and widowed in 1861, she survived her husband for about forty years. Of her nine children, two died during her lifetime. Her children and grand-children are among Emperors, Kings and Queens, Dukes and Duchesses, Crown-Princes and Crown-Princesses, and our present Emperor, His Most Gracious Majesty King Edward VII., is her eldest son.

She was an ideal wife and a loving mother. Surrounded by loving and loved children and children's children, leading an exemplary life as a widow, she was ever devoted to the memory of her dearly loved husband. Take her as a maiden, she was all that a girl should be; take her as a woman, she was a queen among women; and take her as a Queen she was as tender as a woman in her essential nature.

She loved her people as her own children; she made their sorrows and sufferings her own; she even went out of her way to sympathise with the poor and the depressed. Bound by the laws of the Constitution she merged her personality in the interests of the Empire. And yet she found it possible to see

her well-intentioned suggestions carried into effect by the irresistible force of her sincerity of purpose. We can understand the force of her character only when we realize the fact that she was able to turn the tide that flowed against Monarchy and what is more,—secured for herself a permanent place in the hearts of her people. In all relations of life she was gentle, loving and patient. We Indians especially owe her a deep debt of gratitude. She loved us well. It may take years, and possibly generations, before we can correctly estimate the deep interest she took in us, and the many ways in which she sought to befriend and benefit us. That political Gospel of ours, that Passport of our Political Redemption, our Magna Charta, Her Gracious Proclamation of 1858, shall ever extort accents of grateful praise from the millions of our countrymen.

She was great and glorious in every way. She was great, because she ruled long and well ; she was great, because she ruled over an ever-widening Empire, vast in extent, rich in resources, mighty in power,—of the like of which History makes no mention and Tradition keeps no account. She was great, because her reign was unique in its prosperity ; it was one long, continuous chapter of favourable accidents. She was great and glorious, because her era was an era of political enfranchisement of many a nation and of material prosperity and mental culture. Such revelations of science, such fruits of knowledge, such rapid strides in civilization as were never seen or heard of before in any age or country ! Destiny made her a Queen, but Nature made her the Queen of Queens. Such was she whose end Death marked Tuesday, the 22nd January 1901, with sadness ! For who will not weep over a death that cast a dark shadow of bereavement over half the world ?

As a child she obeyed her parents, as a wife she obeyed her husband, and as a Queen she obeyed the Constitution. What more could she give us, and what more could we expect of her ? She gave the teeming millions of India her sympathy—she gave them her heart. And what else can be dearer to us than this ? In all circumstances and conditions of life she was ever thoughtful of her country and her people. With a sweetness of temper which was all her own, whether it was the gift of Nature or the product of self-culture, with the sagacity of a sage, and with the forethought of a born statesman, she steered the ship of the State clear of political sands and shoals. She lived a life that can serve as an example to men and women, to kings and queens, and to the high and low. She lived a long and useful life. She consecrated a regal life and honoured womanhood. Loved alike by the prince and the peasant, by the eminent and the obscure, by

the rich and the poor, she disappeared into History to cover its pages with imperishable glory. She is dead ; her people are orphaned ; the bond that bound her to her subjects, in half the islands and all the continents of the world, is broken ; and the symbol of the Empire is effaced. She is gone ; but she has bequeathed to us the beautiful image of her great and glorious life. She lived a good and happy life, and died a quiet and peaceful death. May her soul rest in peace !

A. GOVINDARAJA MUDALIAR.

ART. IV.—THE EVOLUTION OF A BRITISH COLONY.

(Continued from No. 224, April 1901.)

SECOND PERIOD.

1851-1855.

Victoria under a Legislative Council.

GOVERNORS:

1851. Charles Latrobe; 1854. J. V. F. Foster; 1854. Charles Hotham.

(a) SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION.

THE period opened with the disastrous results left as a legacy of the terrible conflagration on "Black Thursday." Many left the colony ruined; while the discovery of gold in New South Wales had the effect of drawing away others. This was the lowest ebb of the tide in the colony during this period, just at its commencement; but it soon turned with a rush. "Gold was in the air." The colonists whose fortunes were identified with Victoria had heard of tales of gold being found in various parts of the country, and formed a Gold Discovery Committee which offered handsome rewards to the finders of the precious metal. Search parties were at once organised. Before, however, they could do anything, other parties came forward with statements of gold having been found. These discoveries came so thick one upon another that not only was the tide of emigration to New South Wales stopped, but it began to be directed to Victoria from other parts. Men flocked in from not only the neighbouring colonies, but from the United Kingdom, from the Continental States of Europe, from America, and even from heathen China. Such was the rush that one week ten thousand landed at Melbourne. Accordingly, we find that the 77,345 of last year had risen to 97,489 in the first year of this period, 168,321 the year following (1852), to 222,436 in 1853, and to 312,307 in the last year of this period (1854). In 1854 it was estimated that there were 15,000 miners at work at Mt. Alexander, an equal number at Bendigo, 10,000 at Ballarat, 3,000 at the Ovens, and 1,500 apiece at Daisy Hill (Amherst), and Korong. Victoria had already outstripped New South Wales in population, the latter having only 295,000 in 1857.

(b) GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.

On the 16th July 1851 Mr. Latrobe was sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor. He at once appointed Captain Lonsdale, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Ebdon, Auditor-General; Mr. (Sir) W. F. Stawell, Attorney-General; and Mr. (Sir) Redmond Barry, Solicitor-General. Among the twenty elected

members of the Legislative Council—ten others were nominated by the Governor—we find Fawkner for Talbot, &c., and James Henty (1853) for Portland. The Council first met on 11th November, and Dr. (Sir) James Palmer was chosen speaker. There was at once a collision between the Council and Government, the latter holding that the revenue and management of the gold fields were under the control of the Crown Lands Department, of which it assumed to have the sole control. This contest was ended the following year (September) by a dispatch from England placing the gold revenue and the land fund at the disposal of the Colonial Legislatures.

Government lost no time in establishing a Gold Commission to protect the rights of the Crown, to maintain law and order on the gold fields, to control the varied elements of vice and discord thrown together, and to bring the widely-scattered operations of the various gold fields under one legitimate authority. A Chief Commissioner was appointed, with an assistant, at the head office in Melbourne, and under this office the Commissioners of the various gold fields were placed. These Commissioners were divided into three classes: the Resident Commissioner, the Commissioner, and the Assistant Commissioner. Their duties were magisterial, the issuing of licenses, the settlement of disputed claims, the charge of the gold office, and the charge of an out-station.

The Commissioner or Assistant Commissioner in charge of a station or an out-station was at the head of the camp or camps in that district, was responsible for the collection, safeguard, and transmission of all the money and gold accumulated from day to day, and for the constant maintenance of good order on the camp, and every part of the gold fields of his district, and was expected to exercise an unwearied vigilance over crime, in all its lurking places, in gully or bush.

The Commissioners in charge of the gold office received the gold bags or money parcels from the miners; weighed, labelled, and registered the same; and gave the miners corresponding receipts, by means of which they could obtain their gold or money from the Treasury in Melbourne, where a branch of the Treasury was specially devoted to this special purpose. The Gold Commissioner packed the gold in saddle-bags for the pack-horses of the escorts to Melbourne or elsewhere and received the escort bags and despatches from Melbourne and elsewhere into his office. He also received all license tax for gold mining, storekeeping, refreshment tents, auctioneers, etc., and issued the same to the Commissioners.

It will thus be seen that the gold fields were placed under

thorough and effectual supervision and government. This supervision, however, had sometimes to be carried out with harshness by the Police, who worked under the Commissioners.

Next year (1852) an Act was passed—"The Convicts Prevention Act"—to meet and check the influx of convicts from the neighbouring colonies to the Victorian Gold Fields. Military pensioners were also brought from Tasmania to act as police on the gold fields. The next year (1853) the transportation of convicts to the Australian Colonies had ceased.

In 1854 Mr. Foster became the Colonial Secretary, and the New Constitution Bill was introduced (5th May). Finally, Mr. Latrobe prorogued the Council, and announced that Sir Charles Hotham had been appointed his successor. Mr. Latrobe left (5th May) after a term of office extending over fifteen years, and Mr. Foster acted as Governor till Sir Charles Hotham's arrival (21st June) the same year.

The "Victorian Convention," as it was called, sat this year. It was composed of the leaders of public opinion, and of delegates from public meetings representing the popular voice in all parts of the colony. Mr. (Sir) George Verdon took a prominent part in it, as well as Mr. Wilson Gray, Mr. Walsh, and Mr. Burt. Its objects were principally reform of the land laws, and the Constitution Act. The head quarters of the Military were now (1854) transferred from Sydney to Melbourne as the more important and central position. Sir Robert Nickle, in command of the forces, arrived with his staff in August. The presence of the Military was at once utilized for the purpose of gold escorts; and it is calculated that in three years and eight months—after which the Police took up the duty—they had escorted £41,500,000 worth treasure. An Act, too, was passed to raise Volunteer Corps.

The Military, however, were not brought over a day too early, and more serious work was near at hand for them than that of forming treasure-parties and resisting the casual attacks of bush rangers.

There had always been much dissatisfaction among the miners at the heavy license tax, to dig for gold, of 30s. per month, and it was now proposed to raise the fee to £3 a month. The inquisitorial powers of the Police, too, were generally roughly exercised. The Gold Commissioners had authority to direct the Police to visit and compel the "diggers" to show their licenses as often as they liked, and this power was either abused or could not, under the circumstances of the confusion usually attending great "rushes," be exercised as suavely as in ordinary times. The miners, too, were not allowed to cultivate their small holdings; and further

had no franchise. They were also a very mixed lot, and foreigners had much influence among them. The feeling of discontent went on gradually gaining strength till the end of the year, when there happened an outburst of popular feeling, ending in armed resistance to authority at Ballarat.

It happened thus:—While the dissatisfaction at the proposed increase of the license tax was at its height, a man named Scobie was foully murdered at the Eureka Hotel kept by a publican of the name of Bentley. Bentley, who was supposed to have been the murderer, got off at the trial; but the miners marked their sense of his crime by burning down his hotel. The ringleaders in this deed were apprehended and sentenced; but Bentley was again placed on his trial, and this time was condemned. The diggers regarded the men who had been sentenced for burning down his hotel and who belonged to their body, as ‘martyrs,’ and freely spoke about bribed administrators. Finally, overwrought with their other grievances, they convened meetings, mustered and drilled their forces, and entrenched a position in their own encampment called the Eureka Stockade.

Such was the untoward aspect of affairs, when Government determined to send up troops to the scene of these undisguised hostilities. Within an hour of each other, three several detachments of troops of the 40th and the 12th Regiments arrived at Ballarat on the 20th November.

The insurgents, were headed by Peter Lalor, as Chief in Command, Frederick Vern a Hanoverian, Carboni Raffaello an Italian, Alfred Black, and a number of Americans and others.

On December 2nd, at 4 A.M., Captain Thomas, who was in command of the troops, captured the stockade after a brief struggle. In his own words:—“For about ten minutes a heavy fire was kept up by the troops advancing. The entrenchment was then carried and taken by the point of the bayonet.” There was short and sharp work: 23 were killed, 12 wounded, and 125 made prisoners. Of the troops only one was killed and 12 were wounded. Captain Wise, who was severely wounded, died in a few days. Of the prisoners only 13 were brought to trial and they were acquitted. Lalor, who lost his right arm, managed to escape; as also Vern and Black.

A Royal Commission was appointed (7th December) to investigate into the causes of the outbreak. On the recommendations of the Commission, the Licence Tax was reduced to a nominal sum and other concessions made. On paying £1 a year miners secured for themselves both mining privileges and the franchise. It may be observed here that the Licence Tax was afterwards (1855) abolished, and a small Export Duty of 1s. 6d. an oz. on gold introduced in its place.

The popular feeling quickly subsided. During 1854 the Patent Law also came into force.

Next year Local Self-Government was introduced by Captain (now General Sir) Andrew Clarke, R.E., who afterwards became the first Surveyor-General of Victoria. Finally, the New Constitutional Act for Responsible Government arrived (16th October, 1855) and was proclaimed on November 23rd. The Constitution was based upon that of the United Kingdom.

Sir Charles Hotham, however, had taken a cold at the inauguration of the first Melbourne Gas Company, and he died three weeks after on the last day of the year.

It has been interesting to follow the course of the Government during this brief period. The Legislative Council, however, did much more work than appears on the surface, and it served its existence and the needs of the period well. The basis of much that is in the present were laid by it. The following summary of its few Sessions furnishes an accurate idea of what was done by it for the colony in general and for Melbourne in particular.

1851.—FIRST SESSIONS.

November 11th.—First meeting of the Legislative Council of Victoria held in St. Patrick's Hall, Bourke St., Dr. Palmer elected speaker.

November 13th.—Lieutenant-Governor La Trobe's first speech. He congratulated the House on the completed independence of the Colony and on its progress, and stated that draft bills on education and on the judicial arrangements of the Colony would be introduced.

November 18th.—Message from His Excellency

enclosed estimated revenue of 1852 amount-

ing to

...

...

... £175,350-0-0

and estimated expenditure

...

... £173,063-18-6

December 2nd.—Message from the Lieutenant-Governor to provide that the public service be not subjected to embarrassment by authorising advance in the rates of pay to subordinate officers.

December 9th.—Petitions on aliens and against introduction of convicts presented.

1852.—SECOND SESSIONS.

June 25th.—Petition presented for the construction of a canal from Hobson's Bay to Melbourne.

July 6th.—Motion carried for having Mounted Police around gold fields.

July 27th.—Act to confirm the use and adoption of a seal to be known as the Seal of the Colony.

July 28th.—Motion carried to offer a reward of £100 to the discoverer of an available coal field within the Colony.

July 30th.—Her Majesty petitioned to sanction the establishment of a branch of the Royal Mint in Victoria.

August 5th.—Governor's salary declared inadequate.

September 14th.—Motion carried for an address to Her Majesty praying that Victoria be constituted the place of residence of the Governor-General of the Australian Colonies.

September 17th.—Petition against Gold Duty Export Bill. Petitions were presented for days subsequently till November 24th when the Bill was thrown out in Committee. [The Scab Prevention Bill often appears in the proceedings.]

December 14th.—Bill for opening up streets in Fitzroy Ward (Collingwood) lost.

1853, *January 6th.*—Petition for establishment of Public Baths. Address praying for grant of £20,000 for erection of University buildings.

January 19th.—Address to His Excellency to place £42,000 at the disposal of the Corporation to drain the swamps in the vicinity of the city and improve its sanitary condition.

January 20th.—Guarantees proposed to be offered for the Melbourne and Geelong Railway and the Melbourne, Mt. Alexander, and Murray River Railway.

January 21st.—University of Melbourne Endowment Bill passed.

January 25th.—Motion carried for the establishment of a Museum of Geology. £450,000 to be advanced to the Corporation for sewerage, water supply, and cleansing the city of Melbourne.

February 1st.—Question asked respecting the large importation of Chinamen : promised to be taken into consideration if the Colony be likely to suffer.

February 3rd.—His Excellency and Council to declare the maximum Punt Fares.

February 4th.—Resolution to be transmitted to Her Majesty expressing a strong feeling against transportation to Australian Colony.

February 7th.—The two Railway Bills passed.

THIRD SESSIONS.

August 31st.—A message announced the resolution of Her Majesty's Government to put an end to transportation to Van Diemen's Land. Mr. Snodgrass, Chairman of Committee.

September 1st.—Consideration of best form of Constitution for the Colony was referred to a Committee, the Colonial Secretary proposing that there should be two chambers, both based on the elective principle.

September 7th.—Petition to confer the franchise on miners.

September 8th.—Petition from Ballaarat for redress of grievances.

September 13th.—Mining Act Amendment Bill passed.

September 16th.—Message on the extension of the Money Order system to the Colony. Gipps Land to be surveyed and large tracts of land promised to be brought into the market.

23rd.—Motion carried for a Museum of National History.

27th.—Petitions from Heidelberg and its vicinity for a semi-weekly post.

28th.—Bills prayed for to incorporate the St. Kilda Pier or Jetty Company, Melbourne and Brighton Railway Company, and North Melbourne Railway Company.

A question strongly discussed on the Duke of Newcastle's despatch—whether Downing St. or the representatives of the people were to rule the country.

October 5th.—The above Bills introduced. Third reading of the Convict's Prevention Bill carried.

October 12th.—The Committee on Steam Communication with England reported that £3,000 per mensem should be paid to any and every Company which shall engage to carry for a whole year, a regular monthly mail from England to Melbourne within sixty-five days for the first six months and sixty days for the last six months, to be paid only for those months in which the voyage is performed within the time specified.

November 10th.—Petition from Baptist Church against State Grants for religious purposes. Resolution that expenditure beyond amount appropriated is unconstitutional.

November 11th.—£50,000 wanted for improvement of Fitzroy Ward.

November 16th.—£20,000 required for temporary residence of Governor of Victoria.

December 21st.—Motion carried for £200 to be placed on the estimates for a Queen's Plate, to be run for as the Melbourne Annual Races. Petitions had been sent in from Dunlop and Peters for reward for discovery of gold fields.

MATERIAL PROGRESS AND WEALTH.

The great gold discoveries formed the principal factor in the progress and wealth of this period, and served almost to set aside agricultural and pastoral operations for a time. The Gold Discovery Committee had offered rewards, but the precious metal had been found before, and the fact communicated to Government which, however, for its own reasons, had kept it a profound secret. The progress of these discoveries, as they took place, were afterwards fully brought

out by the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the claims for the Discovery of Gold in Victoria. Its Report is dated the 10th March 1854, and in it they say (we summarise their lengthy paper) :—

“In the month of March 1850 the honorary member for the Loddon, Mr. W. Campbell, discovered on the station of Mr. Donald Cameron, of Clunes, in company with that gentleman, his superintendent, and a friend, several minute pieces of native gold in quartz. This was concealed at the time from an apprehension that the announcement would prove injurious to Mr. Cameron's run. On the 10th June 1851, however, Mr. Campbell wrote that he had procured specimens of gold ‘on an adjacent station.’ On the 5th July a party formed by Mr. Louis John Michel showed gold in the quartz rocks of the Yarra Ranges at Anderson's Creek to Dr. Webb Richmond on behalf of the Gold Discovery Committee. On the same day, July 5th, Mr. James Esmonds showed gold obtained in the quartz rocks of the Pyrenees, near Mr. Donald Cameron's station, and worked subsequently there, since called the “Clunes” diggings. Dr. George H. Bruhn exploring the mineral resources of the Colony on arriving at Mr. Cameron's station, was shown by that gentleman specimens of gold at what are now called the “Clunes” diggings, and subsequently forwarded specimens to the Gold Discovery Committee on 30th June 1851. In the meantime Mr. Thomas Hiscock, a resident at Buninyong, kept a look out and discovered an auriferous deposit in the gully of the Buninyong Ranges. This attracted great numbers of diggers to the neighbourhood, and led to the discovery of the golden point at Ballarat. During the first days of September Mr. Brown and his party were looking on one side, and Messrs. Regan and Dunlop on the other side of the range forming the Golden Point.”

The story of a shepherd finding gold in 1848-49 is not included in this Report. Licences to dig for gold were issued on the 1st September, and about 300 persons were at work when Ballarat was discovered. We have noted before that many thousands of miners were at work on the various gold fields the following year (1852). Mr. Latrobe personally went to see and inspect the various gold fields. Messrs. Michel, Hiscock, Campbell and Esmonds got voted rewards of £1,000 each, and Dr. Bruhn £500. Mr. Donald Cameron after a while parted with his run for a comparatively small sum. After a lapse of half a century a hundred gold-mining companies are at work there, and gold of the value of nearly ten millions sterling has been raised from beneath where his sheep cropped the herbage and he first saw the sparkle of native gold.

The first gold escort from Bendigo brought nearly 30,000 *oz.* of gold to Melbourne. The total amount of gold raised during this period (1851 to end of 1854) amounted to 8,425,702 *oz.*, valued at £33,702,828. To show how common money was then a Warden and Police Magistrate wrote (1852-53):—"Diggers sometimes pursued me on my way back to Melbourne when I was in charge of the gold escort, begging me to thrust £200 in notes into my pistol-holsters, and £500 into my riding boots. But on one occasion a bundle of notes to the amount of £1,000 was sent to me laid flat and tied up in a thin piece of brown paper; and as it came in company with some saddlery, the four edges of each note were ground off, so that the bundle of notes presented the appearance of an oval block of dirty paper. The diggers' gold-bags were emptied out in the gold-brokers' shops so carelessly that the sweepings and dust of the floor of the shop on Saturday night were, in some shops, worth £12 every week. On one occasion, in a certain gold-broker's place, the value of the shop-sweepings for the week amounted to £20. Hired carriages were let out by the hour at from 2 to 3 guineas and sometimes at 5 guineas an hour. Plasterers and masons in those days got £2 a day, carpenters 30s. a day, and even common labourers £1 a day. House-rent rose during the latter part of 1852 and 1853 from £150 a year to £900! Hence arose a New Melbourne and the splendid suburbs of St. Kilda, etc. Hay was selling at £70 a ton! Cabbages sometimes changed hands at about 5s. each or £3 a dozen."

Cultivation, as we have mentioned before, was neglected, and accordingly from 57,472 acres in 1851, of which 29,624 acres were under wheat, it declined to 36,771 acres in the year following, and still further to 34,816 acres, of which only 7,554 acres were under wheat in 1853. A rebound was perceptible the next year, when farmers who had left for "the diggings" found they had made a mistake and returned to their old and surer occupation, and the land under cultivation was 54,905 acres. From this time, as will be seen under the next period, cultivation has steadily increased year after year.

In 1853-54, too, tobacco began first to be regularly cultivated, fitful efforts had been made before, and there was a return of 85 cwts. from 11½ acres. There was also, as might have been expected, a decrease in sheep during this period, the number in 1851 being 6,589,923, and in 1854 5,332,007. But horses increased from 22,086 in 1851 to 27,038 in 1854; cattle from 390,923 in 1851 to 481,640 in 1854; and pigs from 7,372 in 1851 to 9,278 in 1854. The number of vessels inwards in the four years was 7,559 of a total of 2,053,719 tons, and of outwards was 7,008, with a total of

1,925,005 tons. The value of imports rose from £1 056,437 in 1851 to £17,659,051 in 1854, and of exports from £1,422,909 in 1851 to £11,775,204 in 1854. The quantity of wool exported in 1854 was 22,998 400lbs. of the value of £1,618,114. The amounts spent on Public Works during this period were on Roads and Bridges £1,086,137, on the Yan Yean Water Supply Scheme for Melbourne £367,356, and on other Public Works £978,230, or a total of £2,431 723. The number of Flour Mills rose from 27 in 1851 to 40 in 1854, and of Manufactories, etc., from 56 in 1851 to 152 in 1854. The number of Banks in the country was six, with a total paid-up capital of £3,367,560; and assets of £10,536,528.

In 1852 the Railway was opened from Sandridge to Melbourne; and the line to Geelong was commenced. This line was opened also within this period in 1854. There was as yet no Public Debt.

OTHER LINES AND INFLUENCES.

Social.—The great Gold Discoveries had the effect of disorganising society at first. Coachmen, grooms, lawyers, clerks, and even official men, including the very police, were off to “the diggings.” Melbourne is described as being at that time “a sort of fevered, drunken, delirious Pandemonium.” There were burglaries, ‘stickings-up,’ and shootings in every direction. Men had to go about armed at night. Throughout the colony “crimes of the most fearful character abounded; the roads swarmed with bushrangers, the streets with desperadoes of every kind.” Ultimately, by a levelling process, the Gold Discoveries resulted in greater social freedom and equality.

Works, etc.—In 1851 the Yan Yean Water Supply Scheme by which pure water is brought into Melbourne from a distance of nineteen miles was surveyed, and the first sod was turned in December 1853 by Mr. Latrobe.

The first telegraphic message was sent from Melbourne to Williamstown in 1854.

Educational, etc.—In 1853 the Melbourne University was incorporated, and the foundation stone laid the year following July 3rd, 1854. It owes its existence to Sir Redmond Barry who was afterwards its first Chancellor. On the same day the foundation stone also of the Public Library was laid. Subsequently as will be seen in the next period, additions were made to it of a picture gallery, etc. In the year 1854, too, the Melbourne Observatory was established. The Victorian Institute and the Philosophical Society, the former owing its origin to Mr. W. Sydney Gibbons, and the latter to Captain A. Clarke, R.E., also came into existence at this time. Both afterwards merged into the present Royal

Society of Victoria. The first Exhibition of Arts and Industry was held in the same year 1854 and there were 428 exhibitors. The number of schools in the colony had increased from 129 with 7,060 scholars in 1851 to 391 with 20,107 scholars in 1854.

The Church, etc.—Churches increased from 39 in 1851 to 187 in 1854.

The Press.—This too had multiplied and kept pace with the growth of the colony.

This very brief period was most important in its bearings on the future. It was the seed time of the next period. Whether in the increase of material wealth and population, or in the hardening and mixture of races, we see laid in it the foundations of future greatness.

THIRD PERIOD.

1855-1884.

VICTORIA UNDER A RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

We now enter on the third and last period into which we have divided the history of the evolution of Victoria—that of her greatest progress. Her infancy and childhood are over, and she now enters on the vigor of her youth. We shall see now the free, full, and vigorous life of a young colony, well started, under its own constitutional and representative government. While the small early beginnings of things which have detained our attention while they interested us when viewing them in the preceding periods are now wanting, we shall see here the larger and broader measures which betoken the movements of a nascent and higher national life.

SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION.

During the earlier portion of this period (1859) Messrs. Burke and Wills were started to carry out the exploration of Australia. The funds were supplied by a collection made by Melbourne citizens and a subsidy from Parliament. The story of the exploits and heroism of these brave explorers ending in their death, does not come within our limits. The total cost of their (and subsidiary) expeditions was £57,000. Vast extents of fertile country, even to the extreme north of Queensland, were discovered by them, and settlement early followed in their wake. Their remains were brought back by Howitt from Cooper's Creek, and were accorded a public funeral (January 20th, 1863). A noble monument erected to them graces the finest site in Collin's Street. A couple years after again (1865) the ladies of Victoria started McIntyre in search of Leichhardt.

We have seen before that the population of Victoria in 1854 was 312,307 and exceeded the population of *N. S. W.* proper.

From that time forward Victoria kept the lead in population among the Australian Colonies till almost the other day. The country has been settled in every direction, in some parts more than in others ; but there is room for several millions yet. The following is a glance at the regular growth of the population at stated intervals during this period :—

1855—364,324 ; 1865—621,095 ; 1875—791,399 ; 1884, June 30th—945,703. Of the last total 501,569 are males and 444,134 are females. The estimated total at the end of 1884 is 965,000.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.

Sir Charles Hotham died on the last day of 1855 after having proclaimed the new Constitution Act. The next year began with Major-General Edward Macarthur as Acting Governor, and it was under him that the first Parliament under the new Constitution with Mr. Haines as Premier opened (November 21st, 1856). The Ministry was composed of, besides Mr. Haines as Chief Secretary, the following :—

(Sir) W. F. Stawell, Attorney-General ; (Rt. Hon.) H. C. E. Childers Commissioner of Trade and Customs ; (Sir) Charles Sladen, Treasurer ; Captain Chas. Pasley, R. E., Commissioner of Public Works ; Captain (General Sir) A. Clarke, R. E., Surveyor-General ; and Robert Molesworth, Solicitor-General. (Sir James Palmer was elected speaker of the Assembly, and (Sir) W. F. Mitchell, President of the Council. Among the Members of the Upper House we find again Fawcner sitting for the Central Province, and J. Henty for the South-Western Province. We find also Stephen George Henty sitting for the Western Province. In the Lower House we find Archibald Michie and W. F. Stawell sitting for Melbourne, Fred. James Sargood for St. Kilda, Charles Sladen for Geelong, Hugh Culling Eardley Childers for Portland. Peter Lalor for North Grenville, Edward Henty for Normanby, and Charles Gavan Duffy for Villiers and Heytesbury. It is remarkable that after a period of nearly thirty years most of these were still living, and had attained to the highest positions of honour and usefulness either in Victoria or in England.

Sir Henry Barkley arrived and assumed the reins of Government on the 26th December 1856. Since then, in all, during this period, there have been six Governors with others acting on occasions, twelve Parliaments, the average of existence for each being two years and one month ; and twenty-two ministries. For this extended period of nearly thirty years of the history of Victoria, with an active and free political life, we can cast only a brief glance at the most important public measures.

Sir Henry Barkley remained till September 10th, 1863.

During this term the first Parliament passed the vote by Ballot Act, and the Manhood Suffrage Act. The second Parliament met on the 13th October 1859 as elected under the provisions of this Act. Under this Parliament arrangements were made with the P. and O. Company for carrying the mails, and the Department of Mines established. Further facilities were also afforded to miners regarding leases and licenses. In 1860 a Conference of representatives of the different Colonies was held in Melbourne for united action in the matter of vital statistics. Finally, the third Parliament passed the Duffy Land Act of 1862 to continue till 1870. This Act gave increased facilities for settlement. One hundred and fifty areas of from 20,000 to 30,000 acres each of prime arable unsold land were surveyed, mapped, and opened for selection within three months of the passing of the Act. The most part of the Gippsland farmers came into existence under this Act.

On 11th September 1863 Sir Charles Darling was sworn in ; but ended a brief term by being recalled owing to the following circumstances. The Premier, Mr. McCulloch, aided by Mr. (afterwards Judge) Higginbotham, the Attorney-General, brought forward a Protective Policy for the colony. The first Bill merely imposed certain duties. The Bill was rejected by the Council and the Ministry accordingly dissolved. They were, however, sent back to the house stronger than before. The same Bill accordingly was sent up again, and was again rejected. On Mr. Higginbotham's advice the Bill was now "tacked" to the Appropriation Bill, and thus sent up again to the Council. The Council, however, determined not to be beaten, rejected the Appropriation Bill with the "tack." Supplies were thus stopped, and the public services were thrown into confusion. Mr. Higginbotham, fruitful in novel expedients, now counselled that the Governor should be sued and then confess judgment on behalf of the Queen, when the moneys would have to be paid without regard to the Appropriation Bill. The absurdity of such a course may be conceived by applying it to the Queen herself in a similar case in England. The power of the purse is really not in the hands of the Queen, or at her disposal, and her own funds are allowed her by the country. Sir Charles Darling agreed to the course proposed by Mr. Higginbotham. The Council then wrote to the Secretary of State and protested against the action of the Governor. Sir Charles thereon in reply made some severe reflections on certain members of the Council, and his conduct being deemed unconstitutional by the Home Government he was recalled and retired from office on 7th May 1866 leaving the dispute unsettled. Brigadier-General Geo. Carey, C. B., acted as Governor for the few months after Sir Charles Darling's departure till the arrival of

his successor. Shortly after, however, some concessions were made on both sides in the colony, the "tack" was taken off the Appropriation Bill, and the Tariff Bill was sent up to the Council as a separate measure. Both the Bills were then passed. Thus ended the memorable *Deadlock* as it was called, which had led to so much bad feeling, the recall of a Governor, and the throwing into temporary confusion the public services. It was the death struggle of the free trade party. The colony since then became decidedly Protectionist. Another contest soon came on with the Upper House caused by the McCulloch Ministry voting £20,000 to Sir Charles Darling, in which the same tactics as before were pursued on both sides. Sir Charles, however, died while the contest was going on, and the matter was ended by Lady Darling being granted an annuity of £1,000.

Sir Henry Manners Sutton, afterwards Viscount Canterbury, assumed office on the 15th August 1866, and continued till the 2nd March 1873. The "*Deadlock*" referred to above was ended under him in 1868, and in a great measure by his wise counsels and guidance. The next year (1869) the Payment of Members and the State Aid Abolition Bills were passed. The Victorian Land Act was also introduced and came into operation on 1st February following (1870). An Amendment simplifying settlement was also made the same year on the Act by the Hon'ble J. T. Casey. Still further, the question of *The Federation of the Colonies* was now prominently discussed in Parliament. The troops were now recalled home, General Chute leaving on 15th October.

An *Inter-Colonial Conference* was also held in which the following subjects were considered:—Customs union; assimilation of tariffs; uniform colonial postage; mail contracts; and telegraphic communication.

In 1872 the Education Act, 36 Vic., No. 447, was passed. This Act was subsequently amended by the Education Act Amendment Act, 40 Vic., No. 541, by which education became free, secular, and compulsory. Magnificent school buildings now are spread over every part of the colony.

Although not political, yet as tending to foster a spirit of loyalty the two visits in 1867 and 1870 of H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh may be included here. During his brief stay on each occasion he was very popular, and on his first visit laid the foundation of the new Town Hall to cost upwards of £100,000,—and on his second visit opened the Alfred Hospital. A large sum of money was voted by the colony for his expenses. Towards the close of the period during the Marquis of Normanby's term of office, the two sons of the Prince of Wales also visited Victoria, and were loyally and enthusiastically received.

John Pascoe Fawkner, who had founded Melbourne and witnessed its rapid and marvellous growth, died in 1869.

After the departure of Viscount Canterbury Sir William Foster Stawell acted as Governor till the arrival of Sir George Bowen on the 31st March 1873. His term continued only till the 22nd February 1879. Mr. Graham Berry being Premier, there was much acrimonious dispute between the two Houses on a question of reform in the Council, which ended in the wholesale dismissals of numerous public officers on "Black Wednesday," as it was called under the pretence of there being no money to pay them with. In this dispute Sir George Bowen made himself conspicuous by his siding with Mr. Berry. This, with his being a party to sending Mr. Berry in a quasi-ambassadorial capacity to England, filled up the measure of his unfitness for office, and he was removed by the Home Government.

The Marquis of Normanby succeeded him, and assumed the reins of Government on the 27th February 1879. Berry soon found that he could not lead the new Governor by the nose as he had led the last. He was defeated by Service at the general elections of 1880; but resuming his position the same year, was allowed to pass (1881) his Reform of Council Bill in a very different shape to that in which he had introduced it.

By this Bill the colony was divided into fourteen provinces for the election of Members of Council. Three members were allowed to each, with a term of office of six years. An estate in lands and tenements of the annual value of £100 clear of all charge qualifies a member. An elector's qualification was a freehold worth £10 per annum, or occupation of land in any municipal district of any one of the provinces rated at £25 per cent. The election of the new members took place in 1882. The Legislative Assembly, if it may be noted here, consists of 86 members returned in 55 electorates. There is no property qualification for members or voters. Everyone, twenty-one years of age, untainted by crime, is entitled to a vote. The Members of the Assembly are paid £300 per annum each.

Berry had, however, incurred so much odium that he was again defeated on 1st July 1881 by Sir Bryan O'Loughlen, who thereupon became the leader of an administration which, as it was a moderate one, was hailed as a relief by all parties. Happening, however, to come under the influence of the Romish Hierarchy and their political plans, he had to give way to Mr. James Service on 8th March 1883. Mr. Service distinguished his latest term of office, by introducing afresh the question of *Federation*, and by moving in the annexation of New Guinea and other islands in the Pacific. At the Great Banquet at Albury (18th June 1883) given by the two colonies, Victoria and N. S. W., to celebrate the opening

of through railway communication between Melbourne and Sydney, and at which the Governor and leading Ministers of the two colonies were present.* Mr. Service introduced the subject of *Federation* in a noble speech, declared its feasibility, and threw the *onus* of rejecting it on New South Wales. An *Australian Conference* of all the colonies in order to take initiatory steps was shortly afterwards (November) held in Sydney, and a common basis of future proceeding was adopted.

Federative Bills were to be passed by each colony before the Union could take place and a Great Australian Commonwealth established. In the matters of French Criminals and New Guinea, Mr. Service also did excellent work. He carried his point, which was that of Australia, in both. The first difficulty was reduced by the French Government; it has dwindled down to nothing of moment. The Commodore of H. M.'s Australian station was directed by wire by the Home Government to declare the southern portion of New Guinea under a British Protectorate. the colonies unitedly defraying £15,000 per annum of the cost of such Protectorate. Mr. Service, however, further wished to see other islands in the Pacific also annexed. But this was an even larger question than that of New Guinea, for Germans, French, and Americans claimed in the Pacific portions which claims could not be entirely overlooked, and whereas a shadow of a claim was actually set up in behalf of the natives. Parties and factions were strong under the Marquis of Normanby's rule, but his great prudence, experience and practical wisdom enabled him to steer the vessel of State in peace and honor to himself to the end of his term, and he left on 18th April 1884. His Excellency Sir Henry Brougham Loch, K.C.B., arrived and was sworn in on 15th July following, the Chief Justice, Sir W. Stawell, acting in interval. Sir Henry Loch's public utterances and acts gave universal satisfaction. The salary of the Governor of Victoria was increased to £10,000 per annum and was the highest of any in the Australian colonies for a time.

(c) MATERIAL PROGRESS AND WEALTH.

The progress of wealth and industry in this period has been astonishing. No tale is so eloquent or conclusive here as that told by figures.

Pastoral—The period began (1855) with 33,430 horses; at the end of 1883 there were 286,779. In 1855 there were 534,113 cattle; at the end of 1883 their numbers stood at 1,297,546. In 1855 there were 4,577,872 sheep; at the end of 1883 they had reached 10,739,021. In 1855 pigs numbered

* We were present at this banquet.

20,686; in 1883 they had increased to 233,525. In all, live stocks increased from 5,166,101 in 1855 to 12,556,871 in 1883. The total number of persons included under the head of pastoral occupations according to the census returns of 1881 was 9,327. During this period, too, Angora and Cashmere goats, and ostriches, were imported and acclimatised.

Agricultural.—In 1855 the total area under cultivation was 115,135 acres; at the end of 1883 it was 2,215,923 acres. Of this total 1,104,392 acres were under wheat, their produce in weight being 15,570,245 bshls., valued at (3-8 per bshl.) £2,854,545. Under oats 188,161 acres, produce 4,717,624 bshls., value (2-8 per bshl.) £629,017. Under barley 46,832 acres, produce 1,069,803 bshls., value (3-6 per bshl.) £187,216. Under maize 2,570 acres, produce 117,294 bshls., value (4-8 per bshl.) £27,369. Under peas, &c., 30,443 acres, produce 791,093 bshls., value (3-2 per bshl.) £125,256. Under potatoes 40,195 acres, produce 161,088 tons, value (£3-14-8 per ton) £601,395. Under mangold wurzel 1,056 acres, produce 18,906 tons, value (£1-9-5 per ton) £27,808. Under onion 1,235 acres, produce 6,977 tons, value (£7-10 per ton) £52,328. Under hay 302,957 acres, produce 433,143 tons, value (£3-10 per ton) £1,516,000. Under green forage 4,963 acres, produce value (£12 per acre) £59,556. Under tobacco 1,325 acres, produce 9,124 cwt., value (10d. per lb.) £42,579. Under vines 7,326 acres, produce of grapes, 129,327 cwt., total wine made 723,560 gallons, value (2s. per gallon) £72,356, and brandy 2,646 gallons, value (6s. per gallon) £794. The area of land lying fallow at the end of 1883 was 174,607 acres. The gardens and orchards covered another total of 20,754 acres. The total number of persons entered under agricultural pursuits in the census returns was 113,253.

Mining.—The quantity of gold raised during the previous period as we saw had been 8,425,702 oz., valued at £33,702,828. The total quantity raised from the beginning to the end of 1883, including the preceding period was 52,214,150 oz., valued at £208,856,600. This is an average of more than £3,330,000 a year. The estimated total yield of gold to the end of 1884 was £212,000,000. The largest lump of gold called the "Welcome Stranger Nugget" yet found in Victoria weighing 2,280 oz., was discovered at the Moliagul diggings during this period (1869). The total area of auriferous country is 25,000 square miles, of which only a twentieth part had as yet been worked. Deep mining, which yielded steady results, was yet to go forward. At Stawell a shaft had gone more than 2,000 feet below the surface. Besides gold there are other metals as silver, tin, copper, antimony, lead, etc., mined for.

The total number of the population entered as engaged in mining at the end of 1883 was 31,621.

Manufactures.—The greatest possible progress was made here. The Protective Tariff passed under the McCulloch Ministry had the effect of so stimulating manufacturing enterprise that from only 152 manufactories at the end of the preceding period (in 1854) at the end of 1883 they had increased to 2,779, excluding 131 stone workings and quarries. The number of mining machines, not included in these, was 4,149 for 1882. The following figures show the increase at stated periods :—

1860	...	...	474
1870	...	...	1,529
1880	...	...	2,239
1883	...	..	2,779

The factories of Victoria turned out work as locomotives, railway carriages, or iron work in general which challenged comparison with those imported from Great Britain, Belgium, and America. In iron work contracts were undertaken even for India and China and all the other Australian Colonies. The locomotives turned out by the Phoenix Foundry Company at Ballarat were even then known all over Australia for excellence and durability. The total number of the population engaged in manufacturing operations in 1883 was 39,926. The following details are also for the same year :—

	No.		Wheat.	Other.
Flour Mills in	140	operated on	7,850,506 bshls.	337,830
Breweries "	70	beer made	13,729,371	galls.
Bricks & Potteries "	198	bricks made	96,097,000	
Tanneries, Fell-mongeries	156	No. of hides tanned	384,333	
		" skins "	1,433,096	
		" sheep skins		
		stripped	1,913,055	
		wool obtained from		
Woollen Mills	7	skins	5,725,286 lbs.	
		wool washed only	7,191,664 "	
		cloth manufactured	830,604 yds.	
		blankets	2,531 prs.	
Soap and Candle Works	29	shawls	259	
		soap made	140,235 cwt.	
Tobacco, Cigar, &c.	13	candles made	38,530 "	
		tobacco	1,279,671 lbs.	
		cigars No.	7,196,200	
Books, printing, &c.	131	snuff	1,323 lbs.	
Tools, instruments, &c.	144			
Dress, shoes, &c.	239			
Saw Mills,				
joinery, &c.	231			
Stone quarries, &c.	131	stone operated on	463,175 c. yds.	

Victoria stood as the leading manufacturing country in the southern hemisphere.

Trade, shipping, etc.—The imports in 1883 amounted in value to £17,743,846, and exports to £16,398,863. The number of vessels inwards 2,023 of 1,464,752 total tonnage, and outwards 2,064 of 1,499,579 total tonnage. There were (1882) twelve Banks of issue with a total paid-up capital of £9,432,250, and assets of £31,248,586. The Savings Banks for the same year were 222, with 122,584 depositors, and balances amounting to £3,121,246.

Revenue, expenditure, etc.—The total public revenue in 1883 was £5,611,253; being £679,933 from land, £1,769,004 customs, £439,645 other taxation, £1,838,284 railways, £132,915 other public works, and £751,472 miscellaneous receipts. The total public expenditure was £5,651,885; being on railways £1,173,535, other public works £636,611, public instruction, etc., £598,970, medical and charitable £267,400, and miscellaneous services £2,975,369.

The total public debt was £24,308,175.

The number of miles open of railways was 1,562, at a total cost of £21,106,373. There were besides, 133 miles railways in course of construction; and during 1884 the construction of nearly one thousand more miles was placed before the House. Victoria had the largest number of miles of railway open not only relatively for her size, but absolutely, of any Australian Colony. Settlement and population,—trade, industry and wealth all follow in the wake of the "iron horse." Melbourne was united to Geelong as early as 1857. The Melbourne and Williamstown railway was opened in 1859. The line to Echuca was opened in 1864, and then was pushed forward by private enterprise as far as Deniliquin in *N. S. W.* Lines now intersected the country in every direction. Though begun, as we saw under the preceding period, by private enterprise, railways now formed a state department.

The value of rateable property in Melbourne was (1883) £10,321,620, with a revenue of £135,102. The value of such property in all cities, towns, etc., was £37,355,371, with a revenue of £486,328; and the value of all such property in shires was £58,255,588, with a revenue of £600,173.

The military and naval forces, too, as the safeguards of wealth, may be included here. The land forces comprised Artillery, Engineer, Torpedo and Rifle Corps, both regulars and volunteers, and had an actual total (1882-1883) of 2,948, with an establishment total when complete of 3,914; besides 87 staff, etc., unattached. The troops were armed with the Martini-Henri Rifle. The total number of males of soldiering age (20—40 years) in the colony in 1881 was 114,142.

The Navy consisted of seven war-vessels iron-clad turret-ship, gun-boats, etc., viz., the *Cerberus*, *Nelson*, *Victoria*, *Albert*, *Childers*, *Nepean*, and *Lonsdale*. The total cost of the land and sea forces was about £100,000 per annum. The total military and naval expenditure since 1854 had been nearly £3,000,000.

OTHER LINES AND INFLUENCES.

Social.—During the early part of this period the disturbing influences at work on the original Gold Discoveries still continued. Settlers had left their homesteads, merchants their desks, professional men their offices, tradesmen their shops, sailors their ships, all in the search for gold. The entire population had been smitten with the gold mania—*auri sacra fames!* The delirium, however, gradually passed away, and within a few years of this time things began again to run in regular and settled grooves. We have already noted the visits paid by His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh. These with the presence of other subsequent distinguished visitors such as their Royal Highnesses the sons of the Prince of Wales, with the high tone maintained in Government House, and the large class of the very wealthy led by Sir W. J. Clarke, and the increase of intercourse with Europe, and of high education and culture, served to give a tone to society which made it as respectable here as in any other country.

Exhibitions.—We have noticed the first rudimentary Exhibition under the preceding period. It was followed in 1860 by a second Exhibition in which there were 703 exhibitors. It was open for only ten weeks. The receipts amounted to £3,400, and the number of persons admitted to 67,405.

In 1866 followed the 3rd Victorian Exhibition which proved a greater success. The area of exhibit space was 56,240 feet or nearly thrice that of the previous Exhibition. It was open for 105 days during which the receipts were £9,634, and the number of admissions was 268,634. At this Exhibition a gilt pyramid, 62 feet high, represented 36,514,361 oz. of gold valued at £146,057,444, the total of the precious metal extracted from Victorian gold-fields up to that time.

In 1872-73 and in 1875 minor exhibitions were held in connection with the exhibits forwarded from Victoria for the London Exhibition of 1873 and the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876.

The Great International Exhibition was opened on 1st October 1880 and closed on 30th April 1881. It was the greatest Exhibition that has yet been held in the southern hemisphere. Its best monument is the superb Exhibition Building erected at a cost of £250,000 which graces its noble site in the Carlton Gardens. The attendance was 1,309,496.

Finally, the Victorian Jubilee Exhibition to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the colony opened in November 1884 in the same Great Exhibition Building. The promoter, however, was a private individual, who failed in coming up to expectation, though the exhibition was patronised.

Education.—The number of schools with which this period opened (1855) was 438, with a total of 24,478 scholars, and there were 16 students matriculated at the University (its first year). In 1882-83 there were 1,750 public schools with 222,428 scholars and private 670 with 35,773 scholars, in all 2,420 schools 25,820 scholars enrolled; while the matriculated students of the University numbered 135, and there were 73 graduates. The schools of design during 1883 were 33 with 2,806 pupils; schools of mines 2 with 850 enrolled, and other High Schools and Colleges 6, with 959 pupils. The University had faculties in Medicine and Law, as well as in Arts; and its reputation stood second to none. Among the educational institutions should also be included the great Public Library in Melbourne, and the Mechanics' Institutes scattered all over the country. The former was opened by Acting Governor-General MacArthur in 1857 since when additions have been made to it of a Picture Gallery, School of Design and an Industrial Museum and was visited by more than a quarter of a million during the year—the building is one of the noblest in the city; and the latter a Mechanics' Institute, which number 250, had an attendance in 1883 of nearly 2,000,000.

The Press.—The Newspaper Press of Victoria could even then challenge comparison with that of any other country in the world, headed by the great Melbourne Dailies. *The Age*, with its weekly edition of the *Leader*, the *Telegraph* with its *Weekly Times*, the *Argus* with its weekly *Australian*, the evening *World* with its magnificent weekly the *Federal Australian*, and the *Evening Herald*,—there were upwards of a hundred and fifty others in the country districts. A Book Press, too, arose and publishers were constantly issuing a variety of works, among the principal of which may be specified those by George Robertson and Co., Cameron Laing and Co., and others. The Messrs. Geo. Robertson, and Cameron and Laing issue works not only of a high class (as well as light literature), but in the most superior style of mechanical execution and finish. There were 490 copyrights of works, etc., taken out in 1883. The process of photo lithography was discovered in Melbourne by Mr. Osborne in 1860. He was rewarded by Government with £1,000. The art was of great value in multiplying maps, etc.

Entertainments.—Several Theatres and Opera houses were established institutions in Melbourne, while the interior towns

and cities were visited by numerous companies several times during the year. The best artists were brought out from England and America. Miss Catherine Hayes who gave some vocal performances in 1856 realised 1,000 guineas at a guinea a ticket on a single night for the benefit of the Melbourne charities.

The Church, etc.—During this period an additional Church of England Diocese, that of Ballaarat, was formed out of the western districts, and it was proposed in 1884 to erect another for the norther districts with its centre at Sandhurst. The number of churches and chapels in Victoria rose from 187 in the last year of the preceding period 1854 to 3,518 in 1882-83 with seats for over 400,000. There were also 36 Hospitals with accommodation for nearly 10,000 patients.

The history of the evolution of Victoria may end here. We have told it briefly and rapidly. We have seen the colony grow from the two Messrs. Henty to a population a little short of a million of souls; from a few sheep to nearly eleven millions, and horses and cattle in proportion; from the five acres first laid out by Fawkner's party to a cultivation of over two millions of acres; from the first sparkle of gold on Donald Cameron's "run" of Clunes to a total quantity raised of the value of over two hundred and ten millions sterling; from the first small iron foundry established on the banks of the Yarra in 1840 to the immense development of manufacturing enterprise represented by 2,779 manufactories and works; from the one small vessel of the Messrs. Henty representing the "shipping" of 1834 to over four thousand vessels of nearly three millions tons burthen; from the first imports and exports of whale oil and sheep the value of which may have been covered by a few thousand pounds to an import and export trade of over thirty-four millions sterling in one year; from a settlement which the Government refused to recognise to a State with an annual revenue and expenditure of over eleven millions sterling; with lines of railways intersecting the country in every direction, and nearly twenty-five millions sterling laid out on them; with rateable property in cities, towns, boroughs and shires valued at one hundred millions sterling; exporting wheat and breadstuffs, and all kinds of manufactures, etc., as of iron, leather, wood, wool and cloth, and tallow, meats and provisions, bags and sacks, etc.; with Military and Naval Forces numbering 4,000 men and seven war-vessels; moving in questions of Imperial moment and beyond the bounds of Australia; with a great system of free education with numerous literary and other civilising and refining influences and agencies and with a metropolis—*Melbourne*—which is at once an ornament on the face of the globe and the Queen City of the Southern Hemisphere with a population amounting to over



three hundred thousand, and with public parks and buildings which may vie with those of many of the older European capitals. Surely the results have been marvellous as a dream. "The child is father to the man." And if the past has been thus what will the future be? With her enterprise and capital she annexed Fiji, opened up North Queensland, and was still advancing further. And with the "far-reaching hands" of her statesmen she came to share in European counsels. The time had come for a Great Australian Dominion or Commonwealth.

It will have been seen that this Federation of the Australian Colonies was actually mooted in 1870, and that twelve years after Mr. Service took practical steps towards bringing it about. Hence it seems perfectly monstrous for Lord Loch to publicly state that Sir Henry Parkes first made proposals for Federation to him. Lord Loch was not even dreamt of for an Australian Governor when the subject had been for years before the public; and Sir Henry Parkes was himself one of the most determined opponents of the idea, till he could no longer resist the tide. The subject was constantly treated by the *Press*, to whom if any credit is to be given any where it should be awarded, the *Federal Australian* conspicuously leading the way. It was the Evolution of the national life of Australia, and the Press fitly led the way, for the Press in Australia is its very life. It may remain for us to consider what this national life—the Future of Australia—will yet be.

OLD AUSTRALIAN COLONIST.

ART. V.—THE JUDGE.

CICERO says that "men resemble the gods in nothing so much as in doing good to their fellow-creatures." The truth of this saying no human being has better opportunities of proving than the important personage who occupies the judgment seat. Indeed, the man who accepts a judgeship takes upon himself a very serious responsibility. His duty is of the utmost importance to the State, and if it is next to anything, it is only next to that of the Sovereign Ruler. He administers the law which in every good Government is above the king. True it is that in such countries as Russia and Turkey, the king is above law, but it is to be observed that absolute monarchy is the exception, not the rule. In all other forms of Government law is above king, even though it be his own making. Indeed, the judge is the earthly god, as he has to determine with authority between truth and falsehood, right and wrong. Even the king himself is amenable to his orders. Without questioning the doctrine of "A Regle Lex," it may be safely asserted that the position of the king after he has made the law considerably resembles that of the silkworm in his own self-spun cocoon, in this respect differing from the Supreme Ruler in heaven, who "is not tied to his own Sacraments, though men are." Henry IV of England, on being informed that Chief Justice Gascoigne had committed the Prince of Wales to prison for contempt of Court expressed great joy at having such a judge who administered justice with impartiality, and such a son who in obedience to the law submitted peaceably to the punishment. Nelson's watchword is nowhere so very appropriate as in the matter of the administration of justice. A judge neglecting his duty is, as a great man has said, guilty, not of butchery but of murder, which is a much higher offence. This language, no doubt, is very strong, but it does not exaggerate the truth. A judge who does deliberate injustice might be called a judicial butcher, but one who neglects to do justice deserves to be called by a more execrable name,—indeed, the designation, judicial murderer,—would hardly be inappropriate in his case. Thus, it appears that wilful neglect of duty is a more heinous offence than deliberate abuse of it.

The duty of the legislator, however, is not to be confounded with that of the judge. Certain it is, there was a time when the two offices were united in the same person; but he could not, when administering law, undo his work as legislator: he was bound to administer the law as it stood, and if he thought

that it required amendment or alteration, he could only give expression to his views in his capacity of legislator. But strange as it may seem, the legislator, though the framer of the law, often fails to put a proper construction upon it. In fact the author of a Law or Act, considering more what he privately intended than the meaning he has expressed, is the less qualified to construe it. Thus, the proposition is very true, which lays down that the duty of the judge is to *declare* not to *make*, the law.* He is to determine what the law *is*, not what it *ought to be*. He may well suggest improvements in existing law, if he deems it defective in some respects; but he need not do so, that not forming an essential part of his duty. However, as a matter of fact, improvements in law have for the most part been made through the instrumentality of the judges. Their opinions are in most cases viewed upon with great approbation by the legislative body, and, accordingly, new laws are made or old laws amended in consonance with those opinions. Hence distinction is made between text law and case law. The latter is sometimes an improvement on the former and sometimes an addition to it.

But whatever difficulties there may be in declaring what the law is, there is still greater difficulty in applying it to the particular case before the judge. Thus, one may be a sound lawyer, but if he does not take the trouble to master the facts or lacks the tact and power of doing so, it is almost certain that he will fail to do justice. One who would be a good judge must be a master of fact as well as of law. This happy union in the same individual is anything but common. Lord Chancellor Loughborough was an excellent judge of facts, but was sadly deficient in a knowledge of the common law. A judge who is strong both in law and fact is certainly a remarkable character. Such a judge is not to be found at all times. At any rate, men like him are very rare. Many qualifications are necessary to form such a character. Where all the qualifications are present, the fortunate possessor thereof becomes all but perfect in his sphere of life. But it seldom happens that one and all the qualifications are united in the same person. Human nature being frail, it cannot hope to attain to a state in any matter which is only next to absolute perfection. A perfect, or even a *quasi*-perfect, judge is out of the question. All that one can reasonably hope for is to have a judge who is sufficiently strong in law and fact. And even such a judge must be considered as not quite a common character. Indeed, a judge has so many difficulties to contend

* Or, as Bacon says, the office of a judge is "*jus dicere*" and not *jus dare*;"—to interpret law and not to make law or give law. (Essay on Judicature.)

with that it is only occasionally that his efforts are crowned with success. Unless all circumstances concur, it is impossible for him to achieve success. The qualifications referred to are not few, and this is not to be wondered at, when the great importance of the judicial office is taken into consideration. As is the office, so must the qualifications of the person be who is called upon to exercise the functions thereof. A judge must be learned in the law. This qualification is absolutely necessary from the nature of the thing. But mere legal learning is not sufficient. To prove a good judge learning in other professions is also necessary, though not to the same extent as law-learning. Want of classical education, however, is no bar to a man becoming a great judge. Lord Coke, "the legal Leviathan" as Lord Campbell calls him, was no scholar with all his love for Virgil,* and it is a well-known fact that he made light of Bacon's really great work by saying that it deserved to be "freighted in the ship of Fools." In fact, he was an unscholarly lawyer, and yet who can deny that his reputation as a judge is quite unparalleled. Lord Hardwicke never received a classical education, but that circumstance did not prevent him from becoming a very great judge which he pre-eminently was. As for Lord Kenyon, his scholastic education was very defective and was not at all improved by study. But there is no doubt that he was a good judge, only second to Lord Eldon. Lord Gifford and Lord St. Leonards also were not scholars. As for Lord Somers and Lord Mansfield they are with a few others brilliant exceptions who united the learning in other professions with learning in their own. Speaking of the former, Bishop Burnet says, "He was very learned in his own profession with great deal more learning in other professions, in divinity, philosophy and history." Somers was a poet also, and Addison in dedicating his "Campaign" to him alluded to his "immortal strains." Lord Mansfield resembles Somers in many respects and was like him a poet of no mean order. Pope has lamented

"How sweet and Ovi was in Murray lost !"

The best of native judges, Dwarkanath Mitter, was undoubtedly a learned man; but surely the learning of his illustrious successor, Sir Romeshchandra Mitter, was not above average, and yet in judicial ability he was not much inferior to his eminent predecessor. Similar remarks apply to Mr. Chander Madhab Ghose, who, though not a scholar in the proper sense of the term, has the well-earned reputation of being a

* This father of English jurisprudence boasted that in his Institute might be found some three hundred quotations from the poet of the *Æneid*

good judge. Indeed, in the legal profession, high literary acquirements are not the best means for attaining success; and Sir William Jones, no common authority, in one of his letters to Dr. Parr, said that in the profession of law the reputation of a scholar was a dead weight on a person. What is absolutely necessary is that a judge should know the general principles of law and possess the sense to apply them to the particular case before him. He must also watch the changes in the statute law and read the current reports so as to be able to know how the laws are interpreted and applied by his brother judges. But in any case a judge must be a professional man and thoroughly understand his profession, or, as Daniel O'Connell said, "A judge must be a downright tradesman." To all this must be added a general knowledge of the arts and sciences which have relation to law; and even Coke himself in the preface to his Reports has observed that some knowledge of every science and art is not only useful, but even necessary to a lawyer. But knowledge will not avail unless one takes the trouble to get himself acquainted with the facts. A judge must be pains-taking. Indeed, industry is better than cleverness, and, as Dr. South very well puts it, the "sweat of the brow entitles it to the laurel." If one would be a good artificer, he must not dread "the smoke and tarnish of the furnace." The case of Lord Thurlow, "the law lion" as he was called, is an exception, and if his idleness was remarkable, his ability was more remarkable still.

The advice given by Jethro to Moses in the matter of the appointing of judges does not make learning a necessary qualification for a judge. He said, that judges "should be men of courage and men of truth; fearing God and hating covetousness." This omission in the Jethro's advice was wisely supplied by Lord Bacon in his "advice to Sir George Villiers," where he described ignorance as a stone and obstacle in the way of becoming a good judge. He observed, "an ignorant man cannot, a coward dare not, be a good judge." Some knowledge of the world, as it is called, is also useful and necessary to a judge. Although a judge should not aim at becoming a public character, commonly so called, still he must understand men and manners—the modes in which they live, the influences under which they generally act; the passions to which they are at times subject. Without such knowledge one cannot prove a good judge. It is commonly said that judges who are sent direct from England often fail in doing substantial justice in India. This observation is only too true, and the failure which unfortunately happens in some cases is mainly to be attributed to ignorance of native life in the East. Surely there is an immense deal of difference

between eastern and western modes and ideas, so that whoever tries to decide Indian cases involving questions regarding native manners and customs from the standpoint of a European runs the risk of doing injustice. So far as our experience goes, Civilian Judges of the High Court have, as a rule, proved better administrators of justice than Barrister Judges sent out direct from England. Of course there have been exceptions, but they are exceptions of that character which only prove the rule. The case of Sir Barnes Peacock, the first Chief Justice of the Bengal High Court, stands almost unique. He was a genius and did justice between man and man as it were by intuitive knowledge. Even he on some occasions could not get over the influence of western thoughts and ideas. Mr. Sewell White is another exception. Although he was somewhat slow, he was almost always sure. His colleagues had the highest regard for him and even Civilian Judges seldom differed from him in his conclusion of facts. Mr. Charles Pontifex also stands out as an exception. He was a very quick witted judge, and, what appeared very remarkable was that he could understand a case before all the facts were stated. Such judges are not commonly met with, and it is the paucity of such men at the present time which is the main cause of the general complaint as to the unsatisfactory nature of the administration of justice in the highest tribunal in the land.

A judge must also be courageous. This is his first attribute both according to Jethro and Bacon. "Courage," says the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, "is as necessary in a judge as in a general." A coward judge is as much an object of hatred as a coward general. Neither of them can expect to succeed in their respective callings, and if they do succeed at all, it is only by the purest of accidents. When a judicial officer is convinced of the truth of a case, he must declare it without fear or favour, in other words, he must have the courage of his conviction. But this courage should not be confounded with headiness which is not a lesser fault than cowardliness. A coward is too timid to give out his mind; a heady man sticks to his opinion, even when he is convinced to the contrary. They agree in this that, both of them act against their conviction, the difference lying only in the manner in which they stifle it, the one through fear, the other through obstinacy. Accordingly, Montague says, "a judge must avoid four faults:— idleness, corruption, cowardliness and headyness." Though he places 'headiness' at the last, yet in reality it is not the least of the faults. Since to err is human, there is no wonder if a man sometimes fall into error; but it shows great perversity of intellect when one does not mend his ways on being shown

his error. Indeed, erroneousness is not so great a fault as obstinate persistency in error. Mr. James O'Kinealy, who has only lately retired from the Bengal High Court, was generally correct in his views, but if he once fell into error, he would almost invariably stick to it, and, so far from correcting himself, would go on arguing and try to show that he was not wrong. Not having the will to mend his opinion, he would fain believe that he was not properly convinced, and as the poet has it

"One who's convinced against his will,
Is of the same opinion still."

Akin to courage is independence. These two qualities were best seen in Lord Coke who did not hesitate to give up his post, high as it was, when he found that he could not give them fair play without offending the king. Indeed, he rated them much above royal favour. On being asked whether in a case in which the king might be concerned he would stay proceedings pending his Majesty's consultation with the judges, his memorable reply was, "When the case shall be I will do that which shall be fit for a judge to do." Mr. Justice Crewe's independence of character was almost equally high; it was best seen in the famous ship-money case. Manfully supported as he was by the heroic advice of his lady, he declared against the opinion of his colleagues that the law was opposed to the claims of the crown.* The noble boldness which the Mahomedan Kazi showed to King Nasiruddin of Bengal is also worthy of no small praise. Indeed, it stands superior to the courage of a Coke or a Crewe. But neither courage nor independence is inconsistent with obedience properly so called. Accordingly Bacon compared the twelve judges of the realm to the twelve lions under Solomon's throne, stoutly bearing it up, who, though in obedience from the fact of their having been under the shrine, were yet lions. A judge may well act in obedience to the laws without compromising his courage or independence. Nor is courage inconsistent with fear of God. Indeed, according to Jethro, the fearing God† is a necessary qualification in a judge; it is the fear of man—fear which Burke denounces as "the most unwise, the most unjust, and the most cruel of all counsellors"—that is a disgrace and a disqualification. A God-fearing judge is an object of glorification, whereas a man-fearing judge is a moral nuisance which must be got rid of at once. The Prophet David truly observes:—"The Angel of the Lord tarrieth round about them that fear Him, and delivereth them."

* Fuller, speaking of Crewe when out of office, felicitously observed "the country hath constantly a smile for him for whom the court hath a frown."

† A judge should "devote himself Deo, Reje, et Lege" Montague.

Jethro says that a judge should also be a man of truth. Truthfulness, however, is implied by the fear of God, because one who fears God cannot but be a man of truth. A liar or a dishonest man could not be said to fear God, for if he did, he would on no account murder his conscience, or act dishonestly. In this respect a judge should follow the Hony-huhums who, we are told, have no word in their language to express lying or falsehood. Fear of God also implies impartiality. Partiality is only a milder term for corruption. A judge who is partial to one party or the other cannot possibly hope to do justice, his sense of right and wrong being blended by misplaced love or prejudice. This partiality may be of two kinds, *viz.*, partiality for a particular party, or partiality for a particular counsel or pleader. The latter fault was conspicuous in Lord Kenyon who indulged in partialities for, and antipathies against, particular barristers. Erskine was his "noted favourite," whereas Law was oftentimes snubbed by him. This Law, be it said, defended the famous eastern satrap, Warren Hastings, against such an array of illustrious orators and lawyers and got him honourably acquitted. Some Indian judges also have had their favourite barristers and vakils who seldom lost cases before them, and, even when they lost, they lost with credit. Both kinds of partiality are bad, though partiality for parties is a greater fault than partiality for practitioners.

A judge must make a virtue of patience. Indeed, "patience and gravity" of bearing is, as Bacon says, "an essential part of justice." It is not good for a judge to hurry over a case, as he thereby runs the risk of making a mess in it. Hurry and haste, so far from effecting despatch, often runs counter to it and leads to bad results. A judge may well be slow, provided he be sure, for tardy justice is better than speedy injustice. But he must always bear in mind the "law's delay" which has become proverbial, and try to decide cases with despatch. He must not, however, in hot haste try to jump to a conclusion. Nor should he listen to private accounts* or pass his judgment on *ex parte* statements. As in almost all cases, the Spectator's wise remark to Sir Roger—"much might be said on both sides"—holds good, it is not prudent or advisable for a judge to hazard an opinion without hearing the other side. If the saying—*Audi alteram partem*—is to be commonly followed in the ordinary concerns of life, it must be invariably followed in the determination of disputes in a court of justice. There is no wonder if a hasty conclusion arrived at on hearing one side only, should in some cases lead even to irremediable

* "Justice should be deaf, except in the seat, and never blind there."

injustice. Lord Eldon always doubted, though his doubts were better than other men's certainties. Indeed, his judgments are universally held in high esteem, so that an equitable code, as has been said, might be constructed out of them. On the other hand, Lord Kenyon never doubted, and yet it could not be said that his judgments were on a par with those of Lord Eldon. Sir Nicholas Bacon, father of the illustrious philosopher, used to say when pressed for decision, "you must give me time." In fact, a judge who does not pay proper attention to the cases before him nor takes time to consider them is guilty of a neglect of duty. "Patience," says Lord Ellesmere, "is a great part of a judge;" and that part is so very essential that without it a judge would be a crude imperfect character only. Forsooth, no business can be well done which is not well understood, and nothing can be well understood which is not considered with patience.

Akin to patience is good temper. One who has no control over his temper cannot prove a good judge. Evenness of temper is a great aid to arriving at a right conclusion. Testiness and impatience bring on confusion, and confusion in the mind leads to confusion in the brain. A peevish, petulant or impatient judge cannot take a calm dispassionate view of a case, and it is therefore no wonder if his judgments do not prove right or satisfactory. Evenness of temper is not inconsistent with gravity of hearing without which a judge cannot maintain the dignity of his office. A judge should not be given to joking over the bench nor allow others to do so. This would be playing merry-andrew in a place from which tomfoolery should of all others be studiously kept out. The court is not a theatre for the exhibition of the gay side of human nature and its business requires that kind of solemnity which prevails in a church or a temple.

It is commonly said that manners make the man. If this is true of man in general, it is pre-eminently true of the man in ermine. Good manners in a judge are a great qualification, so that a judge who is wanting in them must be considered to have a sad failing. Lord Coke with all his brilliant legal acquirements could not keep his temper under check and control. He not unoften proved rough and uncourteous and thus lost much of the esteem to which he was entitled for his vast and deep erudition. And yet urbanity is not inconsistent with law-learning. Chief Justice Crewe might be adduced as an instance in point. To learning hardly inferior to that of Coke and to equal independence he added, as Lord Campbell says—what Coke wanted so much—patience in hearing, evenness of temper, and kindness of heart. Courtesy costs nothing, and it is much to be regretted that some men do not try to take

the credit of a very valuable accomplishment without having to pay a doit for it. Lord Kenyon's bad temper was a great defect in him, and were it not that he possessed strong common sense and often did substantial justice, his name would have come down to posterity with that of Popham* whose shabby treatment of that really great and valiant man, Sir Walter Raleigh, shows what despicable stuff he was made of. Lord Mansfield was the very reverse of Lord Kenyon in point of manners. Indeed, he was a pattern of politeness. Instances are certainly very few of his temper having been ruffled while discharging the onerous duties of his high office. It would seem that he had made Socrates his prototype and would rather be offended than offending. Dr. Johnson with all his deep hatred of the Scottish nation, had a special regard for Mansfield, and, what is stranger still, bracketted him with "the greatest lawyer of antiquity, as Mansfield himself has described his great exemplar. But the resemblance is not confined to the fact of both having been well versed in law; it extends to similarity of manners. The Athenian sage on being told by one of the passers-by that he was being ridiculed by the Sophist said that *he himself* was not ridiculed. But of all English judges none equalled Justice Graham in politeness. In fact, he was the politest judge that ever adorned the bench. The late Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir William Comer Petheram, was a perfect gentleman, and however people might differ regarding his ability as a judge, all would, it is hoped, agree in giving him credit for mildness and affability. If he ever lost temper on the bench,—a thing very rare indeed,—he knew where to find it again. In fact, his politeness has done him yeoman service and has earned for him such high honour as has never been shown to any of his predecessors in office. Sir Barnes Peacock was a very able and learned judge, so much so that India has not seen his equal up to this time. Even he was not so honoured on the eve of his departure from this country as Sir Comer has been. As for the late Mr. Justice Norris, he was the very reverse of his Chief. His manners were not at all becoming a gentleman. Justice Leblanc was not more disliked by the English bar than Justice Norris was by the Indian. No vakil or barrister, if he could help it, would appear before him. His retirement, though under very painful circumstances, has been an agreeable relief to the bar, if not also to the bench, for we know as a fact that some of his colleagues could not at all pull well with him. Judges should know that they have certain duties to perform in regard to the gentlemen who practice before them. The latter are all honourable men,

* He was called the "hanging judge" for his extreme severity.

and it is only fair and just that they should receive an honourable treatment. Indeed, the bar and the bench should be respectful to each other; and surely there is no better means of preserving the dignity of the court. But unfortunately for the profession some judges fail to recognise this fact, or, admitting its correctness, do not choose to act up to it.

A near kin to evenness of temper is kindness of heart. Kindness like courtesy costs nothing, and if a judge could be kind without being unjust or partial, we see no reason why he should not be so. A judge, however, need not be benevolent like Sir Julius Cæsar, who, while presiding at the Admiralty Court, used to relieve the poor suitors so very liberally as almost to impoverish himself. This is going to the extreme of kindness. It is not expected of a judge that he shall relieve needy suitors out of his own pocket; all that is required of him is to show kindness consistent with the dignity of his position. Chief Justice Crewe was a very kind judge, and yet the bitterest of his enemies could not say that his kind disposition interfered with the due discharge of his judicial functions. A cruel judge may inspire fear and dread into the minds of the court-going public, but he can never expect to win their love. Mere rudeness, however, is not cruelty, and one may be rude without being in the least cruel. Dr. Johnson was a blunt unmannerly fellow in outward department, but his heart was one of the purest and best that mortals ever possessed. Lord Coke was very uncourtly in his manners, but cruelty he condemned in the strongest terms. It was said of him, which, alas, could be said of very few human beings, that he "never gave his body to physic, nor his heart to cruelty, nor his hand to corruption."

Above all, a judge should have a strong love for his duties. However able and learned a man may be, if he has not his heart at his work, he cannot do it properly. Now, what is true of workers in general is pre-eminently true of the grave worker on the judgment seat. Love of work is absolutely necessary for the due performance thereof. This love was conspicuous in Lord Mansfield. In fact, his ruling passion was ardent love of judicial duties. In view of this peculiar trait in his character he is very properly placed by the side of two of the greatest men of modern times—Grotius, the great Jurist, and D'Aguesiau, the great statesman. Lord Eldon, it is true, was charged with dilatoriness. But his doubting habit was not the result of any defect in his mental powers,—it arose from a very strong desire to do "even-handed justice." Sir Samuel Romilly very truly

said,—“ If Lord Eldon has a fault, it is an over-anxiety to do justice.” This ‘over-anxiety,’ as it was called, was owing to his having passionately loved the duties of his office. Mansfield’s love of judicial duties was not less passionate. Indeed, love is a very great power, and its sway is almost universal. Love rules not only “the camp, the court and the grove,” it also rules the closet and the forum. No one can become great without having love of some kind. Love for work should not be less passionate than love for women. What is usually called dilatoriness is certainly a fault, but proper and reasonable delay in deciding difficult and intricate cases is not to be confounded with it. A judge, as has already been remarked, should take time to come to a just conclusion. He should not, like the Duke of Newcastle in *Humphrey Clinker*, be led away by impatience or haste. His motto should be ‘*festina lente*.’ Bacon speaks of a “wise man” (probably referring to Sir Amyas Paulet, Queen Elizabeth’s ambassador in France), who, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, used to say, “*stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner*.” Sir John Leach, who was the Master of the Rolls while Lord Eldon was the Chief of the Chancery Court, got through business in a reckless slashing way. The modes in which these two judges discharged their respective functions were so diametrically opposed to each other that the Rolls Court used to be humourously called by the lawyers the Court of *Terminer sans oyer*, and the Chancery Court, the Court of *Oyer sans terminer*. Unfortunately for Bengal such instances have not been rare in our High Court.

All the above qualifications would go for nothing, if they be accompanied by corruption.* What ulcer is to the body, covetousness is to the judicial office. Jethro says that a judge should hate covetousness. No sager advice could be given. Covetousness leads to bribery, and bribery leads to perversion of justice. Thus, it lies at the very root of all injustice. Sir Matthew Hale truly says,—“ It is a great dishonour as a man can be capable of, to be hired for a little money, to speak or act against his conscience.” To take bribes † and pervert justice is, as Latimer says, “*scala inferni*—the right way to hell.” But covetousness should not be confounded with avarice which may be perfectly harmless. Avarice was Lord Hardwicke’s ruling passion, but he never soiled his hands with Saint James’ golden grease. Indeed, though for his avarice

* “ With the name of judge,” eloquently observes Mr. H. W. Beecher, “ are associated ideas of immaculate purity ” sober piety, and fearless favourless justice ” Lecture on Gamblers and Gambling.

† Demosthenes, the Prince of Greek Orators, was banished for bribery, and Seneca, the Prince of Roman Moralists, for divers corruptions.

he was nicknamed "Judge Gripus," there was not one single syllable uttered against his integrity—that "peculiar portion and proper virtue" of a judge. As for his success in his official career it was simply marvellous. During his twenty years' occupation of the Chancellor's Chair, only three of his decisions were appealed against, and they too were confirmed by the House of Lords. Lord Kenyon's avarice also amounted to a fault, so much so that he was called the legal sloven. Surely, a judge must sit in court in proper dress, else the robes of the judge and the crown of the king would be meaningless. The dress of Lord Kenyon would have disgraced a copying clerk. But his moral character was never assailed, nay, not even a mere suspicion was breathed against it. Indeed, those days are gone when justice used to be bought and sold like ordinary merchandise. Not only in modern but also in ancient times was judicial delinquency rampant, and punishment for it too was extremely severe. The Persian Monarch, Cambyses, caused a gift-taking judge to be flayed alive, and his skin to be laid on the judgment seat as a warning to future judges. Alfred the Great ordered forty-four justices in one year to be hanged as murderers for their false judgments. Judicial corruption attained a very considerable height in the reign of Edward I. The corruptions practised by Empson and Dudley, in the reign of Henry VII, are well-known. These rapacious judges, as Bacon said, "preyed like tame hawks for their master, and like wild hawks for themselves." But Bacon, though he blamed these notorious judges for gross malpractices, could not himself keep his hand clean from the prevailing vice of the times. He was convicted on his own confession and was imprisoned in the Tower for some time. Although he was by all accounts one of the greatest of great men in point of ability, wisdom and scholarship, Pope did not hesitate to condemn him as "the meanest of mankind." But times are altered, and judges both in England and India are, as a rule, above the vice of covetousness, and one may without hyperbole, say with old Dr. Parr that bribery is as little known to the bench as parricide is said to have been to the Ancient Greeks. This is as it should be. If the fountain of justice is polluted, how can you expect to get justice pure and undefiled. The judge should not only be free from corruption, but, like Cæsar's wife, be above suspicion. The moral atmosphere of the Indian Courts is happily changed for the better, and if the intellectual portion of them were equally improved, they would be actually what they are in theory, namely, palladium of justice.

A judge must not aim at playing the rôle of a politician. Indeed, no two characters are more unlike one another. A judge should not mix in political affairs.

Although his dealings are with men, he must not try to be what in common parlance is called a public character. He should stick to his own duties, and not interfere with those of the statesman. The two characters being essentially different, if it be attempted to bring them into union, the result would not be agreeable, if not positively repulsive. Basil Montague, speaking of the irreconcilable character of the judge and the politician says, "the judge unbending as the oak, the politician pliant as an Osier; the judge, of a retired nature and unconnected with politics, firm and constant, the same to all men,—the politician ever varying." A far greater man than Montague has also spoken in the same strain. Burke says, "the judges are, or ought to be, of a reserved and retired character, and wholly unconnected with the political world." Thus it is clear that the union of the character of judge and politician is not at all desirable; and it is upon this principle that when a gentleman is raised to the bench, he cuts all his political connection with Government if he happens to have any at the time. If our memory errs not, when Mr. Chandra Madhub Ghose was made a puisne judge of the High Court, he resigned his seat in the Bengal Council. The present Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir Francis William Maclean, resigned his seat in Parliament and with it all his connection with the world of politics, when in 1891 he was appointed to the office of a Master in Lunacy. There may be another reason why such a course should be adopted, and that is the undesirability of the union of the offices of the judge and the legislator. The man who makes the law must not also be the person to declare it. In that case improvements in law would be few and far between. On a similar principle the judicial and the executive functions should not be allowed to be exercised by one and the same individual.

A judge, it is true, should not get into the troubled waters of politics; but there is nothing to prevent his taking part in such business of state as concerns any large portion of the community. Bacon very properly observes: "Judges ought, above all, to remember the conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables,—*Salus Populi suprema lex*; and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captions and oracles not well inspired. Therefore, it is a happy thing in a state, when kings and states do often consult with judges; and again, when judges do often consult with the king and the state; the one, where there is matter of law intervenient in business of state; the other, when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law: for many times the things reduced to judgment may be *meum* and

tuum, when the reasoned consequence thereof may trench to point of estate." Thus, it is highly desirable that the executive and the judicial should not clash with each other but act in concert and amity; and, accordingly, though a judge should not pose himself as a politician, he would be wanting in his duty if he did not take part in certain affairs of state which require for their due discharge his advice and help.

A judge may also take interest in the cause of education. Lord Brougham, while he presided over the Court of Chancery was President of several educational institutions, and we all know very well how ably and satisfactorily he discharged the functions of his high office, the highest of all judicial offices in England. In fact, educational matters are so very innocuous in their nature that any one from the highest to the lowest may well take part in them without doing any injury to his own proper calling. When the Calcutta University was established, Sir James Colville, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was appointed its first Vice-Chancellor. In our own day and only recently, Dr. Gurudas Banerjee, a puisne judge of the High Court, filled the same office for two years, and, be it said to his credit, filled it with honour, doing its duties in his usual quiet way. Sir Comer Petheram, the late Chief Justice, was also Vice-Chancellor for some time. And this was not his only connection with the education department, he was, if our information is correct, the President of the Bethune College. His worthy successor on the Bench is also successor to him in the Vice-Chancellor's Chair. Sir Barnes Peacock, however, was not openly connected with any educational institution; but there is no doubt that he had his warmest sympathy for such establishments. He was so engrossed with the matters which directly concerned him that he hardly found time to look to other matters which did not press upon him equally closely. Like Sir Matthew Hale and Lord Mansfield, Sir Barnes' ruling passion was intense love of judicial duties and he doted on it with all the fondness of an old father for his only child. In order to satisfy this strong desire he kept up regular study and used to read till late in the nights. His brilliant judgments are the best proofs of his general scholarship as well as of his peculiar knowledge of law. Surely, Sir Barnes was a model judge, and his name has become a household word in Bengal, we had almost said, in the whole of this vast Peninsula. He was a many-sided man; but the side which was prominently put forth before the public had reference to the high office which he held. Sir William Jones used to read both European and Indian classics, and it was said that not a year passed without his reading over Ferdusi's grand Epic. Indeed,

the *Shahnama* was his great favourite and he was so much in love with it that he had a mind to render it into English verse. Chief Justice Cockburn used to read Milton's *Paradise Lost* once in every year. Even Coke himself would now and then spend an hour or two with the Mantuan muse. We do not know if Sir Barnes had a special liking for any particular poem or author, but it is certain that he did not altogether leave off his study of polite literature.

A judge may take interest not only in the cause of education, he may also take part in some other matters which concern the general well-being of the community. He need not involve himself in purely social matters, but there is no harm in his joining any movement which may be set on foot for the amelioration of the morals and manners of the people at large. The country expects much from him, and it is his duty to do all he possibly can without any detriment to the due discharge of his judicial functions. Bacon warned the judges against hunting for popularity saying, "A popular judge is a deformed thing, and plaudits are fitter for players than magistrates." Mr. Justice Foster's condemnation of a popular judge is stronger still: he describes such a judge as "an odious and pernicious character." It is true, a judge should not hunt for popularity; but there can be no harm if popularity should come of its own accord as a necessary consequence of his satisfactory conduct on the bench. One may gain popularity without being a popularity-hunter. It is the hankering after it that is blamable and must be repressed. A judge should not be led away by a desire to excite admiration. Lord Mansfield was a very popular judge, and yet his bitterest enemy could not say that he ever hunted for it. His idea of popularity is quite noble and may be adopted by every judge with propriety. In fact, his words on the subject deserve to be inscribed in characters of gold and may be quoted here with advantage. He says, "I wish popularity, but it is that popularity which follows, not that which is run after. It is that popularity which, sooner or later, never fails to do justice to the pursuit of noble ends by noble means." But popular applause or vogue, as it is called, should not be confounded with popularity: the one is often blind and may be the result of party feelings, whereas the other springs from really good service done to the people. Popular applause may change with change in the circumstances, but popularity, properly so called, is lasting and defies time and change. Lord Mansfield is still held in great esteem, though he is dead nearly a century and a quarter. Indeed, popularity is owing to a man's work and is bound up with it, so that the one lasts as long as the other. The man may be dead, but his actions remain

which may be considered as permanent and lasting in their effects. Sir Barnes Peacock, than whom a better judge never adorned the Indian Bench, and probably never will, was deservedly popular and his popularity has long survived and is likely to last as long as law, justice and equity shall receive their due regard and honour. Indeed, his well-reasoned and well-written judgments are often quoted at the bar and approved of by the judges. The late Justice Dwarkanath Mitter was so much liked both by the profession and the public that efforts were generally made to get cases heard by the bench in which he sat. It seldom falls to the lot of a judge to gain the confidence of both parties. Such popularity, rare as it is, is highly commendable, and it is this kind of popularity to which the noble words of Lord Mansfield are applicable. There is nothing ignoble in the word itself ; it is the difference in the mode by which it is attained that makes all the difference in its character.

The question as to how far the duty of a judge extends is not free from difficulty. His main duty is undoubtedly the determination of disputes between man and man. His decision may be substantially right, but his duty does not end there, he should give his reasons for such decision. Lord Mansfield's advice to a general about to act as a colonial judge was given under very peculiar circumstances. The man was not a trained lawyer, indeed, he was perfectly innocent of law ; but he possessed good common sense. If his Lordship had had any hand in the matter of his appointment, he would most probably have refrained from giving his assent to it. But as the man had been already appointed, the advice which he gave was the best that could be given under the circumstances. In matters involving no intricate question of law, one possessing average common sense may decide rightly, but should he attempt to give reasons for his decision, it is ten to one he will fail to give the right reasons. Although his Lordship's advice is well-known, still it may be reproduced here without impropriety. His practically wise words were,—“decide according to your sense of justice, but never give your reasons ; for your judgment will probably be right, but your reasons will certainly be wrong.” A judge should not deem his duty done by merely deciding to the best of his ability and knowledge,—he should go further and give reasons for his decision. In no case should a judge follow the example of Lord Eldon's Deputy, Sir John Leach, who was very fond of pronouncing judgment without assigning any reason other than what Shakespeare calls “a woman's reason.” In fact, a judgment which does not contain reasons for it is no judgment at all. It is a naked thing which may satisfy the successful party, but cannot be agreeable to anybody else.

Unfortunately for the Bengal public, some of our High Court judges follow this bad practice in deciding second appeals. Lord Monboddo in his Essay on Lord Mansfield observes that it belongs to the office of a judge not only to determine controversies between man and man, but to satisfy the parties that they have got justice,* and thereby give ease and contentment to their minds, which the noble essayist holds to be one of the great uses of law. Similar remarks were made by the Court of Directors in their instructions to the gentlemen who were appointed to administer justice in India under the popular rule of the old "John Company" as the late East India Company was called in ordinary parlance. It is not enough for a judge to do bare justice, he must show to the parties and the public that justice has been done. This he can only do by taking evidence in full, hearing the parties or their pleaders, and passing judgments well supported by good and valid reasons.

Lastly, one who would be a good judge must tread in the footsteps of men who have distinguished themselves on the bench. In this connection many brilliant instances might be cited. We have already noticed some of them. They all deserve to be followed and a judge would do well to take them as models. As for Sir Matthew Hale we have only made a passing mention. He was really a very great judge and his high qualifications excited the admiration of two very eminent men—one a poet of no ordinary merit and the other a theologian of widespread celebrity. Their graphic descriptions of the famous judge, though they may have been quoted more than once, will not suffer by being quoted again. The excellent poet of the *Task* has thus described him:—

"Immortal Hale! for deep discernment praised
And sound integrity, not more than famed
For sanctity of manners undefiled."

The pious author of "The Saint's Everlasting Rest" has still more highly eulogised him, and his eulogium does not in the least smack of the flatterer. Indeed, Baxter was incapable of flattering any mortal, and what he has recorded was the result of most deliberate conviction. He describes Sir Matthew Hale as "That unwearied student, that prudent man, that solid philosopher, that famous lawyer, that pillar and basis of justice (who would not have done an unjust act for any worldly price or motive)—the ornament of his Majesty's Government, and honour of England, the highest faculty of the soul of Westminster Hall, and pattern to all the reverend and honourable judges, that godly, serious, practical Christian, the lover of

* Speaking of the high repute in which Lord Chancellor Talbot's judgments were held, the poet of the *Seasons* says,

"And e'en the loser priz'd the just decree."

goodness and all good men." Thus, we conclude this discourse with the wise and eloquent words of the illustrious English saint as we began it with the equally wise and eloquent words of the illustrious Roman orator.

OYEZ.

ART. VI.—BIRD MYTHOLOGY.

INTERESTING conclusions may be drawn from even a slight and casual study of bird mythology and of the beliefs and conceptions of ancient as well as modern paganism regarding the animal world. One circumstance that strikes us prominently in the course of such an enquiry is that almost all races in the lowest stages of moral and intellectual development have allowed to the animal world generally the possession of souls, the hopes of a future condition of existence, and, in some cases, actual superiority to man. Another lesson which we cannot fail to derive in the pursuit of our investigations is that such primitive beliefs and conceptions may resist with more or less success, the elevating and civilising influences of great religious systems such as Hinduism and Christianity. So far as the latter religion is concerned we have a vast amount of evidence showing that its introduction into Europe has, in many places, and in many respects, made scarcely any impression on the mythology which it sought and had to replace. At the same time, there is also a wealth of evidence to show that it has surely and certainly succeeded to a considerable extent in effectually dispelling the mists of pagan superstition, and in bringing about, with the aid of progressive science and of rationalism, a remarkable and wholesome change of thought in respect of olden-time conceptions of the animal world and natural phenomena generally. Pursuing our investigation further afield, we find also that, for all the spread and increase of that kind of knowledge which is fatally antagonistic to the philosophy of the infant world, another peculiar result of the operations of rationalism, higher religion, and progressive science, has been merely to change the form and semblance of mythical beliefs, without destroying their grotesqueness, their glaring improbability and their opposition to the very ethics and fundamental principles of a religion which, at least in these latter years, has successfully been proved to possess no single characteristic that is not in harmony with the creed of science, so far as science, notwithstanding the famous dictum of Mr. Huxley, can be said to possess a creed. Thus, in many parts of Europe, they still cling to the picturesque superstition that the robin owes his red breast either to the thorn which he extracted from the Crown of Christ, or to his daily visits to hell to extinguish the flames by casting drops of water upon them; and in Bohemia, it is still seriously believed that the mark on the beak of the crossbill was left there as a

result of the bird's kindly yet fruitless endeavours to extract the nails which pierced the hands of the Crucified Saviour. Thus again, the magpie still continues to be a thing of evil in the eyes of the people of Scotland, for they say that it was heartless and insolent at the Crucifixion, on which solemn and mournful occasion it happened to be present along with the robin. Until then, it was a beautiful bird with a melodious voice, while the robin was a plain-featured, unattractive little creature. For its wickedness, the magpie was deprived for ever of its beauty and its voice,* while the kind robin was transformed into a thing of loveliness and an enduring joy. Against these instances of Christianity being unconsciously instrumental in giving an exaggerated touch to myths that may have come down from purely pagan times, we have the fact that Christian influence on pagan mythology has lowered the cat and the serpent to a place of evil. We say so because it will be remembered that the ancient Scandinavians reckoned the cat sufficiently worthy to draw the chariot of Freja, and the serpent as deserving of the worship of humans. Again, as illustrating our point that the lower animals were at one time credited with the possession of souls, we may, with a certain amount of consistency, cite the pretty South Indian legend which accounts for the existence of the beautiful Brahmini duck. It is said that a pair of lovers, for some sin or other, were suddenly transformed into a pair of these ducks, and now spend their nights on the opposite banks of a stream, calling plaintively across the water to one another:—"Chakwi, may I come?" "No, Chakwa." "Chakwa, may I come?" "No, Chakwi." Of course, it would be an impossibility to trace the origin of myths like these, which have come down to us from the hoary times when the children of men had not yet studied and cultivated the art of recording and chronicling events, nor are we in a position to do more than generalise vaguely as to the manner in which most of these myths travelled far and wide from the scenes amidst which they sprang into existence. Nevertheless, it is deeply interesting to stumble upon parallel legends like these in localities far remote, and peopled now by different races with differing systems of religion and philosophy. Hence, it is of interest to note that a superstition similar to that of the duck prevails in Albania with regard to the cuckoo. The fabric that clothes the Albanian conceit is of different tecture and substance, but the conceit is practically identical with the Indian. There were once two brothers and a sister, so runs the story, and the latter accidentally killed one of the former by piercing him to the heart with her scissors. She and the surviving brother grieved so long and passionately

* The Australian Magpie has an exceedingly sweet note.—*Ed., C. R.*

that they were turned into cuckoos. The brother cries out to the lost one by night, *gjon, gjon*, and she by day, *kuku, kuku*, which means, "where are you?" These legends have a further interest in that they furnish us with examples of the metamorphosis of pagan superstition, for in Slavonic mythology, the god Zywiec used to change himself into a cuckoo, in order to announce to mortals the number of years they had to live. We might also cite other resemblant myths and superstitions that occur in countries widely separated from one another. In Southern India, for instance, the hornbill is believed to have been a cowherd before its transformation by Vishnu as an everlasting punishment for cruelly refusing a drink of water to the sacred cow when she was thirsty. In the transformation, a beak was provided for the bird that would enable it to quench its thirst only by looking up whenever it rained. Now, the French legend of the woodpecker is something of a piece with this quaint Indian myth, with the difference that it goes a step further and associates the woodpecker with the creation of the terrestrial world. The legend goes that when the seas and lakes and rivers were being formed out of chaos, to all birds was allotted the task of making the reservoirs into which the waters of the earth were to flow. The woodpecker alone refused to join in the great irrigation project, and for his lazy and mutinous conduct he was condemned to dig the wood of trees for ever with his bill. He was further condemned (and here is the chief point of resemblance between the French and Indian legends) to drink only of the water of heaven, and this explains why his head is so constantly turned upwards. We have already said that, in many cases, Christianity has only altered the form and character of pagan superstitions without destroying them. There are Christian countries in which the cock is held in abhorrence, doubtless because it (innocently) figures in the account of the Trial of Christ. It is, hence, worthy of note that in many pagan countries, so far from being considered a bird of ill omen, the cock has actually been looked upon as possessing a degree of sanctity. In Persia, for example, the life of Chanticleer was held sacred, while the ancient Greeks regarded the killing of a cock as equivalent in iniquity to the killing of a father by suffocation. Turning, however, to Hindu mythology, we have a legend that does not show off the cock in a very favourable light. Indra assumed the form of this bird and crowed one day at 2 A.M. in order to make Gautama believe that it was time for his morning bath. The object of the deceit was to enable Indra to visit Ahalia, of whom he was enamoured. Gautama went to bathe, but finding that the hour was yet too early, he returned unexpectedly and discovered the treachery of Indra, whom he

forthwith cursed, saying that Indra should thenceforth have a thousand cocks all over his body. Eventually, this curse was revoked and a thousand eyes were substituted for the same number of birds. Down to the present day, in parts of India, great store is set by a black hen, it being considered lucky as well as of high medicinal value. Very different though is the case in the Tyrol, where they will not let a black hen live for seven years, for fear that at that period she may lay an egg out of which may issue a terrible dragon destined to live a hundred years. The dove and the pigeon have in nearly all times and countries been held in the greatest veneration, and so far as the pigeon is concerned, it is reasonable to conclude that the belief in the sacred character of the bird is only a survival of the ancient mythology of the Aryans, and who can say that it was not this very belief that crossed the seas and travelled to the Andamans, the people of which region have always maintained that the pigeon, the parrot, the crow and certain other birds were human beings before their transformation, for some reason or other into their present state. This belief naturally reminds us of the Hindu idea that the spirits of dead ancestors enter the bodies of crows, and we come, by a slight mental effort, to remember that this belief of human souls entering the bodies of lower animals is one of the commonest in pagan mythology all the world over. A certain Californian tribe, for instance, deemed it a heinous offence to kill deer on the ground that the spirits of departed Californians animated the bodies of deer. The objections of the early Britons to the destruction of hares may have been based, for aught we know, on a similar belief.

In the Hindu scriptures, a very high place is assigned to the parrot, Saraswati, the Minerva of the Hindu Pantheon, having assumed the form of this bird for the purpose of narrating the Puranas. In Andamanese mythology, the parrot is associated with a legend that ascribes to it a human origin. Why should the bird be thus the object of especial veneration in countries differing so widely with regard to religion and customs? Why, except because myths like these sprang from one source and underwent change of garb and colour in their accidental peregrinations. Mark, now, the striking similarity between another Andamanese legend relating to the kingfisher and the European legend regarding the wren. According to the Andamanese, after a great flood had extinguished all fire upon the earth, a deceased islander came as a kingfisher to the four human survivors of the flood and offered to help them. The kingfisher flew up to the sky and attempted to bring away on his back a burning log which he found beside one of the gods. The log accidentally

fell on the god, who, becoming exasperated, lifted it and hurled it at the daring intruder. It missed the latter, but fell to the earth near the very spot where the four shivering survivors of the flood were seated bemoaning their fate. The European legend is to the effect that the wren flew to heaven to fetch down fire for the use of mortals and accidentally had his tail feathers burnt. We shall never get to know how these various myths about the lower animals originated, though we may generalise broadly as to the manner in which they travelled from one part of the world to another. As an eminent writer says, "they have passed from mouth to mouth, they have rooted themselves here and there, like winged seeds finding a resting place in different soils, and there shooting up, as if of native growth, and defying every attempt to ascertain their exact origin." We should not, however, look down scornfully from the heights of modern civilisation upon these myths and fancies of inferior races; nor are we justified in characterising them as a medley of nonsense. Superstition is after all but the search for truth amidst ignorance, and we have been reminded by a high authority that our own modern institutions also are not the product of spontaneous generation. Elie Reclus says with much truth and force that "there is a lesson to be learnt, if we take the pains to look for it, in these errors through which the human race has passed, these illusions which it has left behind. They are no mere anomalies, sports of chance launched forth into empty space; they have been produced by natural causes, in natural, and we may say, logical order They were a result of the disproportion between the immensity of the world and the insignificance of our personality, and they gave evidence of persevering effort, they betokened the evolution of our organism and its adaptation to its surroundings, an adaptation which is always imperfect, always being improved."

R. R. P.

ART. VII.—A RETURNED EMPTY.

(Continued from April 1901, No. 224.)

CHAPTER IX.

1891.

THE year witnessed no very important events; save that the two romantic personages whose names had been so long in men's mouths died, within a few weeks of each other. General Boulanger and his friend Mme. de Bonnemain left Jersey and went to Brussels; where the lady, presently dying, was buried in the rural cemetery of Ixelles, a suburb to the N. E. of that city. The General, by this time, had lost his means of action, perhaps even of subsistence, but he laid a stone over his friend's remains with an inscription asking, How he could live without her? And on the 30th of September he walked up to the grave-side and there shot himself through the head. During the summer Mr. C. S. Parnell married a lady whose husband had divorced her on his account; and on the 6th October he died at Brighton. Lord Salisbury continued in Office during the year, somewhat relieved of the stress of Irish politics by the dissensions which had arisen among the members of the Nationalist party, which Parnell's death had done nothing to appease.

For my own humble part, the year opened with a certain amount of unexciting occupation; a little mild wintry light upon the path, with plenty of cloud in the distance. I continued to live at Norwood, where some pleasant acquaintances were made from time to time.

January, Friday, 19th.—Read the November Nos. of *Revue des deux Mondes*, containing an interesting article, on "Pascal's Wager," by the poet Sully Prudhomme. Pascal says we *must* have a bet on the subject of God's existence, whether we desire it or not; for not to bet that He exists is to bet that He does not: (which Voltaire denies). M. Sully Prudhomme does not appear to think that we have much option; but as to the presence of evil in the world, will not allow that it is an argument against the power or goodness of the Deity. It may be the divine law that we, by suffering, or self-denial, should enhance the *value of our race*. In which case there is still room for responsibility; and the man who loves, or who yields to moral evil must be held blameworthy for descending where he ought to rise and so retarding the Great Purpose. There seems, however, still a difficulty, namely, to see how

the Divinity can be frustrated or helped by such creatures as we are.¹

Monday, 12th.—Reading Voltaire's *Louis XIV.* It is a model of lucidity, somewhat disturbed by flaws of ill-temper against La Beaumelle. This contemporary Zöllus had criticised the author's *Henriade* without much knowledge of power; but he was, probably, not worth powder and shot otherwise the thinking in *Louis XIV* is so passionless that one feels the apparently effortless style to be a carefully-prepared and most appropriate vehicle. It is also noticeable for an urbane impartiality, the merits of the British, whether as soldiers or as statesmen, receive just recognition; only a little note of Chauvinism is heard, in such moments as when the reader is reminded that Lord Galway was a Frenchman. We need not grudge this; after all Galway was beaten at Almanza; and the French army that beat him was commanded by an Englishman.*

Thursday, 15th.—*Revue* again: article by Brunetière, very ingeniously defending the Pessimism of Schopenhauer, who—according to the French critic—is misrepresented by people who have never read his writings. M. Brunetière argues that Schopenhauer is no supporter of suicide, or even of quietism; his meaning is, by inductive reasoning, to recommend that contempt of the world which Religion teaches on *à priori* grounds. Once get the idea of renunciation as an object of attraction for the Will, and death will cease to be a bugbear and will become a desired refuge. In abjuring the passion for existence we part with the motives of selfishness and learn to live for humanity. The most orthodox can accept this, seeing that the divine protection is much more plainly visible in the affairs of the race than in those of the individual. This will not lead to apathy but may dispose us rather to make use of our day for the general welfare, "*Travailler, sans raisonner, c'est le seul moyen de rendre la vie supportable.*" (*Candide*.) This is in complete accordance with Christian teaching.

Saturday, 17th.—Turned some Quatrains from Persian, but all in vain. Fitz was a Traitor, but such a splendid one that faithful followers have no chance.†

¹ "The Divinity" can never be "frustrated." But He ordains that we should "help" Him, and be, as the Apostle says, "*co-workers with God.*" Surely our dear ancient friend is "Empty," indeed when he does not know this; or depreciates the nobility and dignity of the "sons of God" (St. John) by referring in the terms "such creatures as we are." We are very noble creatures.—Ed., C. R.

* The Commander-in-Chief of the French Army was James Fitzjames, Duke of Berwick, Uncle of the Great Marlborough.

† My Quatrains appeared in various periodicals.

Monday, 19th.—Went to Hereford : a long cold journey.

Tuesday, 20th.—Dr. C., the Local Secretary, explained some of the Brecon mystery. It seemed that a Miss E. there—who had heard me lecture at Oxford—had strongly advised my not being sent to Brecon ; but the Committee at Oxford were rather surprised, sent me in spite of all, and wrote enquiries to other folks there by whom they were informed that the Lecture I had given at Brecon had been only in fault by reason of being over the heads of some of the audience ; and there it may rest. I began my course on Indian History this evening to a most attentive and indulgent room, though not so well-filled as it might have been with a subject of wider interest.

Wednesday, 21st.—The ice broke on the Wye ; and came down very swiftly, in great floating masses. The river fell three feet in six hours.

Friday, 23rd.—To Ludlow, a place of singular interest. Called on Mr. C. Forty, whom I found in the Museum, and who was kind enough to take me over the Castle, where Catherine of Aragon was married to the short-lived Prince Arthur, where *Comus* was acted in the banquet-hall, and where S. Butler wrote "*Hudibras*." Also saw the fine cruciform Church, then in process of moderate and judicious restoration. In the grand old pargetted inn ("*The Feathers*") is the council-room with the Royal Arms (temp. Jac. I.) and other carving.

Saturday, 24th.—To Belmont, where I saw the Benedictine Priory, and a fine Church built—mainly by Mr. Wegg-Prosser—within the last half-century. The Prior, a very cultured and agreeable man, told some anecdotes of the first Catholic Bishop, who used to relate that when he founded the settlement the neighbouring Welsh were only nominal Christians, who had preserved some Roman customs, received by tradition from their fathers.

Sunday, 25th.—Service in Cathedral. Part of Haydn's "*Creation*" given as Anthem in the evening.

February, Tuesday, 3rd.—To Hereford again. Dr. Chapman my host ; a very cultured man.

Sunday, 8th.—Mendelssohn at Cathedral, and dull sermon by the Bishop.

Monday, 9th.—Mr. Duncombe showed me the Cathedral Library : chained Bible and other rare MSS., printed books of the 15th century ; and the famous *Mappa Mundi*.* In the evening a Lecture on the Crusades by a Non-Conformist Minis-

* Medieval Map of the World, by Richard de Bello, Prebendary of Lincoln (1283). Was translated to Hereford where he died, 1305.

ter who spoke loudly and fluently, but did not seem to have reflected much. That, I suppose, is the Nemesis of eloquence?

Tuesday, 10th.—Was shown over Mr. Godwin's Pottery at Lugwardine; a marvellous mass of building and machinery, with great ingenuity and management, and lovely results in tiling, both encaustic and surface-painted. Audience at night much as usual: the same people every time, but no increase.

Tuesday, 17th.—Back at Hereford, in fine weather: lectured at night. Was hospitably received by H. C. M.

Thursday, 19th.—Read a new book about the Civil War (Cordery and Philpotts, "King and Commonwealth"). The authors—for some not obvious reason—exaggerate the backwardness of the time: saying, for example, that country-gentlemen's daughters were unlettered and could not do anything but cook: they can hardly have read Dorothy Osborn's *Letters*. They seem also wrong in saying that all houses in towns were built of wood. Cromwell's house is still to be seen at Huntingdon; and what do they say to the "Feathers" at Ludlow? one fails to understand such overstatement.

Saturday, 21st.—Invited to lecture at Oxford in August: the choice of subject left to oneself. I suppose something Indian will be expected: we have all to be specialists in these days.

Tuesday, 24th.—To Hereford: guest of Mr. Humfrys, a local antiquary, who lives en garçon in a handsome old house. Lecture went fairly. Dr. C. came and spent the evening.

Thursday, 26th.—Read "Acte" by A. Dumas (père) a clever manufactured article in the manner of our Lytton's "Pompeii," with more go. The character of Nero is hardly made out: he was probably insane.

March, Tuesday, 3rd.—Last Hereford visit: was Dr. C.'s guest.

Thursday, 5th.—Went with C. to Leominster and saw the very curious old double Church, one aisle being Norman, the other, a later addition partly Decorated and partly Perpendicular. Visited a family who lived near in an old house, like an Italian *Broletto*, which had been moved bodily from the town. Walking thither before leaving saw an old Almshouse with a strange device over the entry—a naked man (carved in wood apparently) with a cocked hat on his head and an axe in his hand. This was the legend:—

"To give away your goods before you are dead—
Let 'em take this axe and chop off his head."

Friday, 6th.—Lectured for the "Debating Society" before a friendly audience: subject, "The Indian Mutiny."

Sunday, 8th.—A pleasant day at Ludlow with Dr. Gilkes, brother of the popular head of Dulwich. Snow at night.

Monday, 9th.—Visited Gloucester Cathedral: no Norman work like that at Hereford, but a larger and—on the whole—a grander Church, with crypt and fine triforium. The general effect very rich, especially the transition-work and fan-traceries in cloisters: Lady Chapel and Chapter-House of evident antiquity: tombs of Robert Curthose and Edward II. The whole thing illustrates several most impressive chapters of history. Still earlier remains to be seen in the city: for example behind the shop of Mr. John Bellows, the famous Quaker bookseller, a piece of the wall that once defended the Roman glevum where are bricks bearing masons' marks coeval with some in Herod's wall at Jerusalem.*

Tuesday, 10th.—Final lecture. Cold very severe, snow falling.

Wednesday, 11th.—Got home, snow lying deep: many accounts of trains being blocked; but the Great Western was clear.

Thursday, 12th.—Afternoon at Savile, where A. lunched with me, and we played billiards, marked by Rudyard Kipling—a waste of power surely. Thence to House of Commons to hear a debate sustained by Harcourt, Labouchere, Gladstone and A. Balfour—the last not the best, as we thought. In the evening to S. Philip's, where I lectured, on the Mutiny, etc., to an attentive Whitechapel audience; with transparencies.

Monday, 16th.—Thinking of a Magazine article on "Conflicts of Experience;" have been puzzled by the repeated assertion of man's ingratitude to departed merit†. Thus Antony says (in "Julius Cæsar"): "The evil that men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones:" and, elsewhere, even more strongly:—"Men's evil manners live in brass their virtues we write in water." The inscriptions on a thousand monuments are a testimony that this is not so. Let a man be ever so disagreeable during his lifetime, his family and friends will find nothing but good to record in his epitaph—at least such was usual in Shakespeare's day and much later. And Horace, dealing with a more deserving class, tells us that real merit is hated while it prospers, and deeply regretted when taken away.

Wednesday, 18th.—Read "Evan Harrington," an easy book for Meredithian beginners. It is impossible as a story of events, and the conclusion does not seem artistic. But what a capital "Clown" Raikes made; and surely the Countess is one of the firmest pictures in English fiction. To few novelists

* John Bellows (he disdains the "Mr.") is well known for his excellent *French Dictionary*; and is immortalised in the "Hundred Days" of the late O. W. Holmes.

† The paper appeared "in Macmillan's Magazine."

indeed has it been given to read female characters and present it in their books; but G. M.'s are frequently convincing.

Saturday, 21st.—Dined with A. at his Club, and thence to the Garrick Theatre to see Pinero's new piece "Lady Bountiful." Too literary, perhaps, to be quite dramatic, which latter art requires that something should be *done*. But it is full of subtle touches and the writing excellent.

Thursday, 26th.—A snowstorm. The winter may now be said to have lasted five months already.

Tuesday, 31st.—Read a somewhat capricious selection of English prose ("Mandeville to Macaulay"). The editor evidently regards the English version of "Mandeville's Travels" as an original work of the time of Chaucer. He gives no sample of Bolingbroke and only one—short and unimportant—from Burke.

April, Thursday, 2nd.—Lectured at Dulwich College. [This, by-the-bye, is a misnomer: the real College is where the old men are, and the pictures. It is one of the vulgarities of our time to think you make a school of more importance if you call it a "College?" the cases of Harrow and Rugby might teach us better.]

Wednesday.—Lunch at Athenæum, thence to Savile where I had a long talk with Rudyard Kipling, who promised to lend me what must be a strange book on the Campaign of 1761, and the famous Battle of Paniput between Afghans and Mahrattas.

Sunday, 19th.—Wonderful show of good-looking people at Church-Parade in the Park. Lunched at Sir W. Morgan's, and thence to the Savile, where a pleasant afternoon. Finished at Miss L.'s in S. Kensington, where I had my fortune told by an amateur Palmist to whom I was a total stranger: she talked nonsense.

Monday, 20th.—Cold dry weather continues. Returned "Lalan the Bairagin" to Kipling, having read it with a great interest. It appears to have been written by an Ex-Officer who left the Bombay Army and became a Mahomedan.

Friday, 24th.—Left off overcoat for the first time.

Tuesday.—At Athenæum: had some talk about French Literature with Calderon and Du Maurier, who are both as much French as English. Jerningham, too: you may find cases of the kind in Jersey—minus the genius—but you would not easily find in a London room another Triad of Englishmen who are so completely saturated with all that is good in the culture of France.

May, Saturday, 9th.—Sent "Sketches in Indian Ink" to Messrs. Macmillans, introduced by Kipling.

Weather becomes warmer.

Wednesday, 13th.—Considerable heat. The Almonds, which had blossomed late, have already shed their petals. Influenza very infectious—especially among politicians.

Friday, 15th.—Invited to Clodd's at Aldeburgh; travelled with William Simpson, the Artist; met Grant Allen and the Rev. D. Morris at Saxmundham.*

Saturday, 16th.—The heat is gone, for the present the day turned wet and windy. Mr. Holman Hunt came at night,† one of the most interesting of artists and of men. After dinner, as we sate round the fire, he told us the romance of his life.

Tuesday, 19th.—We all left Aldeburgh at noon, and parted at Liverpool Street in due course, agreeing that we had passed a pleasant time.

Saturday, 23rd.—Clodd, Besant, Hardy, Kipling, and Grant Allen at Savile this afternoon: very pleasant.

June, Sunday, 7th.—Invited to join the Committee of the Local Literary Society, of which I have hitherto been an outside and *fainéant* member. These Suburban attempts at culture are, I believe, becoming general, and cannot fail to be useful in getting good lecturers to come down whom many would be otherwise unable to hear.

Monday, 8th.—A dull day, with cold showers and a strike of omnibus men. Advised to send notice to Allen and Co., dissolving connection as to books.

Wednesday, 10th.—Wrote to Messrs. Allen and Co. according to advice.‡

Tuesday, 16th.—In the evening took some young folks to the Palace, where we listened to a rehearsal of the approaching Handel festival, in which Mr. Eyre played on the organ with his wonted skill. Manns appeared dissatisfied with some of the stringed instruments; slating the performers roundly and himself singing some of the music as an indication of the time he wished them to take. It is evident that he has that part of genius that consists in taking pains, in addition to the more essential elements of success. There were some girls (I beg their pardon, "young ladies") amongst the fiddlers.

Sir J. Gorst made a bold speech last night about the disaster at Manipore; speaking of the Indian Government he said

* Mr. Simpson has been already mentioned. Morris was a School Master who having been an authority on *Pali* turned to Ancient English Scholarship. Both he and Simpson have since died; as also Allen.

† W. Holman Hunt, the celebrated Painter, once a member of the P. R. B., and intimately associated with the late Dante Rossetti in their younger days.

‡ They have since parted with the remainder—stock, which is—I am told—quite lawful: an intricate case.

that it always "hated and discouraged independent and original talent, and always loved and promoted docile and unpretending mediocrity" which drew a laugh from his hearers in Parliament but—if true—seems a matter, rather, for serious reflection.

Friday, 19th.—Another Handel rehearsal; quite right at last: many people came to hear it from the West End.

Monday, 22nd.—Grand performance at Palace. Over 3,000 voices in chorus: house densely crowded.

Wednesday, 24th.—By invitation of Mr. W. S. Caine to see some Indian water-colour pictures at a Hall in Piccadilly; beautiful effects of sunshine but the drawing a little unequal. Mr. Caine * a courteous host: some of his own sketches exhibited, but the bulk of the work was by Mr. Allan of Glasgow. † A number of distinguished people present.

Sunday, 28th.—A bright, breezy day. Took A. to the Holman Hunts' at Fulham, a charming old house with large walled garden, in which a pleasant party was collected. The host related an incident illustrative of the American reverence for a name. At the time when he had a studio at Jerusalem he was visited by the officers of a Yankee vessel, to whom he showed the studies on which he was engaged, but found but little interest in Art evinced. After a decorous interval the visitors took leave and filed out one by one, the skipper departing last, with the remark that "they could not think of leaving Jerusalem without having seen him." They had come all the way from Jaffa, and regarded H. H. as one of the standard shows of the Holy City.

Tuesday, 30th.—Wadham dinner at the Holborn Restaurant: an incoherent gathering of old and middle-aged men. Mr. Diggle in the chair. Dr. Jessopp spoke well, the Warden looked a bit bored. ‡

July, Friday, 3rd.—Corney Grain recited at the Knightons': we thought him rather sarcastic but very amusing. §

Read some of Froude's "Elizabeth:" I like him better than on first perusal. But surely, for a professed stylist, the English is sometimes careless, *e. g.*, "Mary knelt, and breathing faintly a commendation of her soul to Christ, the exe-

* CAINE, William Sproston, once M. P. and a Lord of the Admiralty, Author of "Picturesque India" and other works.

† ALLAN, Robert W., R. W. S., R. S. W.

‡ Diggle, J. R., M. A., P., at that time Chairman of the London School Board.

Jessopp, Rev. A., D. D., Author of "The Coming of the Friars," etc.

Thorley, G. E., M. A., Warden of Wadham.

§ W. Knighton, LL. D., Author of "Private Life of an Eastern King," etc. Mr. Grain, 1844-95, was head of the German Reid Company, a musical mimic.

cutioner with a single blow struck off her head." I have purposely forced the punctuation ; but in any case the grammatical construction implies that it was the executioner who commended the poor lady's soul, which is absurd. Again ;—"The Parliament had not yet completed their work ;" where it is really the Parliament's work, not "theirs" which is in question.

Saturday, 11th.—Went to see the German Emperor visit the Crystal Palace ; we had to wait till near 7 P.M., and then there was not much to see after all.

Tuesday, 14th.—Lunched at "the Rag" with Col. C. who then accompanied me to call on his namesake at Burlington House ; and afterwards to a house in Grosvenor St. where there was a professional Palmist, in a decorated cupboard : C. boldly entered, consulted, and came away mystified.

Thursday, 16th.—Authors' Society dined, Lord Monckswell in the chair : met Clodd, Mrs. Chandler Moulton, Sir John Stainer, Rider Haggard and others of my acquaintance. Sate by Mr. A. A. Beckett. Mr. Lincoln, the U. S. Ambassador, made a good speech, introducing the ever-interesting theme of identity of language : which, however, a Yankee present was half inclined to question : gentleman's speech was irresistibly droll, all the same.*

Tuesday, 21st.—To Mrs. Moulton's : an interesting party, including Miss Ward, Mrs. Campbell Praed, M. Blouet ("Max O'Rell"), Mr. Theodore Watts, and Mr. Bentley, the publisher who kindly gave me a lift in his Brougham. The talk was not important, except a remark of Max O'Rell who gave me his opinion of London Society ; saying that the working men were not to his taste nor the lower middle class ; while the aristocracy seemed to him frivolous and not very well mannered. "But," he added, "you have a *savant* type, such as one meets at a place like the Athenæum, whose social charm and bearing are unequalled."

Saturday, 25th.—To Naval Exhibition ; Lighthouse in grounds, a good show of portraits, and of course models, etc., in profusion.

Reading Froude still. He makes Elizabeth a complicated character, but good on the whole ; Mary he makes out strong and simple ; and thoroughly *bad*.

Thursday, 30th.—Gave a little dinner in the upstairs room at

* A Beckett, Arthur William, journalist and author.

Lincoln, Hon. R. T., U. S. Minister at the Court of S. James, 1889-93, the title of "Ambassador," erroneously given above, was not recognised at the time.

Moulton, Louise Chandler, Poet and Writer of Children's Books. A native of Boston, Mass., who was then living in London.

the S. end of the Palace. Jerningham, Clodd, Hawkins and his clever son; fireworks much hindered by weather.* J. has been kindly trying to have me appointed Secretary in the Mauritius, whither he is proceeding as Governor. His complete knowledge of French, with his great courtesy and ability, should advance him, there and elsewhere.*

Weather improving towards middle of month.

August, Thursday, 20th.—Met Gen. Nairn at Senior U. S. Club. He said my son Alfred was sure of the next mountain-battery. [Thereby hangs a tale. The next M. B. was given to another Major R. A., and when my son enquired he was told that these appointments "always went by seniority." Another vacancy occurring soon after was given to one who was A.'s junior! But he got his in the end.]

Friday, 21st.—To Oxford, putting up in College. Lectured at the Union (Debating Hall). Large and attentive audience; many hearty bursts of applause; spoke an hour-and-a-half; subject—India, Causes and Consequences of Mutiny. Many of the audience remained after the conclusion, asking questions and showing unusual interest in the matter.

Tuesday, 25th.—A droll instance of want of tact in conversation, "things better not said." A retired General, with whom he had only spoken once before, was talking—as we all will—about his own concerns, and how he had entered the service in 1846. When it became my turn to speak I said "Ah! then you are my senior." To which the gallant officer answered, "Really, well, no one could think so from your appearance." But then after a pause, "You see, *I never drank.*"

Wednesday, 26th.—Sent Leitner a paper for his "Oriental Congress;" subject—Sáyad Ahmad.†

Thursday, 27th.—Read Ingram's *Life of Poe*: the author is not a literary expert; but he seems to write in good faith; and he makes out a good case for his wretched Hero: a wondrous being, almost too intelligent for the society in which his lot was cast. His artistic judgment was unerring, being founded on the same power of analytic reasoning which enabled him to solve at a glance the most secret cryptogram. And all the while condemned to the most depressing drudgery and by nature wanting in the sympathetic sanity which we find in most of the writers of very successful fiction. He resembles the school of swift in prevailing over men by strength rather than by love.

* JERNINGHAM, Sir Hubert, K.C.M.G., now Governor of Trinidad. CLODD, E., already mentioned.

HAWKINS, Rev. E., and his son A., better known as "Antony Hope."

† Sáyad Ahmad; Sir, K.C.S.I., the famous Muhamadan Reformer and founder of the College at Aligarh of which Cottar Morison's son is now Principal.

Saturday, 29th.—Finished F. Harrison's "Cromwell," a pleasant little study. Some of Oliver's work in Ireland admits of no palliation, and the author does well to glide over it. Few more shocking things than this of Drogheda;—"I believe all their friars were knocked on the head but two; the one of which was Father Peter, brother to the Lord Taaffe, whom the soldiers took, the next day, and made an end of." [*Cromwell to the Speaker*; Dublin, 17th September 1649.] Few greater atrocities could have been committed than this cold-blooded murder of non-combatants; yet here we have the Commander-in-Chief reporting it in an Official Despatch, among the exploits of the army of which he is proud. Turn to Carlyle—who gives the above in full—one cannot but fear that the great Anti-Canter was in his own person a victim of a kind of Cant. What could be answered to an ingenuous young reader who should ask—what does the writer mean by "the Eternities," or even by such customary words as "God" or "The Bible?" Does he believe that it was such ideas as these present, in their usual acceptation, that made the Puritans prevail? The *trust* felt by them may—indeed must—have given them strength, albeit they did not understand the ideas implied as Carlyle did, for one; or perhaps as any educated man does at the present day. But main source of their strength lay elsewhere in earnestness, vigilance, prudence, and so forth. Depend upon it, capacity would weigh more than orthodoxy when Cromwell was choosing an agent or high officer. Warren Hastings, say, or Lord Wellesley, in India, went on such lines, as we all know; caring little for doctrine and its propagation. What then can we learn from Cromwell's Letters and from Carlyle's Comments, if it be not the value of *clear vision* and *confident courage*? One fancies something of the like in Abraham Lincoln: but it would not be right to conclude in favour of absolutism from such cases. The "Single Person" might be a Louis Quinze, or Balmaceda.

September, Tuesday, 1st.—To Inner Temple Hall, for opening of Oriental Congress.* Canon Taylor, Master of S. John's Cambridge, took the chair in the regretted absence of Lord Dufferin, and delivered the "inaugural" address.

Thursday, 3rd.—Attended Congress; interesting address on Egyptian chronology and tombs, by Professor Petrie†. In the afternoon another meeting; Gayangos‡ in the chair gave a short address on the importance of conciliating Moslem opinion. Leitner did not, by any means, agree.

* Much discussion arose as to whether this might be the true Congress or no? Dr. Leitner's energy, however, succeeded in getting valuable support.

† Petrie, William Matthew Flinders, University College, London.

‡ Don Pasenal de Gayangos, oriental scholar, already mentioned.

Tuesday, 8th.—Caine's "Young India" a sincere and amiable aspect, but suggestive of grave questions. He says of the Congress—in substance—that it is either seditious and ought to be stopped, or else the Government should accept it as a means of enlightenment as to the position and prospects of the ruling race in India. If there be any preponderating hostility towards the Queen's rule among the people, then it may become necessary to reconsider and to ask what is the end and object of our civil and military establishments in that country? If merely the extension and security of our commerce, are we, or are we not, exceeding the exigencies?

Thursday, 10th.—The Orientalists wound up with a big dinner at "Tivoli" in the Strand, Sir Lepel Griffin in the chair. Dinner tardy and ill served. Sate between Dennehy* and Father V. d' Eremas.†

Monday, 14th.—The old soldiers from over the way crowding the smoking and billiard rooms at Athenæum; which has been beautifully decorated by Alma Tadema.

Wednesday, 16th.—Have been on a short visit to Tunbridge Wells where I was a boy so long ago. Everything as pretty as of old, only all so *shrunk*. The famous Pantiles do not really cover quarter of the area of the Crystal Palace at Norwood. But the beautiful Commons, on Mt. Ephraim and Rusthall, remain; with their wide sweep of view over Eridge, Broadwater and Buckhurst, backed by Crowborough Beacon.

Friday, 18th.—Interesting conversation with Herbert Spencer at the Athenæum: he was in good form and spoke of himself and other distinguished men with impressive frankness. Of Huxley he said "that man, with independent means, would have been the greatest of Biologists"—on being reminded of the common notion that poverty was the stimulus of exertion, he replied that it was not so when a man needed means and leisure to enable him to make original research and establish an unpopular position: having to provide for the daily wants of themselves and families they simply could not afford to follow out their natural destiny. He also pointed out the field awaiting any one who could devote himself to a thorough scrutiny of the older statute-books in order to find out why the more important Acts had been introduced and why other Acts had been repealed. Here, he said, you ought to discover the Social History of our nation.

[A blank time. A few invitations to country-houses, none of which I could accept. Read a little, but without plan or

* Old Indian acquaintances. Gen. Sir Thomas Dennehy, K.C.I.E., have been a groom-in waiting to Her Majesty since 1888.

† D' Eremas was a well-known Clergyman of the Romish Church, now deceased.

purpose, and did a little work for *Chambers' Encyclopædia*. My second son, Major A. Keene, D.S.O., had a Dépôt at Seaforth, near Liverpool; and he came to visit us. We went to some theatres together, but there was not much of importance: Miss Rehan, we admired, but the pieces were nought. Read Merivale's "Roman Empire."]

October, Monday, 3rd.—M. M. de L. called, a man of some ability, born in one country, educated in another; a retired officer from the French army bringing up his son to be an Anglican Clergyman. Heard particulars of Boulanger's end: in some respects he reminds one of what Caius Marius might have been had he not conquered the Barbarian invaders. Jugurtha, on the other hand, finds a modern anti-type in Tantia Topi, the Maharatta hunted down by Sir Hugh Rose in 1858. My reading in Merivale suggests these parallels—which are but in one's own imagination probably.

Friday, 9th—Mrs. C.'s afternoon: a brazen sort of woman brought a quiet looking girl, as a medium, whom she put through some hypnotic evolutions which might, one thought, be only acting: and one rather hoped so, as it was otherwise rather shocking to see a young creature in such object control of another.

Tuesday, 13th.—Some smart little articles, from a newspaper, on famous contemporaries just out in book form. Some of the political judgments are rather impudent; as when Mr. Gladstone is said to have "the brain of a third rate Ecclesiastic."

Sunday, 18th.—Read a book on Mahommedanism by Mr. Justice Amir Ali; pleased to find so enlightened a Moslem corroborate the view that I had submitted to the Oriental Congress.*

Friday, 23rd.—Mrs. A. Besant lectured, for our Society, on Theosophy. The Rev. R. B. at the conclusion asked a pertinent question: seeing that the lady had already been an Evangelical, a Puseyite, and a Materialist, he would be glad to know whether she had better evidence for her present opinions than for those which she had successively abandoned? The somewhat indignant reply was a debater's triumph, but did not meet the point.

* Subsequent records occur of a long examination of this remarkable work ("Spirit of Islam"). It should be read by every impartial friend of India: it shows that the worst faults usually attributed to Islam do not belong to the system but to the backward races by whom it has been adopted. [Was not "the system" the product of such a race?—unless, as he stated, a renegade *Armenian* monk was the real author of the Koran. Has either our friend, or Mr. Amir Ali ever heard of this?—it is not an "open secret," but yet pretty well known—Ed., C. R.]

Monday, 26th.—Merivale on Domitian points out a danger of despotism which has often been illustrated since. The Despot, in securing a tottering throne, has to enter on military undertakings, until he finds himself "the actual leader of a horde of organised banditti."

Tuesday, 27th.—Thorold Rogers' Worcester lectures, make one *think*: the greatest use of a book. Charles Lamb affected the opposite attitude, saying that "books thought for him."

November, Tuesday, 3rd.—Mr. Haweis came to lecture for our Society on music: very clever and amusing*. His violin is superb, and he illustrated what he had to say with great skill and taste. He joined us at B.'s afterwards, where we had supper and a good talk.

Wednesday, 4th.—A good article on Islam in the 254th Number of the *Quarterly* by the late E. Deutsch.

Saturday, 7th.—Dined at O'Callaghan's, meeting Dr. Busted † a very agreeable and well-informed man.

Tuesday, 17th.—Mr. S. R. Gardiner lectured on the constitutional experiences of the Commonwealth; a subject on which he is considered the greatest living authority.

December, Tuesday, 8th.—Lecture by Dr. Boyd Carpenter, Bishop of Ripon, a genial prelate with a slight Irish accent, and a sort of confidential fluency told anecdotes of Gautama, the Founder of Buddhism, winding up by comparing him to Jesus: of course to the disadvantage of the Indian teacher of the real merits of his system, or why—after being made the state-religion—it lost hold of the land of its original success wandering to barbarous nations who turned it into image worship and mechanic ritual, of all this the Rt. Rev. Lecturer had no account to give.

An English officer who was present discussed these questions with some shrewdness on our way home; suggesting that Buddhism was too pure for human practice, and—in alloying itself with legend and thaumaturgy—entered into rivalry with popular Indian creeds by which it was overpowered. But in other countries, which had not such a complete Mythology or such a populous Pantheon, it met with better fortune. It is as if Missionaries were to propagate some form of Christianity amongst Africans and Polynesians after it had been rejected by the educated and uneducated in Europe and America!

I noted to him one remarkable difference. The *ideal* of Christianity brought forth Heroes and World-betterers;

* HAWEIS, Rev. H. R., a well-known traveller and esteemed London Clergyman.

† BUSTED, H. E., C.I.E., author of "Echoes from old Calcutta," a most interesting work that has gone through three editions.

Buddhism could produce nothing greater than Hermits, Quietists, and other admirable but not very useful characters.

Friday, 18th.—Called on Mrs. Keeley, the retired actress, whose first appearance was in the year of my own birth, and whom I found most agreeable and active. She walked all the way downstairs from her drawing-room to open the front door when we left.*

Monday, 28th.—A family party at the Avenue Theatre, to see a clever but incoherent piece, by Mr. H. A. Jones, entitled "The Crusaders." It does not promise to last long, being too witty for the gallery and too ill-blended for the stalls. All our modern plays are open to one objection or other ; this seems to incur both. I mean they are either too literary or too farcical.

[And to close these small beer chronicles for Ninety-one : during which little way has been made in any direction. I find a Sonnet, in my Diary, which looks as if a certain successful Periodical was beginning to be talked about : it is headed "To a Reviewer of Reviews."

There is likewise noted a remarkable forecast from W. Hazlitt :—"When a whole generation read they will read none but contemporary productions : the taste for literature becomes superficial as it becomes universal." Elsewhere ; "I do not think altogether the worse of a book for having survived its author a generation or two : I have more confidence in the dead than in the living."

Old Sam Rogers used to say ;—"When I hear a new book praised I go and read an old one."

In the present day our book-market is inundated with trumpery fiction, evidently produced for the railway stall and the third class passenger. This is called Literature.

The Sonnet runs as follows :—

Burster of open doors ! When all is said—

Whether of truism or of paradox—

And aged gentlewomen have had their shocks,

The world, methinks, has very little sped.

What can it matter if your sheep unfed

Feed you, and Tommy Atkins has small pox

Or other, and the shrieking spinster mocks

To find a convict champion in her St—d ?

Purblind enthusiast, who has never learned

That visions won are but illusions lost,

And sickness is not cured by salving sores !

Man will not thrive from Nature's methods turned

Nor win Life's sweetness and not pay the cost. . .

And yet we like you well, Burster of open doors.]

* Mrs. Keeley (née Mary Goward) born 1806, widow of a once famous low-comedian. One of her daughters became the wife of Albert Smith of Mont Blanc celebrity.

CHAPTER X.

1892.

This year witnessed the short-lived recovery of the Gladstonian Liberals, who—with the help of the Irish Nationalists—regained a small majority at the General Election of July. Lord Salisbury resigned office, and was succeeded by Gladstone, pledged to pass a Home-Rule Bill for Ireland.

The family centre remained throughout the year at Norwood, a neighbourhood combining many of the advantages of London with the invaluable blessing of country air to sleep in. Our great Metropolis has been for many generations the habitation of so many multitudes, through whose lungs the air has been passing and repassing, that it must have lost almost all vitalising properties; a state of things that cannot yet have reached the higher-lying suburbs.

For my own part, I continued to frequent the Athenæum and the Savile, places in which one enjoys the attitude, most blessed and beneficial, of looking *up* to the men by whom one it envired.

Among the advantages of Norwood was the privilege of being easily able to sit under the Rev. S. Tipple, one of the most eloquent and earnest of preachers, and much admired by the late Dean Stanley. His Church was attended by young men to an extent quite unusual in our times. I was much exercised during the year about an "Institute of mercantile instruction" which came to nought early in 1893: and also occupied with a student's History of India, published in the same year (W. H. Allen & Co., 1893, 2 vols.).

January, Wednesday, 6th.—Interesting article in the *Contemporary* on the work of the late E. de Laveleye on Democracy.* No writer appears to have paid due attention to the fact that in most modern nations a conquering race is still fusing itself—slowly or swiftly—with a race more germane to the country, and gradually giving way before the regeneration of the latter, or—in some happier cases—voluntarily admitting the aborigines to equal rights. Social democracy has been disarmed in England by the last named process; carried on from the days when the Barons extorted the Great Charter from King John to the time when Grey and Russell carried Reform in 1832. In the older Commonwealths—in India, Greece, Rome—the dominant class united with the higher plebeians, to form a new aristocracy, while the bulk of the population were slaves or unenfranchised for political purposes until some revolutionary change. But in Great Britain enfranchisement has been natural, gradual, and—ultimately—

* Lave'eye was a Belgian economist of distinction (1822-1892). See Life by Count Goblet d'Alviella: Paris, 1895.

universal. True Liberalism has thus, with us, conformed to evolution ; the nation has become a united whole, and privilege has been neutralised less by destruction than by communication.

Thursday, 7th.—A visit from Mme. de T., a Russian lady of French extraction, very charming and intelligent. She gave a dark picture of the social condition of her country, saying that there was room for serious alarm lest the peasantry should be frightened into outbreaks. They are found (since the emancipation of the serfs) refusing to labour and claiming that it is the business of the Government to support them ; the inability of the priests to direct and control the people is much lamented.

Saturday, 9th.—Took two Russian ladies to the New Gallery in Regent Street, where some of the pictures impressed them.

Sunday, 17th.—Went with A. to see Miss Lowe. We found a large gathering, in which were included both the Palmists already mentioned—Miss E., the Amateur Propetess, who told my fortune and the professional soothsayer whom Col. C. consulted at Mrs. M. K.'s in the summer. We seem to be in a somewhat similar way to that of the Romans in the climax of their prosperity as described by Horace and Juvenal.

Saturday, 23rd.—Courteous letter from Sir H. C., whose little book on Lord Canning I had reviewed, asking me for all possible corrections. Now, his book was very able, as was only to be expected ; and my carpings were only directed to matters of detail, which the author might have fairly passed over. As my only possible return for his courtesy and candour I will send him my copy with annotations. The case is an illustration of the effect of *signed* Reviews, and not at all matters for regret.

Saturday, 1st.—Another pleasant letter from C. returning my book and saying that "the criticisms have been of great use." It has been one of the Amenities of Literature.

Tuesday, 2nd.—*Purification of B. V. M.* Candlemas day was marked by a good deal of "wet and foul," according to the old Scots legend "the half of winter was over at Yule." We shall see. Curiously, a people so remote, and with a climate so different as the Italians said :—*Si sol splendescat Maria purificante Major erit glacies post festam quàm fiat ante.*

Wednesday, 3rd.—Dictionary dinner given by Mr. G. Smith in Park Lane : a splendid house and wonderful banquet. Leslie Stephen and Dr. Jessopp made excellent speeches ; and the host, addressing his contributors, announced his intention of carrying out the *D. N. B.* whatever it might cost him, and told a story of poor M. Arnold. It was to this effect. Arnold rushed into his office one day saying that somebody at the Athenæum had just spoken of him as "the greatest poet of the age." On Mr. G. asking if he thought that such a statement could possibly be sincere ? A. re-

plied, "Oh ! I don't know whether it was sincere, but I know that I liked it."

Sunday, 7th.—Called at Sir G. Campbell's : no one there.*

Monday, 8th.—Corrected proofs of a little book for Indian Press. It is too short ; I suppose I was afraid of being tedious. But then there is the case of George Canning's preacher who—in spite of brevity—"was tedious."

Monday, 15th.—In spite of Mary's omen the winter is not over. If the birds paired yesterday they will be repenting their precipitation to-day.

Sunday, 28th.—A dull cold day ; went to Church and heard a capital sermon, by Tipple, on the "blameless brother" in the parable of Prodigal Son. Whether it was quite sound I will not undertake to say ; but it was certainly ingenious, explaining the adage, "The greater the sinner the greater the saint." The young man who resented his father's reception of the returning penitent may have been morally perfect ; but what can be more intolerant (or indeed more intolerable) than moral perfection ? So argued the preacher, sending away the numerous sinners of his congregation in the confirmed persuasion that it was better to be sympathetic than sinless.

Monday, 29th.—Manns' Rossini concert. It was the centenary of the Master's birth—though anything but his 100th birthday ; † counting by those anniversaries he would have been barely twenty-five ! Perhaps Mr. Manns would have preferred some other subjects ; nevertheless the concert was most charming ; the elegant melodies and the intricate orchestration could not fail to captivate. Miss Thudichum gave *Di piacer* and *una voce*, but none of Rossini's sacred music was offered.

March, Tuesday, 1st.—March comes in like a Beast of some sort, if not exactly a lion ; east wind, sleet, and a finish of snow. In the evening I lectured, for our local Society ; to a large audience, many of whom were indulgent enough to complain of the shortness of the affair, though I am ashamed to say I spoke for an hour. My subject was the Mutiny : how little one could then have expected to be prosing about it in the shadow of the Crystal Palace when surrounded by all those horrors and cares thirty-five years ago.

Thursday, 3rd.—Wintry weather continues. In the afternoon, returning from a walk found a decent looking woman, with a baby, making a pretence of selling oranges. E. gave her tea and she told her story—sad, if true, as it seemed to be. Her husband laid up in hospital and the guardians tell her to go to her parish, which is in Wales. She does not

* Alas ! my friend was at that moment on his death-bed in the South of France. A gifted man who never quite came to maturity.

† Rossini, G. A., b. at Pescard, 29th February 1792 (leap-year).

care to go so far away and desires to await her husband's discharge from Croydon Hospital, eking out her own living by the paltry and precarious trade in which we find her engaged. There must be many such; but when you see one meekly-seated on your own doorstep, with the east wind flinging the blizzard into her pinched face—there is something in the recollection of the question, "who is my neighbour?"

Sunday, 6th.—Another sermon in continuation of the last. Mr. T. will have to whitewash the Saint next. Called in the afternoon upon a lady who has been ill, and who asked pathetically, if her good looks would ever return? This is the Nemesis of Beauty's Day.

Wednesday, 9th.—Reading Pascal: he must have been mad: but the notion is humiliating. Here is a mathematician and a wit, failing to be practically useful to mankind: he exemplifies the danger of extremes, even in so vital a virtue as conscience. After all, as my present pastor tells us, the world wants a religion of love, not of opinion.

April, Tuesday, 5th.—At Athen. Interesting talk with Giffen,* who seemed to regard the monetary condition of the United States with some anxiety, inasmuch as their paper issue was equal to their gold. He believed that the output of silver-mines would decrease, perhaps cease; nevertheless the Indian Government would do well to adopt a gold currency.† He also thought it a question whether Peel, in reforming the common law, might not have retained a five-shilling duty: for which however it was now too late.

Thursday, 14th.—A. talk with L. about a Commercial school on a somewhat novel basis.

Saturday, 16th.—Eleven degrees of frost this morning!

Tuesday, 19th.—*Diffugere nives.* A pleasant change of weather. A funny sample of the criticism of smart young men in the—‡ where my French manual is said to be written by a Philistine for Philistines, and quite on the level of University Extension,

Wednesday, 20th.—Called on Sir H. R. once "King of Kumaon" now tenant of a small semi-detached house in this suburb. *Les Rois en exile* might be rewritten in English. And time was when *Le Nabab* was the appropriate title for men of the same class!

* G., Sir Robert, K.O.B., the well-known economist.

† As it did some years later, in a modified form (1900).

‡ A weekly paper, now extinct. These organs of literary judgment are of all sorts; and probably the critics do not do much more than they must for their money. A successful author once told me that when he used to do such work he was instructed by his editor not to cut the pages of books sent him for review as it *spoiled the sale*.

Monday, 25th.—Article in the *January Quarterly* on Hafiz, by a writer who is quite clever, but does not seem to know much Persian, or ever to have heard of Omar Khayyam.

May, Monday, 2nd.—L. called with Prospectus of the 'Institute': I advised him to have it printed with estimates. He is clever and pushing, and I think his scheme deserves well.

Saturday, 7th.—Called on L. and assisted in sketching a scheme for high-class commercial education.

Sunday, 8th.—Reading the Vulgate came on a curious passage on Inspiration of which the literal English is—"she can change all things; and transferring herself into holy souls among the gentiles creates friends of God and Prophets," (Sap. VII, 27). Strange to find a Hebrew writer of Maccabean times going so far as to admit the existence of prophets among the gentiles (*per nationes*).

Monday, 9th.—Went with L. to Streatham Common to see a house he thinks of taking for the Institute.

Wednesday, 18th.—A visit from a young M. Viard ("de la Revue de France") introduced by Mrs. R. Clay. A very pleasant, well-informed man, whose mother is a well-known musician.

Saturday, 21st.—Hawkins came down from S. Bride's and we went over L.'s proposed premises on Streatham Common which seemed very suitable. There is to be a small company of which I am to be a Director. The idea is to get together a number of youths of good position and teach them modern languages, and other kinds of knowledge to fit them for commercial and consular work in foreign countries. It cannot be denied that there is a want of such an establishment.

Tuesday, 27th.—Called at Murray's: Mr. M. seemed quite satisfied with the French manual, and the Educational Press was the only one that could affect the sale of such a book as mine. He showed me a notice in *The Schoolmaster* in which the little work was welcomed as supplying "a much-needed element in English culture."

Thursday, 26th.—Two neighbours met L. at this house to hear about his scheme. They thought the undertaking on too small a scale, and were not satisfied with the argument that the initial outlay would be so trifling that it was useless to raise much money.

Thursday, 31st.—Went to town with Conan Doyle,† attending a dinner of authors at the Holborn Restaurant. Professor M. Foster in the chair.‡ Sate between Mr. Julian Sturgis and

* There was a notice in the *Scotsman* that was quite sympathetic, and the American Press used flattering language.

† Dr. Doyle, nephew of the famous "Dickie" of Punch, and author of so many clever fictions was then our neighbour and friend.

‡ Now Sir M. Foster, M. P., for London University.

Miss Y. Hunt, the clever daughter of Mr. and Mrs. A. Hunt.* Met Harry Jones, Du Maurier, W. Besant, Mrs. L. Linton, Nettleship of Balliol, and Clodd. The speaking very good especially by the Chairman, and Mr. Stockton, author of "Rudder Grange." Corney Grain sang some songs with great spirit, accompanying himself on an excellent pianoforte provided for the purpose. These dinners are very pleasant, though some of the company seemed to think they would prefer a conversazione where you could move about and mix more freely. The price of the tickets is generally thought too high.

June, Wednesday, 8th.—A long day. Went to Egham by G. W. R. and had the prospect of a hot walk to Englefield Green, but a pleasant young lady in a wagonette took pity on me and conveyed me and my bag the greater part of the way. Found the Archdeacon at work in his pretty house; and after some tea walked through the Park, by Windsor and Eton to Slough, where I dined and slept. The Park is lovely in this season of sun and shadow.†

Saturday, 11th.—A mild showery day; passed, mostly, in the house: comparing M. Arnold with Voltaire, especially in respect to their dramas on the subject of Merope. The Englishman's tone is the more graceful; and the Frenchman's workmanship more finished and strong. The ethnologic problems did not occur to V., but he might have worked out the other motives and given more effect to the feelings of the persons. In A.'s drama you have a distinct attempt to exhibit character. The stories in verse of the earlier author could not have been produced by our English contemporary, and the attacks on Rousseau and Fréron would hardly have found a publisher—one hopes, in modern London: nor would Arnold have so departed from his urbanity as to make them.

Wednesday, 15th.—The weather has turned cold in the last few days with a somewhat bitter N. wind.

Trouble about shares in Institute, and doubts as to its ultimate success.

Saturday, 18th.—To the temporary office of the Company, met other Directors and signed the papers of association. Mr. C. did not appear sanguine as to sale of shares.

Monday, 20th.—A visit from L. Very buoyant about early opening and declares that he has already the promise of many boarders.

Saturday, 25th.—Invited to C.'s at Aldeburgh, prevented

* Mr Hunt was an artist and his wife wrote novels.

† The Ven. Archdeacon Baly held—as he still holds—the chaplaincy at Englefield Green, an ideal cure, where his parishioners consist mainly of the Rangers and keepers of the Royal Forest.

from going by business connected with Institute. Great crowd at Palace in the afternoon. *Judas Maccabeus*.

Wednesday, 29th.—Pleasant day after a night of storm. First meeting of Directors ; Gen. C. J., Messrs. M. D., and C. (the latter a Portuguese Jew). Formal proceedings.

Thursday, 30th—Inaugural dinner of Authors' Club, Mr. Oswald Crawford in the chair. Besant made a very pleasant speech and read a list of absent members. Most of those present were (like myself) non-entities. The Club is at a temporary house in St. James's Place ; nearly opposite what used to be Lord Tweeddale's.

July, Monday, 4th.—Wrote some letters on behalf of the Institute, which is rather hanging fire.

Wednesday, 6th.—To Brockwell Park with children. An old mansion and walled garden in large and beautiful grounds. In one's youth such places were inhabited and enjoyed by private families—indeed a few still are, like Holland House and Chiswick. But by degrees they all come to minister to the health and happiness of many thousands. One hears the cry—"Oh ! how sad to see these beautiful homes empty of their owners ;" but it is not so. You see the children at their games on the grass, and the parents seated under the old elms ; and you remember that but for such pleasantness as these, all would be sweltering and swearing in city courts and cellars, without a notion of the shape of a tree or the colours of the sunset.

Thursday, 14th.—Asked the C. S. Commissioners to patronise my "History of India."* Afternoon at Mr. C. M.'s in Weymouth Street, where I was introduced to a charming Yankee lady Mr. Ward Howe.

August, Saturday, 13th.—*Revue des deux mondes* has a wonderful article of admiration and respect for Gladstone. How far does a French writer of high class represent the opinion of our affairs that will be held by History ?

Friday, 26th.—An out-of-the-way experience in dining with some friends who live at a "Swagger" Boarding-house where the Manager and his wife play at being a lady and gentleman entertaining a party of guests.

Sunday, 28th.—L. reports having sold a thousand shares to a Mr. H — *Nous verrons*.

September, Sunday, 18th.—Took G., my ten-year old, to service at St. Paul's. On departing I asked how he had enjoyed the music ? He answered, with a look of reproach that it was a thing in which he took no interest. In the afternoon had a talk with

* It was made a text-book for C. S. examinations ; but unhappily the subject was disestablished a year or two later.

young Viard, who raised a point in respect of the impropriety of rendering French words by the same words of our own language. *Homme de genie*, he maintained ought to be translated "greatman" and not "man of genius:" the phrase with them indicating a person who moved mankind, while in English it gave him the idea of a person of ill-balanced mind or hypertrophe of certain faculties to the detriment of others. [Buffon, by the bye, gives his definition of genius as "nothing but a great capacity of patience:" this seems the source of Carlyle's famous saying.]

Saturday, 24th.—Sir A. A. at Athenæum: thought the new rules for Indian C. S. examinations would be favourable to crammers. Also that Lord Salisbury was disposed towards a decentralising of Indian Governments on lines similar to those advocated by John Bright. [This ought to be so, if any further progress is to be made,—ED.] Weather very warm.

October, Monday, 3rd.—Interesting talk with old Richmond, who went through a Portfolio of his sketches of celebrities of the early Victorian epoch: how great a change in half a century!

Thursday, 6th.—Dinner at Mr. B.'s to meet Sir John Lubbock: thence with him to the Blind School where he gave a lecture, on *Ants*, to a crowded audience.

Saturday, 15th.—Meeting Lord M. just over from Ireland, I asked if there was a troublesome winter expected there. "Divvel a worse," he replied gaily. He was at a wedding the other day in Dublin; and when the bride and bridegroom left he said to Father H., who was standing by him at the door, that it was a pity they had nothing to throw after them. "'Tis a pity it can't be your *brogue*, M.," was the quick reply.

Monday, 17th.—L. affirms that he has now sold 2,500 shares, which would give him a fair capital to start with, at £5 the share.

November, Wednesday, 2nd.—A good meeting at Blind School, to hear Conan Doyle, who read an excellent paper on George Meredith's writings: few of the large audience had read them I fear; perhaps they will do so now.

Tuesday, 15th.—Wrote a short review of a long book: it is by a Mr. Herbert Compton, and deals with some of the military Adventures of India in the last century: it shows research and labour, but I found it too wordy and prolix for the subject. I fear the British public is too indifferent to Indian History for such an undertaking to be very successful.

Friday, 18th.—With N. to a concert at S. James's Hall, Piccadilly. Maseagui's *Cavalleria Rusticana* given by a Band of eighty stringed instruments with one row of wind, to give what is called colour. The music, so rendered, gave

one an impression of virile tenderness, not too pathetic and all the more agreeable.

Saturday, 19th.—Some of the family returned from a visit to Rochester where they had been guests at Restoration House and were shown an underground passage, communicating with the river. This, they understood, had been prepared for the withdrawal of Charles II. if anything had gone wrong after his arrival from Dover in May, 1660.

Monday, 21st.—With A. to S. James's Theatre to see "Lady Windermere's fan:" very frivolous, but well played and full of sparkling paradox.

Hysterical letter from Managing-Director.

Wednesday, 23rd.—To office in pursuance of urgent call. Found matters at a standstill for want of £500. A talk of winding-up the Company and handing the whole concern to L. I said it would seem wise to do so if he could start without help.

December, Friday, 19th.—To Cornhill, where I met three of the Directors and recorded Resolutions as to allotment, etc. Nothing more about the 2,500 shares, but assurances of forty resident pupils.* We open on January 18th, and Grant Duff has kindly consented to take the chair.

Friday, 23rd.—Read Broadfoot's *Life*: he was a fine character. Yet there is something in the Anglo-Indian Hero of those days that causes offence. A sort of ill-bred sternness and self-conscious austerity; so different from their predecessors, the jovial Malcolm or the urbane Elphinstone. Can it have been due to the evangelical training of the period? so long as religion was moderate—a thing for Sunday observance and social conformity, it kept people straight and sweet. But the Punjab Ironsides were otherwise minded. They were, no doubt, virtuous; but had little sympathy either for cakes and ale, or for any opinions but their own. Yet they did good work. [Your criticism is quite unjust. We knew several of them, and can say so. No one could be sweeter than Sir H. Edwardes, or Colonel Lake and others.—ED.]

(*To be continued.*)

* These eventually proved to be but two, of whom one was the Managing Director's son.

ART. VIII.—TANTRA LITERATURE.

INDIA is rich in Sanscrit Literature. The number of works in the Sanscrit language is very great ; and many of them are very valuable, highly prized, and widely known. They have been classified under various designations ; and each class bears very distinctive marks as literature, not to speak of their religious characteristics. They constitute a large, and, on the whole, a highly-respected family with marked family traits of character. The Tantra class is the Cinderella of the family or what with Hans Andersen might be called the 'Ugly Duckling,' from the point of view of its 'own admirers—that is despised by the outside world, but regarded by the initiated as the premier literature of the world.

This literature has a special claim upon Bengal and its large Hindu population. It originated in Bengal. There it was born, nurtured and developed into maturity by men who are spoken of as "the dark philosophers of the forest," men who performed awful ceremonies away from human habitations, and who exercised stupendous influence on the ignorant masses around them. The foreign Brahmans who came from the north-west soon gave up their Vedas and accepted the Bengal religion ; starting from the original Tantras they made various compilations, supplied additional mantras, Rishis and Devata of their own ; the compilations were also born in Bengal. The character in which both the originals and the compilations were written, is the Bengali and not the Devanagri. They are still found in the Bengali character. The authors were men as we have just seen who lived in the forests or jungles of Bengal—"forest men." Their works are known in other parts of India as the "the Bengal shastras." The bulk of those who profess to be guided in their religious devotions are Bengalis ; and most of the MSS. to this day are found in Bengal. The Bengal Pundits look upon Vedic and Puranic literature as foreign, as undoubtedly it is. Not one of the great works which go under the name of Vedic or Puranic was composed in Bengal or by a Bengali ; while these same pundits look upon the Tantras as their own, as their predecessors for many centuries have done.

The learned Editor of the *Mahanirvana Tantra*, Mr. M. N. Dutta, M.A., correctly describes them as "pre-eminently a product of the soil of Bengal." At the beginning of the century which has just closed, not a copy of the Vedas could be found in all Bengal, for the simple reason that there was none. The literature in vogue was Tantric. In an official report of the Bengal Library we read :—"Some of the Bengal pundits are

making their voices heard. These never depended upon works that have been recently imported into Bengal under foreign influences, such as the Vedas and the Upanishads; and they now come forward to defend their ancient religious works, the Tantras. Pundit Shib Chunder Vidyasary's work, *Tantra itattva*, running through 762 pages of royal octavo, is an elaborate and a masterly defence of the Tantras. The Tantras, he says, are an authority in themselves; and it would be foolish to attempt to prove their authoritativeness. He in fact places the Tantras in the same position as the Vedas, and the pundits of Bengal always believed this to be true. Under the same influence, and very likely by the same pundits a monthly periodical was started in Calcutta, a few years ago, called *Sarva Mangala* (The all auspicious), to advocate the cause of Tantric Hinduisim, which says the Bengal Librarian, "is prevalent in Bengal."

The Tantras themselves claim that for the Kali Yuga, the Tantras have completely superseded the Vedic Scriptures; that the latter are but serpents without venom, mere pictures on walls inefficient for any good or bad purpose, or like a barren woman too old to justify any expectation of her adding to the population. After stating that in the Kali Age all the Tantric mantras "are fraught with fruit and yield speedy success, and are highly effectual in all rites, *japa*, sacrifices, &c.," the *Mahanirvana Tantra* proceeds:—"The mantras contained in the Vedas are devoid of all energy, and resemble serpents devoid of venom. In the Satya and other ages, they were effective; in Kali, they are as it were dead. All the mantras (save those inculcated in the Tantras) resemble idols painted against a wall, which albeit furnished with all the organs, are incompetent to perform any action. Acts performed to other mantras are like a barren woman. They yield no fruit." ii., 14-17. The great ceremonies of the Durga Pujah, Jagad-dhatri Pujah, Kali Pujah, &c., are all Tantric and essentially Bengali and occupy the place of the great Srauta ceremonies of the Vedas.

As to the *age of the Tantras*, it must be admitted that they are not so venerable as the Vedas or Upanishads. Still, those which are called *original*, and they number at least sixty-four in all, go back to the fifth or sixth century A.D., a millenium and a half; and the oldest of these may go back even further. The higher antiquity claimed is not made good by any satisfactory evidence. The Buddhists of Nepal, who possess Tantras of their own not only father them on Buddha, the founder of their religion, in imitation of the Hindu Tantras fathered on Mahadeva, but they actually name a Buddhist monk who, they say, introduced the Tantras into Nepal about 300 A.D.

Scholars find it difficult to date, even with approximation either the original works or the oldest of the subsequent compilations, not to speak of the ideas which characterise them or the system of religion which they teach. While there is a general consensus that some of the compilations are very modern, yet there is also a general agreement that most of the compilations even are older than the Mahommedan conquest of Bengal in 1203 A.D. One of these comparatively recent ones, but a pre-Mahommedan one, enumerates as many as one hundred and sixty Tantric works, including both original and compilations, upon which the author professes to have drawn for his materials. The dated works do not go further back than the eighth century A.D., but the dates of others by different lines of argumentation are pushed back as far as the sixth century.

Tantric worship, so far as it is phallic and founded on the dualism of sex, is regarded as having its roots embedded in ideas as old as India itself, if not as old as the race, and founded on wonder and awe generated by a contemplation of the distinctive and mysterious functions of man and woman, and the fertility of nature alike in the vegetable and animal world. The ideas thus generated have arisen in various and very distant parts of the world, among very different people or races and tribes, and at different and most remote periods of time. Again, at different and less remote periods of time these ideas became formulated into religious beliefs; and still later and in comparatively modern times the beliefs got materialized into MSS. In this respect the Tantras are believed to differ in their development from the Vedas. The latter, it is believed, took some two or three thousand years to materialize into MSS.; the Tantras, on the other hand, it is believed, were written shortly after being conceived; so that as far as Bengal is concerned, the Tantras were in the country before the Vedas were and the Tantric religion before the Vedic. The stories based on *Brihat Katha* in which the worship of the female divinities is so clearly inculcated goes back to the fourth if not to the third century A.D. The Buddhist translations of Hindu Tantras takes us back to the eighth or ninth century.

But it may be asked, if so old, why are not MSS. of that age forthcoming. We have many such in Europe and much older. This is explained easily by the humidity of the climate of Lower Bengal, the fertility of destructive insects, the backward condition of education among the masses, and the poverty of the pundits and gurus, the ordinary custodians of MSS. Not a single MS. has yet been discovered on the humid plains of Bengal older than the fourteenth century. On the other

hand MSS. written in Bengal a good few centuries before the fourteenth have been found in Nepal by Pundit H. P. Shastri, Principal Sanscrit College. For example a MS. copy of *Langkâvatarâ*, a Hindu Tantric work on medicine, written in 908 A.D., was found by him in the Durbar Library, Nepal.

Another Tantric work, *Nichvâsâtattva Saṅhita*, exhibiting some of the earliest phases of Tantric development, was also discovered in the same library. Mr. Shastri concludes from peculiarities in the handwriting that it was written at least one hundred years earlier. That sends it back to 800 A.D. Unlike most Tantras, the interlocutors are not deities but human Rishis, who wonder at the introduction of a new method of initiation unknown in the Vedas. Brahma and Vishnu are said to have received the new initiation, but not Siva. As a Tantric work, it is, as usual, devoted to the glorification of Siva. Its name *Sanhita* gives some indication of its date. The *Mahanirvana Tantra* states that the works followed or received as sacred in the Satya Yuga were the Vedas; in the Treta Yuga, the Smritis; in the Dvapara Yuga, the *Sanhitas*; and in the Kali Yuga, the Agâmâs. This is one of these *Sanhitas*. These works, we quote Mr. Shastri, seem latterly to have assumed the form of pure Tantras, called Agâmâs and Nigamas in the passage in the *Mahanirvana Tantra*. The *Parmeshvari Tantra* MS. in Cambridge is dated 857 A.D. This date puts a lately discovered MS. of the Skanda Purana back to 657 A.D.

Another Tantric MS. of *Kulalikamnya*, also discovered by Mr. Shastri, is believed to be still older, taking us back to 609 A.D. The work forms a part of a large work on the worship of Kubjika (a form of Kali), a Tantra absolutely forgotten, until thus in part discovered, but which had an important place in Bengal literature about 1000 years ago. The interlocutors are Siva and Durga. The modern Tantric technicalities do not apply to this MS. Yoga (as in *Siva Saṅhita*) is not regarded as the principal thing; its efficacy is beset with doubts. But, adds Mr. Shastri, the science comprehended in 24,000 slokas, that is in the larger work, or even in the smaller, that before us which is regarded as its essence and contains 6,000 slokas, is, we are assured, of undoubted efficacy. All these marks stamp it as a genuine work of Tantra. Mr. Shastri discovered other four MSS. of this work, later and smaller, in one of which Kubjika herself is the chief interlocutor. Her object or the subject of her enquiry, is to know the Pithas, the right hand and the left hand forms of worship and the Kula shastra generally. These four MSS. are dated from 1135 to 1179 respectively.

Well may Mr. Shastri conclude that the discovery of these

MSS. prove the fact that the Puranas and Tantras are not so modern as some people think them to be, and that the Indian tradition is not so utterly unreliable as it is considered in many quarters. It is such discoveries, and Mahamahopadhyay H. P. Shastri has made many such, which makes history, and not statements like those we find in the two short paras. headed "*Tantras*" in the three volumed "*History of Civilization in Ancient India* by Mr. R. C. Dutta, C.I.E. Professor Dutta describes the Tantras in these two brief paras. as "the Hindu literature in the period of the Mahommedan rule," "creations of the last period of Hindu degeneracy under a foreign rule," and yet again as "the product of the last stage of degeneracy after centuries of foreign subjection," and of a period "when the national life had departed, when all political consciousness had vanished and the lamp of knowledge had become extinct." These words may be rhetoric, they are not history. The key word seems to be *foreign*. It is a red-rag to Mr. Dutta. The two paras. are not creditable to the historian of India, or to the Professor of the History of India in University College, London. Why, the Tantras were composed when Bengal was in its glory, when it had a national life if ever it had one; when its independence was not questioned; when the Sena kings were patrons of learning and one of them, himself, an accomplished scholar, when Jayadeva the court poet wrote *Gitagovinda* and a court minister the *Brahmana Sarbasa* and the Tantras themselves, the later ones were composed in Sanscrit not to be despised.

Bengal, it cannot be forgotten, was not invaded by the Mahommedans till 1203 A.D., centuries after the last of the sixty-four original Tantras was in circulation among the people. Before 1203, Bengal had enjoyed four dynasties of independent sovereigns; and it was during the earlier of these that the original Tantras were written. Of one of these kings, Deva Pal Deva, it is said, that he reigned over the whole of India. In any case he must have been acknowledged as a Maharaja Adhiraj. It was about the tenth century, A.D., that the five Brahmins were brought from Kanouj to Bengal by the Bengali king Adisura. It was they indeed who introduced into Bengal Brahmanic civilization and the Vedic religion, the latter only to die very soon thereafter. Mr. R. C. Dutta is also wandering a little when he wrote in the same paras.—"The number of Tantras is said to be sixty-four; we have seen many of them which have been published in Calcutta"; so wrote Mr. Dutta, in 1890, when not one of the sixty-four had been published. Most of the 64 are irrecoverably lost. So it is believed by those who have paid most attention to the subject. Among these I place Pundit Hara Prasad Shastri, M.A., who deserves to be as fully

honoured for his successful Literary Research as others have been for their Physical Research. In the course of three years he discovered and wrote Notices of 1,400 Sanscrit MSS., of sorts, including a hundred Tantras, original or compiled, found in Eastern Bengal. From among the 1,400 he purchased for Government 930 works including Buddhist MSS. from Nepal, some of them not only very rare but unique. But among them all was found not one Vedic MS. For as Mr. Shastri observes : " Living in the midst of strange and non-Brahmanic surroundings the descendants of the five Brahmans soon gave up the regular study of the Vedas, a single copy of which could not be found in all Bengal a hundred years ago, and confined their knowledge of these to the recital and proper understanding of a few mantras used in their religious sacraments. With the Vedas they gave up the study of the Upanishads and thus Vedanta Philosophy found no place in Bengal."

Then he proceeds to show that these very Brahmans naturally turned to the Tantras as works which bore a resemblance to the subject matter of the Vedic Brahmanas or ritual and to the contents of the Atharva Veda. It is to this Brahmanic influence that Bengal is indebted for the better Sanscrit of the Tantric compilations and their more orderly and logical arrangement of material. The influence of the Tantras on Buddhism on the other hand was so great that in every collection of Buddhist works is found a number of Tantras. This is seen not only by the discoveries of Mr. H. P. Shastri in Nepal, but also those of Dr. R. L. Mitra, C.I.E. Tantricism itself received a powerful impulse from Krishnananda Agamvagisha, a contemporary of Raghunandan. It is also interesting to observe that the more one goes eastward and northward towards the Brahmaputra the more one meets with a larger number of Tantric works, till one reaches Kamrup which is regarded as the Mecca or Benares of Tantricism. And yet Mr. Shastri has it that no complete copy of any one original Tantra as noted above has yet been found, or, if so, only in fragments.

As to whether the Tantras, as Mr. Dutta says, "present us with a stranger aberration of human fancy and human credulity" "developed into monstrous forms," and "give us elaborate accounts of dark, cruel and obscene practices . . . unwholesome practices and unholy rites," and as to whether or not "to the historian the Tantra literature represents not a special phase of human thought, but a diseased form of the human mind," it is not for us here and now to say. It would require a separate treatment. But this we may be allowed to say that, good or bad, they cannot be fathered on the Mahomedan or the foreigner. They are pure natives of Bengal, as we have already attempted to show. Hence it is that

natives of intelligence and of that patriotism which see no evil or wrong in whatever belongs to their own country, forgetting that what is not true is not patriotic, as Sir Madhava Row has so beautifully expressed it, take up so vigorously the opposite side to Mr. R. C. Dutta. There, for example, is Mr. M. N. Dutta, M.A., M.R.A.S. (Shastri), who affirms that the system taught in the Tantras "yields in merit and excellence to no other department of ancient Hindu thought." *Mahanirvana Tantra*, p. i.

Returning to our discussion of the age of the Tantras, it is interesting to observe that Mr. Manmatha Dutta in his introduction to the Tantra not only admits that it is very difficult to ascertain the date of the composition of this class of literature, and he might add of all ancient Sanscrit literature; he also, after a full consideration of different facts and with different Tantras before him, arrives at what is to all intents Mr. H. P. Shastri's conclusions. "Tantra," says he, "does not find room amongst the fourteen branches of literature mentioned in the old Smritis. Besides, its name does not occur in any of the great Puranas." He rejects the argument founded on the similarity of certain processes found in it resembling those found in the Atharva Veda; and he might in the same way reject an argument founded on Vedic mantras being found in some Tantras. The Tantric characteristic found in *Nri-singha-tāpaniy-opanishad* of the Arthava Veda annotated by Sankaracharya, indicate a knowledge of the Tantric system, and consequently prove that it was in existence in the days of the great controversialist, and that means before the seventh century of the Christian era. "Besides, some of the Buddhist Tantras were translated into Tibetan between the ninth and the eleventh century. Hindu Tantras were their models and must have consequently been in existence anterior to them. These Hindu Tantras must have therefore been written before" the seventh century, and others long before that, say the fifth or sixth century.

There are two Puranic passages which go a little in support of the same conclusion. In the *Srimad-bhagavat*, Nandi is reported as cursing the followers of Siva, in the words:—"May those who observe vows in honour of Mahadeva, and who follow him, pass by the name of *Pashandas*. Wearing matted locks and ashes, those men, shorn of pure conduct, and gifted with blunted intelligence, will worship Siva, in which wine is adorable, like a celestial. You have vilified Brahma, the Vedas, and Brahmans, the very honours of shastras and therefore I designate you *Pashandas*."

In the *Padma Purana*, there is a chapter on the Pishandas. Besides, Chaitanya used to call the Shaktas Pishandas. If the

Pishandas of these two Puranas were the Shaktas, as Chaitanya evidently believed, and as most likely they were, then the Tantras must have been in existence before the oldest of these Puranas was written.

Babu Shishir Kumar Ghose, author of "*Lord Gouranga* or salvation for all," and editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrica* is about as far off the lines of history, in the matter of the date and origin of the Tantras, as Mr. R. C. Dutta, C.I.E. At p. 202, vol. i, of his life of *Lord Gouranga*, he writes—"It is believed that this Tantric religion was invented to brutalize the Hindus so as to enable them to meet the Masulman invaders of the country. It is said that the spiritual Hindus found it impossible to cope with the brutalized Afghans and Moghuls who came from the west. What was required was to create a body of men equally brutal who should be able to meet them. And this Tantricism was invented for the purpose. Men were induced to join it by the mysteries which surrounded all the ceremonies, and the liberty that it permitted its votaries in the matter of eating, drinking and other illegitimate pleasures. They were further promised gifts from spirits and gods. Those who ranged themselves under this banner naturally became more brutal, if not stronger, than the other Hindus who lived sparingly and on strictly sober principles. The development of their brutal instincts was, of course, founded upon the ruins of their spiritual nature... Besides they entertained a particular hatred for the Vaishnavas. Indeed Tantrics, generally speaking, had a very low opinion of Vaishnavism which, they thought, was calculated to make men effeminate."

The key to the whole passage and to the theory it embodies is to be found in the concluding words. The Tantrics had no high opinion of the Vaishnavas, or of the new and foreign religion they were introducing into the country. And the feeling was reciprocated and has come to the present day in Vaishnava hearts; Shishir Kumar Ghose is an enthusiastic Vaishnava; hence the ridiculous explanation given of the origin of the Shakta religion and of the abuse heaped upon Tantric heads, even by such a loving and beloved writer as Shishir Kumar Ghose.

No, the Shaktas did not intentionally brutalize themselves in order to be a match in brutality to Moslem Afghans and Moghuls, as Mr. Ghose would have it. Why, Tantras were written, appointing flesh and wine as essentials in religion, before there was any Mahommedanism even in Arabia, not to speak of Afghanistan. Besides, religions are not manufactured in this way; and as far as most of the Tantras are concerned, it must be admitted that their writers, instead of

encouraging the brutalization of themselves by flesh and drink, wrote strongly against any such use. There is much more formal encouragement by the conduct of the gods to drink to excess in Vedic literature than in Tantric, as far as we have read in both. But there are Tantras and Tantras Vamachari and Dakshina Tantras for example.

In another life of Chaitanya we read that the Vaishnavas were very limited and the Shaktas reigned supreme, that they (the latter) indulged in wine, women and flesh to a very great extent, and were very rough in their manners; and "that the poor Vaishnavas used to tremble in their presence," p. iii. Now there are quite a number of Tantras accepted as Scriptures by Vaishnavas. They have Tantras of their own.

A writer in the *Oriental* of October last says that the Tantras date their origin contemporaneously with the Upanishads, as it is evident that the Upanishads deal with the *Jnanakanda* of the Vedas and the Tantras deal with the *Karmakanda*. One of the authoritative Upanishads reproduces the identical Sutra of *Satchakra Veda*, which is said to form the fundamental principle of the Tantric religion—the substance of which is as follows:—"There are one hundred and one nerves in the human frame, amongst which *Shusumna* which enters into the cortical centres, conditions the mental operations as to the liberation of the soul and others help to perform secular duties."

We give the following statements on the authority of the *Oriental* for what they are worth. We have not been able to verify them:—"The seventh sloka of the *Prasnopanishad* bears out the same fact. Besides these, there are copious instances of reference to the Tantras in *Narad Pancharattra*, *Skanda Purana*, *Mahabharatta Debi Bhagbata*, *Agastha Sanhita*, *Vishnu Purana*, *Agni Purana*, *Markandeya Purana*, &c., &c. That the very ancient Rishis such as Narada, Kapila, Gautama, Sanat Kumar, Dattatreya, &c., were Tantrics is evident from the following books entitled by them respectively to wit:—*Narad Pancharattra*, *Kapil Pancharattra*, *Gautama Tantra*, *Sanat Kumar Tantra*, *Duttatreya Sanhita*."

The writer in the *Oriental* proceeds to add—"The religion propounded by the Tantras is not the subject matter of rhetoric or of barren argument, of a theory, but it is that which requires *Sadhana* or carrying out of its dictum, which being reduced into practice, the efficacy is immediately felt. The famous bard and devotee Ramprasad, Maharajah Ramkrishna of Nattore, Kamala Kanta, Kumar Nares Chundra, and the great Ramkrishna Paramhansa are the later products of the Tantric religion or Shaktism." So Mr. Dutta says, and he certainly has made out a claim upon Bengalis to study in-

telligently and come to a decision upon the matter for themselves. But we will have conveyed a false impression if we have led any one to think that the study of the Tantras which originated in Bengal is confined to Bengal. No, we have seen how they have honeycombed Buddhism. They are also found and read and studied in Western and Southern India as well as in Northern and Eastern, their native place. History tells us how they were introduced into Guzerat, and we find in Dr. Oppert's lists of Sanscrit MSS. discovered by him in private Libraries in Southern India, under the general heading of *Ceremonial* with sub-divisions headed (1) *Agama*, (2) *Kalpaprayeroga* and (3) *Mantra-tantra*, as many as 400 distinct Tantra works in circulation among the Hindus of Southern India. Printed Tantras, not to speak of MSS., are in circulation in the N.-W. Provinces and the Punjab, some of them even in Hindi, just as we find a few in Bengali, in the Calcutta book shops. All the same, it is curious to find so much ignorance concerning them among Europeans, even among Orientalists and Sanscritists. All that the Encyclopædia Britannica says of their date is that this class of writings does not appear to have been in existence at the time of Amara Singh (sixth century), but they are mentioned in some of the Puranas; but Amara Singh's reticence or silence proves nothing, most certainly not a universal negative. It is very different with such expressions as we find in the *Srimadbhagabala* "the conclusive science of the Tantras," "the all-powerfulness and versatility of Vishnu and other propagators of religion in the Vedas, or in the Tantras." Such expressions conclusively prove the Tantras to be older than the books in which they occur; and of all the Puranas we are assured that the *Srimadbhagabala* exercises a more direct and powerful influence on the opinions and feelings of the people than any other.

Though highly prized in India, and though Europeans and Americans, as a rule, take much interest in the Sanscrit literature of India, neither Americans nor Europeans have shown any interest whatever in the Tantras. Orientalists and Sanscritists of the West have, it may be said, simply ignored them, although they, it must be admitted, offer an important study in comparative religion, if not also in comparative philosophy. There is no volume treating of them or of the Shakta religion in the extensive library of the *Sacred Books of the East*; and Professor Max Müller does not give a single page to them in his *History of Ancient Sanscrit Literature*. Even the Missionaries have neglected them, though a goodly number of them have studied a good few of the Indian vernaculars and a fair proportion of them Sanscrit also. And the natives have not translated many of them into English, the only ones we have

met with are the *Mahanirvana Tantra* (one of the best) and *Siva Samhita* (one of the worst). Not one has as yet been translated or published in Europe or America.

Of course there are good and bad among them even from the Sakta point of view, as well as original and compiled; some in fairly good Sanscrit, and others in outrageously poor Sanscrit; the latter evidently by men who knew nothing of Panini, and who possibly wrote before the great grammar had been composed.

The form of composition generally followed is that of a dialogue between a male and a female, the latter giving utterance to her curiosity as questions, the former replying. As a rule the male is Siva and the female Durga, or some one of her many forms, otherwise called *Sakti* (energy), hence the name of the religion Saktism, or the *Sakta* religion.

The subject matter is gathered round the five words—creation, destruction, worship, power, union or emancipation, and a sixth *Sarshiti* (becoming God). The authorship is attributed, as a rule, to Siva, one of each of the *Amnayyas*, systems of teaching, having issued from each of Siva's five mouths. This does not characterize all the Tantras. Some are devoted chiefly to medicine, others to alchemy and others to astronomy or astrology; and to other so-called sciences. There are some which are Vaishnava and others Saiva, and yet others are mere spells or incantations, or amulets, or expressive of the duties of gurus and the training of disciples.

As an illustration of a Vaishnava Tantra reference may be made to *Gobindo-Kalpalatâ*, a Tantric compilation on the worship of *Vishnu*, noticed by Mr. H. P. Shastri. It uses all the paraphernalia of the Sakti worship, but still the author is a bigoted Vishnuvite, and tells his readers never to take the work or read it at a place where Sakti is worshipped or where Sakti worshippers live. Yet all Tantras are correctly brought under one name or class of Sanscrit literature and that class is appropriately enough called Tantras—or rites in the sense of religious ceremonies, or strings or systems of rites—from *tan*.

The name *Veda* is taken from the very common phrase occurring so often in the Brahmanas of the Vedas *ya evam veda* (he who knows this). It and the other word *vidya* (knowledge), neither of which words is much used in the Tantras indicate a difference between the two literatures. In the Vedas knowledge is the one thing. In and through it power, influence and creative faculty are obtained and exercised by the priest. While *Tantra*, as we have seen etymologically, is a string or system of rites or ceremonies, by the practice of which mystic union with a deity is attained and thus the worshipper is protected and aided. Hence the great variety of Tantras

original or compiled as compared with the limited number of Vedas there are—and even these are practically reduceable to one, the Rig-Veda.

K. S. MACDONALD.

ART. IX.—THE ARMENIA OF ST. NIERSES

Through the long centuries of night
Thy “ watch ” thou’st kept in very deed,
Through Time’s long, long flight,
Thy “ Lamp ” has burned with steady light ;
Thy sons “ baptized for the dead.”

Thy lot has been the Cross on earth ;
Thy fair sons and daughters slain—
In “ captivity ” thou givest birth,
Dwelling beside a blood-stained hearth—
Sodden with rain of blood—blood-rain.

Patience for yet the briefest while,
The Lord thou lovest shall appear
And change all things by His Smile ;
His Love shall all thy pains beguile :
Th’ Archangel’s Trump proclaims Him near !

Thy Dawn is rising o’er the East ;
Awake, arise, and dry thy tear !
Thou’rt called to His “ Marriage Feast,”
His sorrowing “ Bride,” beloved “ guest ”—
Rise Weeping Queen, and dry thy tear—

C*****N.

ART. X.—INDIAN THEOLOGICAL DEGREES.

A very important subject in the intellectual march forward of the Indian Christian Church is now engaging the attention of most Missionaries of the Evangelical denominations. It is the conferring of Theological Degrees by a duly constituted Senate authorised to grant such degrees, or by one of the existing Indian Universities with a Divinity side to it. Assuming that it is advisable to grant such degrees, how is it to be brought about?

The credit of bringing up this subject before the Christian public for solution belongs to the Rev. George Howells, the Baptist Missionary, who has charge of the Baptist Theological College at Cuttack. He not only brought up the suggestion for such degrees before the recent Baptist Triennial Conference, but drew up a definite scheme and submitted it to the Missionary Conferences at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Bangalore. The discussion, thus, has been wide, and has been further taken up in the press. As the subject is one of considerable interest, if not importance, to the Indian (Native) Church with its several millions of converts, and numbers of them highly-placed, both in the present and in the future, it may perhaps fittingly find a place in the pages of a *Review* which impartially views and records all matters of Indian moment.

Mr. Howells' scheme may be summed up thus :—

(1) A Theological Senate should be formed for examining and giving diplomas to theological students who have not matriculated.

(2) A B.A. degree in Theology should be established in the Calcutta University.

(3) The degree of B.D. should be given in that University for post-graduate theological study, and that of D.D. for original theological research or *honoris causa*.

The *Bombay Guardian's* comment on it is "the scheme aims at making the present theological courses in Missionary Colleges lead up to a degree which shall be generally accepted as the equivalent of the existing B.A. This can be done either by creating a new University to confer such degrees, or by prevailing upon some existing University to do so. The Calcutta University alone, it is suggested, should give these degrees."

The Rev. F. W. Kellett, M.A., of the Madras Christian College, in the *Harvest Field*, while considering that the main objects it seeks are most desirable, it is well that proficiency in theology should be recognised. Such recognition would be a stimulus to the study of divinity, and would probably improve our Indian ministry and through them our

Indian Churches, but he says that the difficulties in the way of this arrangement, whether as regards the Calcutta or any other of the existing Indian Universities, are insuperable. Mr. Kellett, however, regards as supreme an opportunity relegated by Mr. Howells to a secondary position. Mr. Kellett says :—

“In 1827, it seems, Frederic VI., King of Denmark, granted a Charter to the Serampore College—then within his dominions—empowering it to confer degrees. By the treaty of 1845, which transferred Serampore to the British, this power was specifically continued to the Council of the College. The Charter is still valid, though the power conferred by it has never yet been exercised.” This is described as “the very thing we want. The present council of the Serampore College is the Committee of the Baptist Society, and their Secretary says he thinks they are willing to “delegate their degree conferring powers, granted by the Charter, to a Senate or Faculty representative of the various [Protestant?] Christian bodies working in India. Such conditions suggest the possibility of a Theological University for India under a Senate representative of Protestant Missions and Churches, free from non-Christian interference and as far as may be from State control. For students for the ministry to pass a Mission test is regarded as of more importance than for them to pass a Government test ; but, on the other hand, Government might not accept the B.D. degree as a test of fitness for Government service equivalent to the B.A.

At present the opinions of District Missionaries in various parts are being invited on the following questions :—

Should the Indian Universities be asked to formulate alternate courses of study for Arts Degrees, on the model, say, of Oxford, to enable under-graduate Theological students to graduate practically in Theology, or should they be asked to institute separate courses and degrees in Theology? Failing the foregoing, should steps be taken to utilise the Serampore Charter, with the approval of all concerned, for the granting of degrees in Theology under the direction of a Senate representative of the Protestant Missions in India? Thirdly, should non-graduation courses of Theological study in India be formulated in English and in the Vernaculars, a general or a Presidency Senate issuing certificates for proficiency ascertained by uniform examination; and, finally, should any Government recognition be asked for such non-graduate proficiency as is the case with regard to proficiency in Sanskrit and Arabic?

It will thus be seen that the project is maturing; and it is as a help to obtaining a sound and accurate view of the whole question that we venture to put forward the following remarks :—

The particulars to be considered are (1) whether the degrees are wanted; (2) what they are to be; (3) what will they be worth; (4) which plan would be the best, whether as regards feasibility or as regards the value of the degrees. And these are all important. The points noted above as placed before District Missionaries seem to assume these as taken for granted. Whether the degrees are wanted or will conduce to the real benefit of the Native Church and the progress of

Missions, or whether they will be worth anything at all, lie at the root of the whole matter. After these come the rest which are mere matters of detail.

First, then, are such degrees wanted, and will they conduce to the real benefit of the Native Church and the progress of Missions? We have to note here that the call has been made not by the mass of the laity, or even the workers in the Mission field, but by a teacher of a theological seminary. And again, not by such large and advanced sections of the Church, as the Gospel Propagation Society and the Church Mission Society, with their numerous and well-appointed Colleges and first class University-men Professors; or the splendidly-worked and endowed Colleges of the Scotch Missions; or the well-organised Seminaries and Colleges of the very numerous Methodist body; or even the popular Institutions of the London Missionary Society; but from the most inconsiderable section and the least-regarded in such matters. This alone would throw a doubt on the wisdom and propriety of the whole matter. It is strange that such a doubt never entered into the minds of those who have given in their adhesion. It will be time enough, we should think, to raise the question, when the call is made by the great mass of the laity and workers and the larger and more influential portions of the Church. We consider, then, the question to be premature, raised before its time, and as being only partially supported by a very small and uninfluential minority, should be set aside for the present.

But if it conduced to the real benefit and progress of the Native Church, it should certainly be persisted in and carried through. Here, too, we do not think the granting of Theological Degrees will prove of any utility. On the contrary, it will serve to repress that living flame of love in the hearts of the followers of Christ, who have tasted of His Salvation, which leads them to proclaim to others His Love, that His Name be glorified. That is, the efforts and zeal of humble but true workers, who perhaps do more than the office-bearers, will be considerably damped, if not quenched, by this show of learning in the leaders. "The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation"—not even with Degrees. What we may ask, have Theological Degrees to do with "The Love of Christ which passeth understanding?" Was St. Peter who proclaimed "Christ Crucified," who brought thousands at a time to see the infinite Love and Glory of the Saviour, and who gave himself up finally to be crucified with his head downward, a man who concerned himself with Theological Degrees? Or St. John, "the Beloved Apostle," who treated of the Essential Glory of Christ, and preached Love to the end,

with the Vision of the "City of God" before him? Or even St. Paul, the Learned, who would know nothing of Degrees, but only of "Jesus Christ and Him Crucified?" Indeed, it is a universally-acknowledged, and lamented, fact that in our University Education system at Home, the student who enters with a burning sense of zeal and love to Christ, finds little spiritual food but much Christless intellectual exercise, so that he has a constant struggle to maintain the flame of watchful devotion. This has been well brought out in "The Earnest Student" or Memories of Mackenzie's Life published by Dr. Norman Macleod, and also we believe referred to by the sainted McCheyne. Indeed, all our greatest and most sainted Missionaries have never concerned themselves with Theological Degrees. Why should they? Their work lay in exemplifying and proclaiming the Love of Christ to fallen man; and *the work of every Christian* lies in the same line. It is this alone that we ought to seek in the Indian Church, and one that in the opinion of many observers is much needed. It is for this purpose alone that millions of money are freely lavished by the Christian Churches in England and America. Indeed it is for this purpose alone that even the Theological Colleges in India themselves exist. And, we may add, not one of the numerous Theological Colleges at Home have ever concerned themselves about the granting of Theological Degrees to their students.

To set these Degrees before the eyes of the rising class of Indian preachers and teachers as the *acmé* of their ambition, is to delude the young to give them a false scent, and to betray our trust. It is to quench the work that is already progressing under serious obstacles and innumerable difficulties. Instead of love and devotion to, and service for, Christ, a pottering and smattering of false "criticism" and little Greek (probably no Hebrew at all) will come in. This, indeed, is a very delusion of the Arch-Enemy. There is no one who values learning—real and true learning, and not a mere smattering of it; no one who values more the expansion of the mind, and the grasp it gives over difficult and intricate mental problems; no one who thinks a learned ministry most appropriate to meet the learning of the Hindus; than we do. We have had some little share of that learning and expansion of the mind; but it was at an utterly disproportionate cost. And here we will mention an anecdote of a very learned Hindu Brahmin, Professor of the Calcutta Sanscrit College, who had read the New Testament over and over and over again, and believed in, and prayed to, Christ alone though he still remained a Hindu. During a conversation with him he told us that what India wanted was not "Bishops" and "Doctors

of Divinity," but "*men smitten with the love and zeal of St. Paul,*" men who would give up their lives for Christ, and show by *living example what a true Christian was.* That Hindu Brahmin Pundit but declared the truth which seems to be hid from our European Teachers and Professors of Christian Theological Colleges. He is long since dead, and though he died a Hindu Brahmin, and Brahmin rites were performed over his remains, we are firmly assured that he has found the grace and mercy of the Lord whom he believed in. And even in the living present, from distant Bengal, there comes to us the appeal of a powerful Hindu intellect, a very leading lawyer, who has read through the Gospels and Epistles, and who virtually acknowledges Christ, to help him in understanding the mysteries of the Christian faith. Would he do so were there St. Paul's "living Epistles of Christ" about him? He is, we may add, within the reach of half a score of Missions, and half a score of Christian Theological Colleges with their scores of Professors. Nay, we do not want "Theological Degrees," but the warm living loving sympathy and going out of ourselves of our Divine Master and His Apostles, for the young and growing Church in India. We do not decry learning, as will be seen further below, but a sham and a delusion of the Arch-Enemy.

Next; will these "Theological Degree" be worth anything? They will only mark a certain (poor) standard of reading and study. A "D. D." will consider himself greater than a "B. D." (although he has no reason to do so). On the other hand, a "B. D." will be regarded with awe and veneration by a mere "A. D." (associate of Divinity"), and that, too, probably without justification for it. Finally, as Native Ministers will never be appointed to European congregations, the "Degrees" will have to be called by Sanscrit or other vernacular equivalents for Indian Christians to apprehend their meaning. And in the vast secular world, including Government, the degree will be just worth nothing!

These "Theological Degrees," thus, are not wanted, will not conduce to the growth and peace of the Indian Church, and will be worth little or next to nothing as well as shams as betokening real learning.

For the Church of England, as it is, the Archbishop of Canterbury has the "faculty" of granting not only Theological but all the other degrees granted by the Universities, and as a fact, he occasionally exercises the right. And as he also grants the "M. A." degree, it does not stand to reason that the vast Church of England section will forego this valuable possession for mere "Theological Degrees" emanating even from an Indian University.

Assuming, however, that only a certain portion of the Indian Church, however sectional and small, *will* have these degrees, the questions are how best to go about it, and how to most enhance the value of the degrees. Here the points quoted above as having been placed before District Missionaries have their bearing.

These are:—Should the Indian Universities be asked to formulate alternate courses of study for Arts Degrees, on the model, say of Oxford, to enable under-graduate Theological students to graduate practically in Theology, or should they be asked to institute separate courses and degrees in Theology? It is quite clear that either of these may be done, but the former degree will be accepted as more valuable than the latter, and being already carried out at Home, may easily be transferred to this country as a right, lawful and proper thing. The Indian Universities are for every form of Belief, and if the Christians body unite here, their demand cannot well be refused. It is probable also that here the great Church of England section will give in their adhesion, and this is an important matter for the full success of the scheme.

The point put before the Missionaries after the preceding is:—Failing the foregoing, should steps be taken to utilise the Serampur Charter, with the approval of all concerned, for the granting of degrees in Theology under the direction of a Senate representative of the Protestant Missions in India? As we state above, the Universities in India can have no hesitation in following the example of Oxford, and, therefore, this question of the Serampur Charter is hardly necessary. Assuming, however, that it becomes necessary, we should think that the Serampur Charter should be taken full advantage of, that is, even for the granting of its own secular Arts and other degrees. But the trouble would lie in getting a Senate representative of all the Protestant Missions in India. If the Church of England unite in this, or even if the Church Mission Society only joined, there would be every chance of its being a great success.

The third point is:—Should non-graduation courses of Theological study in India be formulated in English and in the Vernaculars, a general or a Presidency Senate issuing certificates of proficiency ascertained by uniform examination? To this, we may say, no. There is not the least use of such trifling certificates.

Finally:—Should any Government recognition be asked for such non-graduate proficiency as is the case with regard to proficiency in Sanscrit and Arabic? We consider this as simply absurd.

There is no need to further enlarge on the subject of Theo-

logical Degrees for India. We have considered it from every point of view. The Degrees are not wanted, and will do no good but evil. But if taken in hand, they should be carried through the Indian Universities; and if not, through the Serampur Charter, making the degrees really valuable, and getting the great Church of England body to unite in the scheme. As for mere non-graduation certificates, and recognition of them from Government, the former is almost a shame to be mentioned in such a connection, and the latter is unreasonable and absurd.

THE EDITOR.

ART. XI.—A TRIBUTE.

Victoria—rightly named—whose great career,
From birth to death, was crown'd with Victory,
Whose world-wide Empire stretch'd o'er land and sea,
With "Pax Britannica" as watch-word clear,
Still reign within our hearts for ever near,
Tho' reft from earthly sight—since silently,
That desolated multitude stood by,
When wait'd the wintry wind around thy bier.

No more shall Sorrow on her peace intrude :
Safe from thy dread abyss, engulfing Time !
Shall She survive, the Glorious and the Good,
Revered in Eastern, as in Western, clime,
Embodiment of Sovereignty sublime,
And peerless type of perfect Womanhood !

C. A. KELLY.



ART. XII.—THE NAMBUÐRI-BRAHMINS OF KERALA.

TO the student of history, the Nambudri-Brahmins of Kerala furnish a fascinating subject of study. With a romantic past, they invite a most interesting present. Untouched by the current of modern civilisation, they have managed to keep their antique laws and customs in their pristine purity. Governed by Hindu Law as they are, many portions of it as administered to their brethren on the East Coast have no application to them. For, "it must be remembered that the personal law which they presumably carried with them was the Hindu Law as received by Brahmins at the time of their settlement in Malabar, and it is not the Hindu Law as modified by customs which have since come into prevalence among Brahmins of the East Coast." Similarly in manners, habits, and customs, they widely differ from them. Such as it is, we hope a short account of them will not be without some interest.

The term "Nambudri"* as applied to "Malayala-Brahmins" is a word of respect, of office and dignity, dating its origin from the great reformer and teacher of Kerala—San-karachariar of Kaladi.† As tradition would have it, Parasurama brought these Brahmins from a locality near Kurukshetra in Northern India to people the land he reclaimed from Varuna by austere penance performed in atonement of the sins of parricide and hero-slaughter. They came in large numbers and he located them in sixty-four gramams (villages) over the entire area, made them the absolute owners of the land, giving them flower and water as a token of the gift, created a militia of 36,000 men from among them called Rakshapurushars for the protection of the country, brought down Sudras for their service and gave them laws,—religious, moral, social and political—for their personal guidance and the proper administration of the land.‡

* From Dravidian Nambuka=to confide and Sans. *bri*=dignity, office (Gundart).

† See *Keralolpathi*.

‡ Jacob Canter Visscher, whose "Letters from Malabar" have been translated into English by Major Heber Drury, gives another version of the tradition:—"In by-gone ages the sea washed the foot of a mountain range which now lies seven or eight miles in land. The men who dwelt in the neighbourhood gained their subsistence by fishing along the mountain-shores. Now it happened that there dwelt at Gocarna near Goa a certain prophet renowned for sanctity whose name was Parasurama. He discovering to his sorrow that his aged mother had acquired an evil notoriety in the neighbourhood for her misdeeds, felt unable to endure the public shame she had brought upon him. At length inspired by a divine impulse, he

About the probable date of their settlement in Kerala, we have no precise information. Such of the facts as afford a reasonable inference are thus carefully collected by the distinguished judge and jurist of South India in a case reported in the 11th Volume of I. L. Reports, Madras series (p. 180-181). "There is internal evidence," says he, "to show that the event must have occurred before the *Mitakshara* was written. The *Sarvaswadanam* marriage is recognised in Malabar, and as far as we are aware, there is no allusion to it in the *Mitakshara* as a form of marriage in use. According to the latter, daughters are in the line of heirs and the Cochin expert Tiruvengidachari and several other witnesses say that they are not heirs among *Nambudris* unless they are given in *Sarvaswadanam* marriages and thereby retained in the family. We may also state that the migration must have taken place prior to the time of Sankaracharier, the founder of the Adwaita or non-dualistic school of Vedic Philosophy. It is in evidence that *Acharams* or practices of *Nambudris* are believed to have been regulated by him and he is known to have lived about fifth or seventh century. Again according to tradition Parasurama was the first king who introduced Brahmins into Malabar as an organised community, and a considerable period of time must have intervened between him and Sankaracharier. Further *Niyoga* or inviting a Brahmin to beget a son upon a childless widow for her husband was in use among Brahmins in early times, but at a later period several Smritis reproved the practice as 'fit only for cattle,' and under their influence various forms of adoption gradually took the place of *Niyoga* which was ultimately forbidden. The direction to marry specially for an *illom* (house) which is said to be founded on analogy to *Sarvasuradanam* marriage conveys the impression that the girl selected for the marriage is by special agreement substituted for the daughter born in the family into which she is married, so that her son and his descendants become the repre-

seized a rice winnow and hurled it with tremendous force from Gocarna right over the sea; by a wonderful miracle it was carried as far as Cape Comorin, upon which all the sea between the two places immediately dried up and was transformed into that tract of level land to which we now give the name of Malabar. The prophet resolved to take up his abode with his mother in the strange land hoping here to find a hiding place for his disgrace. Meantime the fishermen of the mountains hearing of the miracle flocked into these lowlands to seek for the seashore. The prophet met them, and knowing that a land without inhabitants is waste and desolate, persuaded them to remain and settle there; and in order the more to attract them, he invested them with the dignity of Brahmins. . . . He then took the fishing nets. . . . and tore them into strands which he twisted together to make the three cords which the Brahmins wear as a sign of dignity. . . . These Brahmins of Malabar are called "*Nambudris*." (Pages 9 and 10.)

sentatives of that *illom*. This is an indication that Nambudris settled in Malabar at a time when Niyoga was in disrepute so far as it authorised sexual intercourse between a woman and a person who was not her husband, and when there was a tendency to substitute a form of adoption for it, so that its value as a mode of affiliation might be retained. We can only say upon the evidence that Nambudris must have settled in Malabar more than 1200 or 1500 years ago. It may not be out of place to refer in connection with this historical fact to the interesting account given by Mr. Logan, of the probable mode and the time of settlement in Appendix I to his report on 'Malabar Land Tenures.' The conclusion to which he has come is stated by him in para. 64 as follows. I think there is enough to show that Nambudris entered and settled in Malabar in large numbers, and as an organised body precisely at the time (end of seventh and first half of eighth century) when the extinction of the Perumals' authority was for the first time menaced by the Western Chalukyas. It is reasonable to conclude that the Perumals received them with open arms at a time when, as shown by the Jewish and Syrian deeds, they were seeking succour from every quarter, and it is also reasonable to conclude that they, in some way, managed to do the Perumals some friendly office, for we find, from the Syrian grant, that they had already in A. D. 774 obtained commanding influences in the country."

According to Keralolpathi,* the original Brahmin settlers were pure Aryans. But whatever it be, it would be wrong to classify the present Nambudris—their descendants as pure Aryans, though their colour, stature and appearance may argue a pure Aryan parentage. It must be remembered that soon after the first colonisation, several waves of Brahmin immigrants from all parts of India poured into Kerala, "a land upon which nature has bestowed uncommon advantages"† and lived in peaceful comity with the first settlers. And various points of similarity exist even to day between Nambudris and the Dravidian Brahmins of the Telugu countries, in their customs and manners which materially shake their claim to pure Aryan descent.‡ And besides this, the testimony of experts is against them. "It has often been asserted and is the general belief of Ethnologists" writes Mr. Stuart in the Madras Census Report, 1891, "that the Brahmins of South are not pure Aryans but are a mixed Aryan and Dravidian race."

Like the other castes, the Nambudri caste may be divided

* This works pretends to be a trustworthy history of Malabar.

† Buchanan's Travels, vol. II, page 64.

‡ See Travancore Census Report, 1891, page 654.

into several classes. Broadly speaking it branches off into two great divisions—the first comprising persons who are entitled to the study of the Scriptures (technically called “Oathul-laver”), and the other consisting of those who are not entitled to it. Neither inter-dining nor inter-marriage is permitted between the two classes. Roughly estimated, of the sixty-four villages, the northern thirty-two belong to the first class and the rest to the latter.*

Another classification is according to the spiritual headship to which they owe their allegiance. There are at present two great ecclesiastical heads called Vádhyans of Trichur and Tirunavai, to one of whom every Nambudri in the land owes his allegiance. These heads belong to very ancient families and trace their ecclesiastical supremacy to Parasurama himself. The institutions at Trichur and Tirunavai called “Yogams” resemble “Mutts” in the other coast of the Presidency and are like them endowed with immense estates, the proceeds of which go to the maintenance and the religious training of Nambudri youths that belong to them. The origin of this dual headship is ascribed by the historian of Travancore to the great Brahmin reformer Sankaracharia. To quote his own words, “The improvements effected by Sankaracharia were that each of the divisions (Chourakoor and Pamiarkoor into which they were originally divided) should have a Vádhyan called Tirunavai Vádhyan and Trichur Vádhyan, that there should be under these two personages six Vydeekans, a set of *Maimasikans* and *Smarthans*.” But it is not clearly known what difference exists, if there be any, between the disciples of these Vádhyans. For practical purposes there seems to be none.

The Vydeekans are persons privileged to enquire into caste questions and disputes. Altogether there are, as pointed out above six Vydeekans, belonging to six different *illams* (families), a member generally the eldest being selected from each. The claim their authority for this as for everything else from thy great hero himself. In their council of enquiry, two form the quorum, and without the quorum, no investigation can be proceeded with. Their great weapon of punishment is “excommunication,” and like the Popes of olden days, they use it without any scruples for their own selfish ends. Of great learning and local influence, thoroughly versed in shastras and customary laws their authority is unquestioned and unquestionable and even now it remains as of yore. As a recent instance of the exercise of their power, the case of an English graduate of the land may be mentioned. Some years ago he had the audacity to commit the heinous and unpardonable sin

* See Travancore Census Report, 1891, page 659.

of crossing the "black waters" to the land of 'Hûnas'* and so on his return, the Vydeekans hauled him up before their tribunal and visited him with a condign punishment. And it is now fervently hoped that this example will be a wholesome lesson to others who may be infected with a desire to travel

" . . . among unknown men
In lands beyond the sea."

The most important principle of division is according to their social rank and status. Of all the several orders Nambudri *pads*† or Adhyans occupy the highest step in the social ladder, the family of the Azhuvanchéri Adhyans being in the foremost rank. Though eight other families have been recognised to be of equal repute and religious sanctity, they are not entitled to that peculiar respect and reverence paid to the Azhuvanchéri family. The members of this house are no common 'Nambudripads' but are 'Sovereigns' being addressed as 'Tamburakkals' on account of their supreme religious worth. The traditional account of their right to this distinguished title is highly interesting. When a member of this family was returning from a *Hiranyagarbhadanam* ceremony with a gold cow in hand, a Pariah accidentally met him on the road and reprimanded him thus: "We are the rightful owners of dead cows and not Brahmins. If not, our occupation is gone. Should this be yours, give it life and walk it home." Thereupon the Nambudri sprinkled a drop of water on the image and lo! it began to show signs of life. The Pariah stood aghast and exclaimed in astonishment and terror "O! you are Tamburakkal indeed!" They alone are privileged to administer on the "coronation day of the Cochiu and Travancore Rajas," and to them alone belong "the four highest privileges of honour and religious orthodoxy," viz., *Bhadrasanam*, *Sarvamanyam*, *Bhramasamrajyam*, and *Brahmavarchassu*.

After 'Adhyans' come "agnihotrees," persons who alone are entitled to keep the holy fire and perform sacrifices and then "Bhattatiris," person entitled to the study of Philosophy, having no right to perform sacrifices. Again these two orders are divided into various classes according to their pursuits in life, such as Vydeekans (Vedic judges), Vādhyans (priests and teachers), Tantrees (Purifiers of temple and consecrators of idols) and Shantees (temple worshippers).

In addition to the above are several others who have forfeited their right to the full privileges and status of the Nambudri caste by a variety of causes such as the practice of

* The Nambudri calls Englishmen "Hûnas."

† Pad=authority.

surgery and the taking up of arms. But as the term "Nambudri" as used in popular parlance does not connote these, it is needless to give any account of them here.*

"Every period of a Hindu's life, especially of a Brahmin's from his birth and even before his birth," writes Bishop Caldwell, "is attended by a host of ceremonies."† If this is true in general of all Brahmins, it is specially so of Nambudris. Before a Nambudri is six months old a host of ceremonies are performed on his account. *Pumsavamam* and *Seemantam*, ceremonies performed in the third and fourth months of conception prepare the way for the grander and more important ceremonies after birth. Within thirty-six hours after that event, the *Jatakarmam* ceremony is gone through with much éclat and pomp. Now for the first time the father looks at the darling child of his loins and bathing him, places him on his lap and pours down his throat a small quantity of a mixture of gold, honey and ghee. Mantras are recited and rich presents are given to Brahmins. When the child is a dozen days old, the parents utter its name in its ears, and after an interval of four months from this ceremony, called *Namakaramam* ceremony, the ceremony of taking it out of the house for the first time, is celebrated.‡ Two months after it is followed by the rice-giving ceremony. The father seats the child on his lap and feeds him with consecrated rice and honey. Mantras are recited at the time and the usual presents are given. There is much feasting and merry-making and the day is observed as a gala day.

Tonsure or chowlam (the shaving of the child for the first time) is an important affair. It gives the Nambudri boy his distinguishing mark. Unlike his brethren on the other side of the Ghauts, he wears his *Kudumai* (lock of hair) in front and this peculiarity has a very interesting tale to tell. The first settlers brought down by Parasurama did not remain in Kerala owing to "the dread of the myriads of serpents infesting the country." § Therefore when he brought down another set, he determined that they should not follow the example of their predecessors. And so he got all of them shaved from Gocarnam; || thinking that the contempt of foreigners for this queer fashion would be an effective check on their home-returning tendencies. On this occasion, it is the Marar (a class of temple servant) who plays the rôle of the barber. In the case of girls, only one or two hairs are clipped, but "there

* For a comprehensive table of the various classes see Ram Chandra Iyer's "Malabar Law and Custom."

† The Indian Antiquary, 1875, page 172.

‡ Called "*Nishkramanam*."

§ See Keralolpathi and Logan's '*Malabar Manual*,' page 222.

|| See Keralolpathi, page 6.

is no objection to remove all the hair except the Kudumai portion which should always be left."

Upanayanam, which is generally performed in the eighth year is a very important ceremony for all classes of Brahmins whether of the Malabar Coast or not. It is the ceremony which regenerates a Brahmin youth, which entitles him to the study of the Vedas, and to all the other privileges which are his birthright. Without this he is not a Brahmin; he is worse than a Sudra. The ceremony is performed on an auspicious day in the *Utharayanam* period (*i.e.*, the period when the sun is north of the equator). "On the day previous to the appointed one, the *Nandi* is performed when a *Sradha* is observed and Brahmins are fed. The next day, the usual initial proceedings over, the boy is made to wear the sacred thread and perform sacrifice to the fire in the midst of which he is made to put on a waist string made of a certain kind of grass and the skin of the animal called Krishnamrigom. The ceremony of investiture begins by the youth's standing opposite the sun and walking thrice round the fire. Then girt with thread he asks alms from the assembled company. This begging for alms indicates that the youth undertakes to provide himself and his preceptor with food." * He is now taught the holy gayatiri.

After Upanayanam, the period of studentship commences. Throughout this period, which "may last to three, nine, eighteen or even to thirty-six years," the Nambudri youth is with "hermit heart," "to scorn all delights and live laborious days." For him the study of the Dattu (Vedas) and the punctilious performance of *Sandhaya Vandanam*s are to be the only recreations; a coarse piece of cloth to cover his nudity and a strap of Krishnamrigom's skin across the chest are to be the only ornaments.

With such rigid observances and practices, the period of study is brought to a close by the ceremony of *Samavartanum*. The details are considerably simple. Bathing before the day-break and performing the usual morning services and sacrifices, the youth parts with the symbols of studentship—the waist-string of grass and the wand—and after a shave, he bathes inside the house in water which the sun has not touched, puts on his dress and castemark and then concludes the homam. Throughout the day, he shuts himself up in his room for fear of exposing himself to the rays of the sun. But soon after sunset he concludes the ceremony by looking at the moon and the stars. This ceremony—an essential preliminary to 'marriage'—is incumbent on all Nambudri youths and its omission is to be paid with the loss of their caste. †

* Travancore Census Report, 1891, pages 664 and 665.

† Malabar Marriage Commission Report, Deposition of witness No. 93

Thus Samavartanum leads us to the subject of 'marriage.' 'Marriage' among Nambudris is a very different affair from that of the other classes of Brahmins. To the latter, marriage is a right and a privilege, and also, in a certain sense, an obligation. Among 'Nambudris' none—whether male or female—is *obliged* to marry while only the happy few are entitled to do so. Let me explain what I mean. Among non-Nambudri Brahmin classes all males are entitled to a marriage sanctioned and recognised by law and religion, and their females are obliged to marry before puberty at the pain of excommunication from caste. But among this curious people it is only the eldest son in a family that is entitled to enter into holy wedlock, and his brothers are left to lead a life of concubinage "assisting the ladies of the Rajas, and of the Nairs of distinction to keep up their families."* In the case of females, not only the doctrine of compulsory marriage before puberty has no existence, but many of them even die without tasting the pleasures and enjoyments of "married life," and as if "to make a tardy retribution—if it deserves that name to the woman who dies unmarried, the corpse it is said cannot be burnt till a *tali* is strung round the neck of the corpse while lying on the funeral pile by a competent relative."† But it is important to note that, however different it may be in other respects, the effects of 'marriage' are identical among all classes of Brahmins. For "a Nambudri woman, in common with a Brahmin on this side of the Ghauts, takes her husband's *Gotram* upon her marriage and passes into his family from that of her father; and perpetual widowhood and incapacity to re-marry on her husband's death are the incidents of marriage both among Nambudris and Brahmins of the East Coast."‡

The marriage ceremony is not very complex in details. We have the usual consultation of horoscopes, the appointment of the marriage day, and the settlement of the dowry, the magnificent procession of the bridegroom and his party to the bride's *illam*—escorted by an array of Nairs armed with swords and shields; the equally magnificent reception at the gate by a levy of white-robed Nair beauties, and the sumptuous meal called *Avimenu*, the usual prelude to the ceremonies of the day. Then the bridegroom is formally welcomed by the bride's parents, as a sign of which the father washes his feet and a Nair woman as the mother's proxy, waves a plate of *Ashtamangalyam* before his face, and is led in procession to the wedding *Pandal* which rings with the shrill notes of joy

* Buchanan's Travels, Vol. ii, page 105.

† Logan's *Malabar Manual*, page 127.

‡ I. L. R., 4. ii Mad., 161.

made in concert with Nambudri women who hide themselves behind a screen and peep through its artificial holes. Now the bride joins the bridegroom and throwing flowers at his feet, presents him with a wreath of flowers. Throughout the ceremony, the bridegroom is armed with a stick and a string, while the bride is equipped with an arrow and a mirror—symbols which in all probability point to the days when might was right in marriage as in everything else. The Vedic hymns are recited and the *father* ties the tali round his daughter's neck and then gives her and the settled dowry to the bridegroom for his formal acceptance. Then follow the usual *Saptapati*, the Hema, the father's advice to the bridegroom to take good care of his wife, and their immediate departure to the bridegroom's house. "On reaching the husband's *illom*, the wife is taken charge of by the elderly matrons and initiated in the household duties which consist of planting a jasmine shoot in the inner yard of the house and watering it with ceremony. On the fourth night, the wife serves food to her husband and then the couple retire to the bed-room"* On the following day the ceremonies are brought to a close by the bridegroom, laying aside his staff and untying the sacred thread on his arm. An interesting custom in their marriage ceremony is that of the married couple standing beside a tub of water in which small fishes are placed and capturing them by means of a cloth. The significance of this curious practice is not quite clear. Some take it as pointing to their origin from fisherman-caste while others explain it as an indication of their wish to be as fruitful as the fish.

Such in brief is an account of their ordinary and accepted form of marriage. Besides this, there are two other kinds of marriage prevalent among them, *e.g.*, *Sarvaswadanam* and *Kypidichuzekkal marriages*. Of these the former is referable to ancient Hindu Law "which authorised the appointment of a daughter or her male child as the legitimate son of her father for the purpose of funeral obsequies and of inheritance and the formula used during that marriage is the text of Vasishta which is as follows: 'I give unto thee this virgin (who has no brother) decked with ornaments, and the son who may be born of her shall be my son.' It is the special agreement between the bride's father and her husband that distinguishes *Sarvaswadanam* from an ordinary marriage and it suggests nothing more than a form of affiliation in use under ancient Hindu Law. It is in fact a case of adoption, the difference between this and the ordinary adoption consisting in that the affiliation was made during the daughter's marriage

* Ramachandra Iyer's 'Malabar Law' Introduction, page 5.

and in the expectation that she might have a son."* By this marriage the issue of the union becomes for all practical purposes the son of the maternal grand-father, and till he is born the son-in-law holds the property as a trustee to the son ready to hand it back to the *illom* in the event of a failure of such issue.† The right to make such a marriage is often exercised by Nambudri widows and unmarried females.‡

About *Kypidichuvekkal* marriage much need not be said. It has not the sanction of the Shastras and as such is of slight significance. It is resorted to only in cases where the father of the girl is too poor to give a dowry, or where the girls to be given in marriage are either several in number or deformed or sick. As to its incidents, opinion is not uniform. In a suit brought for maintenance by the daughter whose mother was married in this form, the defendant, her deceased father's brother, pleaded that she was not entitled to be maintained by him as she was the heir of her mother's *illom* and not of her father's. But the evidence on this point was hopelessly conflicting and vague, and consequently the alleged custom was held not to be proved.§ In this, there is no dowry and the wife generally lives in her own house.

Considering the peculiar law of marriage, and the vigorous exactness with which it is followed, one may feel surprised at the extremely few instances of immoral conduct found among the community. But this pleasing though surprising phenomenon is to be chiefly ascribed to a safety-valve in the system—I refer to the practice of polygamy¶—no less than to the very severe penalty meted out to the delinquent. Whenever a Nambudri lady is suspected of immoral conduct, strangely enough, it is her own people that publish her shame. The head of her *illom* calls an assembly of kinsmen and friends and institutes a private enquiry of a searching nature by examining the *Vrishali* (maid servant) of the suspected woman. Where evidence sufficient to constitute what lawyers call "moral certainty" is not forthcoming, the enquiry is at once stopped and the matter dropped as groundless. Otherwise it is carried to the ears of the local chief, who, after satisfying himself of the reasonableness of the charge, issues a writ to the *Smarthen* and deposes as his agent 'a Vedic scholar of the court.' All of them go to the *Smarthen's* house and laying down a sum of money as a present, place the case before him.

* I. L. R., 11 Mad., 163.

† Mayne 'On Hindu Law and Usages,' page 78.

‡ Ramchandra Iyer's 'Malabar Law,' page 23.

§ Malabar Law Reports, Vol. I. K. N. Nambudri vs. T. M. A. Bhattacharipad.

¶ Surgeon-Major Cornish thus writes in his Madras Census Report 1871; "The Nambudri-Brahmins may marry as many as seven wives."

He then sends for the *Mainmansikens* and with them, immediately starts to the house of the wrong-doer. Standing at a respectful distance from her, and without being seen by her, he commences the investigation by a series of questions addressed to her through her Nair maid, who invariably acts on the occasion as an intermediary. Then the *Mainmansikens* and the *Smarthen* retire to analyse the evidence, and if they agree in her innocence, the enquiry is at once stopped and they all lie prostrate before her and beg to be excused. If the verdict be against her, the *Smarthen* confronts her and probes the matter more into details. From this period she is called "a thing" and removed to a particular part of the house called "*Anchampura*" and kept under close surveillance. The opinion of the assembly is communicated to the chief, and, with his permission, a needy *Pattar* (a foreign Brahmin) who will do anything for money calls out the names of the culprits—for the adulterer too is punished—and pronounces the sentence of excommunication on them. Immediately after, a *Pallichan* (the remover of pollution in the village) runs up to the unfortunate woman and deprives her of the characteristic umbrella which every Nambudri lady carries with her as a protection from public gaze; and as she slowly walks out of her house the rest of the females—without the least pity or remorse for the forlorn wretch—clap their hands at her back in utter derision and exuberant joy. Then the inmates of the *illom* perform a mock funeral ceremony of the departed being and attends the 'feast of purification' (*Sudhabhojanam*) "when for the first time since the trial commenced the relations of the accused woman are permitted to eat in company with their caste-fellows, and with this feast which is partaken of by every Nambudri who cares to attend, the troubles of the family come to an end." *

Though there is no uniformity of opinion as to the origin of this curious marriage-law, it may reasonably be attributed to the desire "of maintaining the impartibility of their estates."† To this supreme desire, which, by the way, is not peculiar to Nambudris alone may be traced various other laws and customs which are probably obsolete in all advanced communities. Their Law of Partition is entirely different from that of their brethren of the East Coast. According to the well-re-

* Logan's '*Malabar Manual*,' page 126.

† Wigram's '*Malabar Law and Custom*,' page 3. Mr. Buchanan thus accounts for it: "In order to prevent themselves from losing dignity by becoming too numerous, the younger sons of a Nambudri family seldom marry." vol. II, p. 105. Mateer in his '*Land of Charity*' blindly following Buchanan writes thus: "To keep down the numbers of this caste, the eldest son alone in a family is allowed to marry in a regular form, &c." It needs little hesitation to say that this view is utterly ridiculous.

cognised principles of Hindu Law, a member of a *Mitakshara* family acquires in the family fund an interest as soon as he is born—an interest which he can, at any moment, claim by Partition whether the others like it or not. Of course the Nambudri too acquires an interest by birth in the ancestral property, but it is only an interest in virtue of which he can claim to be fed and clothed, and in some cases to be educated and for nothing else. For among them as among Nairs “family property is not liable to be divided at the instance of any one of the co-parceners.”*

Their Law of Inheritance is another instance of the same motive. It is essentially different from the common Hindu Law of Inheritance, but in some points it is essentially identical with it. Among Nambudris, except in certain families,† succession is traced through males and property passes from father to son. “Legal marriage is the basis of succession among them as among the Brahmins of the East Coast. That is, we have the notion of paternal relation founded upon legal marriage as the cause of inheritance both under Hindu Law and among Nambudri-Brahmins.” Again the rule of collateral succession is the same under both systems, and both systems recognise alike “the authority of the Vedas and the Smritis and the efficacy of ceremonial observances and of funeral and annual obsequies.” But among Nambudris it is only the eldest in a family who is entitled to succeed as to marry—a custom which is unmistakably the result of their desire to keep the impartibility of their estates,‡ and the rest have only a right to be fed and clothed at the expense of the family. If at the time of the father’s death, the son is younger than any of his uncles, then he is superseded by the eldest of them, but in their absence and in case of his minority, the eldest female of the family succeeds to the property.

Adoption is another topic in which Nambudris differ from other Brahmins. To point out some of the more important differences. While according to the accepted principles of Hindu Law, the absence of a male heir in the fourth degree entitles a person to exercise the right of adoption, among Nambudris the existence of *any* male heir of whatever degree who is eligible to marry and beget sons, serves as a positive bar to its exercise. Adoption as it prevails among them is obsolete in other parts of India, for “it does not completely sever the person adopted from his natural family and fix him

* I. L. R., 11 Mad, p. 162.

† Nambudris of ‘*Payaganur*’ village are Marumakkatayam (succession through females) people. Parasurama asked all the Brahmin settlers to follow Marumakkatayam law. But all, except one solitary village, sternly refused it. (See Keralaipathi, page 10.)

‡ See Logan’s “Manual of Malabar.”

in the adoptive family." Again there is a great difference between the two systems as regards the widow's power to adopt. For, on the East Coast, "she should be expressly authorised either by her husband or his sapindas," but among Nambudris the authority is presumed, as in Bombay, if not expressly prohibited. Another difference lies in the number of persons that can be adopted at one time, for Hindu Law dis-countenances adoptions of two or more persons at the same time,* but the Nambudri law recognises simultaneous adoptions by a widow as valid and binding.†

Keeping these broad differences in view, let us proceed to describe their several forms of adoption. Their regular and religious adoption is called "*Pathekayyil Dattu*" or adoption with ten hands, the hands of both the natural and adoptive parents who must be alive, and the hands of the boy being joined when the gift is made. Dattachomam is performed, but adoption is in the *Dwayamushayana* form," and so the adopted son is entitled to "the property of both his natural and adoptive fathers."‡ The other kind of religious adoption is called *Chauchamatha* adoption, i.e., adoption by burning a pan of sacred grass. "Either the father or mother of the adopted son gives away by himself or herself the son to be adopted and a male or female himself or herself accepts the son in adoption. Dattachomam is performed in connection with this adoption also"§ The last kind of adoption is popularly known as *Kudwairittila Dattu* and is in much favour among the people. It differs from the other two in its "being entirely based on secular motives"|| and in its close resemblance to the *Krtrima* adoption still practised in Mithila. By this adoption a person is appointed as heir to the family either by the sole surviving widow or male member of the *illom*, and "the form is said to consist in adopting the person who may be an adult or a married man without any ceremony, and by simply giving a writing to the heir appointed or sending information to the Raja." And where it is desired to perpetuate the line of the adopter, the adoptee receives a special appointment to marry and raise up issue for the *illom* or the line of the adopter.¶

So much for their peculiar laws. Now let us turn our attention to their mode of life, their manners and social usages, their position in the land and kindred things.

* Mayne on "Hindu Law, &c.," page 110.

† Ramachandra Iyer's "Malabar Law," p. 23.

‡ I. L. R., 11 Mad., pages 177 and 178.

§ I. L. R., 11 Mad., pages 177 and 178.

|| Ramachandra Iyer's "Malabar Law," Chap. V.

¶ Mayne "On Hindu Law and Usage," page 217

As pointed out in the beginning, they are a handsome race—tall, fair and intelligent in appearance. Though to be met with occasionally in Law Courts and other public haunts, they are essentially a rural folk. "Away from the busy hum of men" may be seen large mansions situated on the banks of "streams that murmur as they run," or on the sides of mountain cataracts "that blow their trumpets from the steep." There in the midst of plenty of crowned, surrounded by their large retinue of followers, and looked up to by them as gods on earth, they lead a life of comparative tranquility; of supreme contentment and unruffled ease. No other Brahmin is so punctual in his religious observances as the Nambudri. Rising very early in the morning, he bathes and performs his religious services which generally last till 10 or 10-30 in the day. Then after a simple but comfortable meal he either takes a short *nap* or

"... entertains the harmless day
With a religious book or friend."

Then again at about four in the evening, he bathes and prepares for his evening prayers, thus serving God "both late and early" he lives in serene bliss,

"Unvexed by cares or fears or strife."

No person in the world is so conservative as the Nambudri. Never has he figured in any of our great movements—political, religious or social—nor has he ever crossed the threshold of any of our schools. A firm and faithful adherent of ancient custom, he considers any violation of it to be a sacrilege and a sin. Modern civilization which has effected many a visible change in other men's thoughts and lives, has never yet touched the hem of his garment and as such, he often appears to us as an idiot and a fool and not unfrequently becomes an innocent victim in the hands of his too astute followers. By nature he is simple and frank. His charity and hospitality are proverbial. To all but to his tenants

"Large is his bounty and his soul sincere."

In dress as in other things he keeps the archaic simplicity. A *pavu-mundu** round his waist, a *dholi* of the same kind across his chest, a gold belt for the waist and some rings for his ears and fingers constitute his holiday attire. The new fangled coat and trousers have very little charms for him, and if at all he adopts them, it is in a fashion peculiarly his own.

As the *Jenmi* (the absolute owner of land) and the sole repository of all learning—whether scriptural, or secular, the Nambudri occupies a commanding place in the land. He is

* A cloth of very fine texture.

ever careful to assert his superiority on all occasion and by all possible ways. In address, as in conversation most humiliating and servile language must be used. "His person is holy; his directions are commands; his movements are processions; his meal is nectar; and his house is a palace," while the others are his slaves; their rice is stony or gritty rice; their money is copper cash; their houses are huts; their clothes are dirty—rags, and their persons are unclean.

As a landlord, he is very exacting towards his tenants.* Not satisfied with the due payment of the proper rents, he claims also a right for anything he may take a fancy for in his tenant's possession. Like the feudal barons of old, he takes "*forced presents*" from them on all possible occasions. A marriage in the *illom*, the birth of a son in the family, a birthday or a funeral ceremony—all these imply so much "increased bleeding" of the poor peasants. A little hesitation in complying with his holy behests entails the certain loss of their ancient holdings, and in all probability some social difficulties. Under such circumstances as these, is it a wonder that some tenants who are alien in faith and as such restrained by no religious scruples, take up arms against this sea of troubles and seek some momentary relief in shedding the life-blood of a dozen of them?†

However low the status of a Sudra be, it is curious to note that no Nambudri in the land can do away with him. They cannot perform any ceremony whatever without his aid. The origin of this peculiar custom is ascribed to Sankaracharia. With an intellect of a very high order and an acute power of observation, he saw at a glance the absurdities of the Nambudri customs and became their hostile critic at an early age. And according to the usual fate of all reformers, he became the object of their displeasure, and the Nambudri Society out-casted him as a bastard and refused to help him in his mother's obsequies. But undaunted by this, the young reformer got Sudras to perform all ceremonies that ought to be performed by a junior member of the *illom*, and from thence began the custom of "no ceremonies for Brahmins without the assistance of a Sudra."<‡

A word about their females before we conclude. They differ in essential respects from their sisters of the East Coast. In beauty and cleanliness of person they have few equals in the

* Mr. Nagam Anjah in his Travancore Census Report, 1891, gives a very glowing picture of this. Perhaps it refers to a golden "age" that is past.

† I refer to the Mappila risings. All of them have brought this point before the public very prominently. In all of them, it is significant to note, wealthy Nambudri Jennies were the chief victims.

‡ Indian Antiquary, 1875, page 255.

land. They have no craze for costly ornaments and clothes. A pair of gold ear-rings of a peculiar make, some rings for the nose and the fingers, brass bangles for the arm, and a *tali* for her neck are the usual ornaments of a Nambudri female. White is not with them an emblem of widowhood as with their sisters in other lands and they always dress in spotless white. A long country-made coarse cloth round her waist and a coarse sheet of the same kind of cloth, serving the function of a bodice make the full complement of a Nambudri lady's dress. As their name "Anthaijanam or Akathammar" (women inside the house) indicates, they observe strict rules of seclusion. "The married female is not allowed to be seen by any male, even of the family or her caste people. She is to move under the screen or cover of a large sized umbrella and is always to be attended by a female servant who goes before her (calling out Ahai, Ahai) whenever she steps out of doors."* Like the Brahmin ladies of other parts, they observe perpetual widowhood, but unlike them, they do not shave their heads, or in any other way disfigure their persons. Suttee is forbidden and infant marriage is never the practice.

K. N. CHETTUR, B.A., B.L.

* Shankunni Menon's "History of Travancore," page 76.

ART. XIII.—OUR PRESENT RULERS AND CHIEFS.

I RECKON these to be nine in number, the chief of course being His Excellency the Viceroy. They stand in the following order:—The Viceroy, Governor of Bombay, Governor of Madras, the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, the North-West Provinces, the Punjab, and Burmah, and the Chief Commissioners of Assam and the Central Provinces. The Viceroy has a general control and supervision over the whole, Bombay and Madras, however, having their appointments made from home, being almost absolutely out of his personal interference. The four Lieutenant-Governors he nominates from Indian officers, and though they are his Lieutenants, and theoretically he can interfere with them, he shows a wise prudence in refraining from doing so. Practically knowing little or next to nothing of these great governments, he would be rash to intrude and only betray his own ignorance. Assam and the Central Provinces, being only Chief Commissionerships, may be reckoned still more directly under him; but, as a matter of fact, these receive the least of his care and attention. He, thus, has nearly the whole of his time free. And it is supposed that the present Viceroy, when he is not spending his time in pleasant retreats in the Himalayas, or writing out some of his “speeches”—he is said to have some half a dozen always ready in advance for occasions—is engaged in rummaging about old records and papers—of which there are shiploads—for antiquarian purposes or to gain some old buried and lost ideas, and put them forth as quite new and his own. But even all these pleasant and diverting ways of passing the time do not quite occupy him; hence his creation of a new Frontier Province directly and immediately under him.

I am, however, anticipating. One of old gave utterance to a thought deep in the nature of things: “the first shall be last, and the last first”—nor that there is any implication here that Mr. Frazer will become Viceroy. But I have always found it helping me, in going through anything, to take “the last” first. This is the order pursued even by philosophic students of nature: “from nature to nature’s God.” And, in smaller matters, it does well to get rid of the little things first, reserving thus one’s strength to deal with the greatest or toughest job last. Hence, in these brief sketches I furnish, I shall proceed, in due order, from the last to the first of the above-noted small and great Indian Chiefs and Rulers we have now in charge of the country.

First, then, comes the small-great "Honourable Mr. Frazer, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces." He is "small," because he is the last on the list, but "great" in the estimation of his scribe who furnishes the notes and reports about him to the *Pioneer*. He is also only "Honourable;" for a Lieutenant-Governor is styled "His Honour," a Governor "His Excellency," the Viceroy himself being "His Mightiness the Great Mogul." The Honourable Mr. Frazer was born in India, being the son of an old Missionary, like Mr. Merk, Commissioner of the Derajat, and a few others who might be named who have got on pretty well in the service. Being an "Indian" Mr. Frazer knows Indian ways, and perhaps has them bred in him, and regards a word of praise in the *Pioneer* sufficient to advance him in the matter of promotion. Unlike the other Chief Commissioners of the Central Provinces, who were brought from outside—and thus had wide and varied experience of India,—in the graduated order of promotion to higher offices, Mr. Frazer began his career in the Central Provinces, and has always been there. He thus became Chief Commissioner by seniority; for what else was to be done with him? From a mere Commissionership there he could not well be promoted and put over other and larger governments. An effort, indeed, was made for a brief while under a previous Viceroy, to give him a chance of showing his worth, by appointing him to the Acting Home Secretaryship, but he failed so egregiously in coming up to the mark that he was relegated back to his original sphere. Such is Mr. Frazer, who gets such neatly-written accounts in the *Pioneer* of how condescendingly and gracefully he moved about among his guests at Pachmarhi, almost as a Viceroy would do at a Government House party, or how he opened such a Spinning Mill, or met such and such villagers at such a village. His time in the Central Provinces will be up some time, and the question is, what to do with him? He knows nothing of India outside of his own present rule, or else he might look forward to the Chief Commissionership of Assam, as a step for further promotion afterwards. Sir Charles Lyall jumped from the Central Provinces to the India Council, but Sir Charles was a scholar, and had been previously long tried as Secretary to the Government of India. A minor post about the India Office at home, too, would not be coveted by Mr. Frazer even if he could fulfil the duties attached to it, for, as said before, his associations are all Indian. Of course he might get Assam, but Assam is probably reserved for Mr. Fuller. To put him on to Burmah on Sir Frederick Fryer's departure would be to risk good government there, and probably too great for him to look forward to.

What an unhappy position!—there is nowhere he can be either placed, or promoted, and like a previous Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces who had grown locally, Colonel Neele, the present post will have to be his last. He could not even be placed out to watch our relations at the Nizam's Court, which requires diplomatic art of a high order. Mr. Fuller has some claims for Assam and will doubtless get it; but he may resign his claims in favour of Mr. Frazer, thus giving the latter a chance. One of the most difficult, as well as delicate, tasks of a Viceroy is to adjust conflicting claims for high appointments. Mr. Frazer has done nothing as yet for the Central Provinces—not even been actively moving about his extensive charge as Sir Richard Temple did—to bring him forward, or specially recommend him for promotion. And mere “seniority” will not serve him any further than what he has got to. But—and it is a big But—the *Pioneer* is his friend. I come next to Mr. Cotton, Chief Commissioner of Assam.

Unlike Mr. Frazer, Mr. Cotton is a clever writer and pretty active though like him he is a pro-Native. Mr. Cotton first brought himself to notice by making a high bid for (future) promotion to the Bengal Government by writing his *New India*—a work of which the less said the better. Further, his expression of pro-Bengali ideas was so marked as almost to create consternation. After having served as Secretary and so forth, he was “shunted” off to Assam to get rid of him. He has done nothing in Assam as yet, and the end of his term is near. The Railways were projected before him, and even for the Chittagong line the credit is due to the Hon'ble D. R. Lyall, late Member of the Board of Revenue. He has only, after marked “chumming” with a leading member of the Tea fraternity in the columns of the *Indian Daily News* in the matter of extending the Permanent Settlement into Assam, fallen foul of the very Tea-planting community lately with his Assam Labour Bill. Mr. Cotton, thus, has shown no fitness for promotion to Burmah, least of all for such a mighty charge as the eighty millions of varied interests and diverse races of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. He may, however, yet get Burmah on the principle of those children being most loved who give the most trouble. And he will be far enough away in Burmah to go into as many vagaries as he likes. Perhaps even from there he will give trouble. It is a pity he cannot go through the term of a Secretary to the Government of India, so that the Viceroy may tame him down, “comb” him, lick him into shape, and make him think a little less of himself and his pet theories.

My next subject is Sir Frederick Fryer, Lieutenant-Governor

of Burmah. Burmah is well out of India, and requires special treatment, and Sir Frederick Fryer has been able to supply this with his long and intimate knowledge of the country. He is not a brilliant man, nor has he quite pleased the European independent element in Burmah, who would gladly see the country placed under the Colonial Office. As Sir Frederick Fryer will shortly retire, and does not look forward to further promotion, there is little more to be said about him. It is quite possible, however, that he may be induced to take Bengal. If so, Bengal could not wish for a safer man, and one without crotchets.

Next comes Sir Mackworth Young of the Punjab. Like most of the Punjab Lieutenant-Governors, Sir Mackworth Young had gone through a certain preparation for his office, and reputably has done well. It is reported, however, that his presence in Simla has been personally unacceptable to the Viceroy, and that not only has that been the cause of determining the latter to carry out at once the relieving him of the outlying and most important parts of his dominion, but of even requesting him to remove his summer quarters elsewhere—Lord Curzon being, it is said, unable to stand a Scotchman, and also, like a certain character in Pope, to “bear a brother near the throne.” This removal is purposeless, and will cost an immense sum, but the present Viceroy has a facility for spending public money in such ways, and also a facility for explaining their reasonableness which he alone can perceive. As we shall see after, he is a peculiarly gifted mortal in many, if not in most respects. But to return to Sir Mackworth Young;—he has been particularly unfortunate in having doubly reduced the importance and *prestige* of the Punjab as the most important and fighting division of India, and as being almost one with the summer court and capital of the Viceroy. The glory of the Punjab, however, as having cost us the severest campaigns, as furnishing the finest fighting men, as containing the most and best troops, as having helped to turn the tide in the Mutiny, as having been the great acquisition of the greatest Proconsul India has known, as having furnished the finest administrators from the commencement under Sir John Lawrence and his famous band of Lieutenants, as containing three such cities as Delhi, Lahore, and Amritsar, and as being still the bulwark of India against invasion from the North-West, and where the brunt of the battle will fall, can never depart for all the funny efforts of a weak-minded Viceroys whose evil work may be undone by his successor or some future imperious Dalhousie who will brook no resistance to his will. The whirligig of time sometimes brings on sudden and startling revenges, and the present

Viceroy may live to see some of them. In any case, Sir Mackworth Young leaves the Punjab shortly, and his successor is variously named. In it is one of the Prizes of the service, but now not to be compared with either the North-West Provinces or Bengal. There would have been a choice of men had Mr. Holderness continued in India. Unfortunately, there are no very prominent men to draw from Madras or Bombay, as has sometimes been done before. Mr. Rivaz has been generally named for the post, and probably the choice will rest on him.

Sir Antony MacDonal, as he spells his Gaelic name since he became Chief in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, will also shortly vacate his post. He has gone through almost all India—saving of course Bombay and Madras—except the Punjab. He began life in Bengal, and rose step by step by dint of sheer—what shall I call it? The young man from the Galway bogs could not be repressed. He had a head on his shoulders. There is not an official in India, not even the present Viceroy, who could have written Sir Antony's masterly minutes on the Bengal Lands Survey Question, or unravelled the old Forest jumble, or got through the complicated North-West Provinces Tenancy Question. And Sir Antony has been equally vigorous and all-guiding and supervising in the awful famines he has had to cope with. But just as "virtue is its own reward," so he must be content to bear the practical non-recognition of his superabounding merits by an ungrateful country and find his extinction probably in the Secretary of State's Council. He cannot hope to be a future Governor of Bombay after Lord Northcote's excellent rule, though there have been Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Richard Temple there. At all events, the young Galway man cannot complain that the Fates have been unkind to him, and it is a startling fact that well-nigh the whole service in the North-West Provinces and Oudh will be glad of his departure. I wonder what the Viceroy would have done had Sir Antony been the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab instead of Sir Mackworth Young. I do firmly believe that instead of the Lieutenant-Governor having to shift his quarters, Sir Antony would have compelled Lord Curzon to have moved away to Mussoorie, or even Darjeeling, in fact, any where out of near proximity to Sir Antony. The question also arises, who will take Sir Antony's place? Universal public opinion in the North-West Provinces whether European or Native, where they know him best, points to Mr. La Touche, the sweetest-dispositioned and kindest-hearted man going, who, as Sir Antony's Chief Secretary, managed to make his unbearable rule endurable.

Bengal, too, must soon lose Sir John Woodburn. Sir John

Woodburn, unlike Sir Antony MacDonal, has never attracted much public notice. How, from being quite unknown, he happened to get the Chief Commissionership of the Central Provinces, and thence was quietly transferred to the Government of India Secretariat, was at one time matter of comment. Then he got on to Bengal to the exclusion of Sir Antony, who was looking for it. Perhaps it is as well he did so, for Bengal has had a peaceful and tranquil time under him. One of his principal acts was to undo the work of Sir Antony in the matter of the Survey Settlement, whereby he gained the lasting gratitude of the Bengali Zemindars. He has also always stuck by the Service ; and somehow or other has not managed to rouse the wrath of the Bengali Press—which is a remarkable feat for any one, as I may predict Lord Curzon will find for himself before he leaves a couple years hence. I cannot account for Sir John's success all through, except his quiet steadiness in work. Unlike previous Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, Sir John Woodburn had no meteoric career previously. Who will be his successor ? Of course the vaulting ambition of Mr. Cotton would like to see himself appointed. I am afraid, however, that a long course of Burmah is before him before he can hope for Bengal, and that this will be reserved for Sir Frederick Fryer if he can be induced to take it. If not——? In Bengal itself, at present, there is no one approaching Mr. Buckland, the Chief Secretary, for experience and ability, but as the Viceroy does not like ability when too near him Mr. Buckland has not much chance. He may be pushed on to Assam if Mr. Frazer or Mr. Fuller does not get it. But although Assam of the present day offers the fullest field for a really able man, and Mr. Buckland may make his mark there and bring on Chittagong as an outlet for the produce of Eastern Bengal, I feel that Mr. Buckland's talents and abilities will be quite lost in it.

I need not take up Madras at length. Lord Ampthill has done nothing as yet beyond paying a first visit round a small part of the country. His antecedents as one out of several Private Secretaries to Mr. Chamberlain, and one whom he was willing to lose, do not say or promise much for him. His career will probably be like that of most Madras Governors : a respectable mediocrity, with a return to private life at home.

Still less need be said of Lord Northcote of Bombay. He has had to combat both famine and plague. He has not belied expectations, and further, has won the esteem, and even the affection of Bombay. He is said to be no favourite with Lord Curzon, and that there exist no cordial relations between the two. Of course he is practically independent, and it matters little. It is strange, however, that Lord Curzon should be at

differences with so many of his great strong subordinate satraps, and in this case where Lord Northcote is so universally loved.

I have now arrived at the last and toughest part of my delicate pencillings to delineate "His mightiness the Great Mogul" as I have styled him, or rather, as he grandiosely styled himself in one of his many speeches, for he is a great speechifyer. With a firm conviction of being superior to every one else, and yet belying that conviction by being unable to bear ability—so unlike, thus, to Lord Dalhousie, who could pick out ability, and have them about him, for Lord Dalhousie himself was able in the last degree and had no fear of being outshone—he began speechifying about everything before even he had left England, making the most wonderful promises of what his performances were to be in India. So far, and the most part of his Viceroyalty is past, his performances have lain in the line of things he "ought not to have done." But what he has done may be glanced at. *—

JUNIUS, JUNIOR. C.S.

* [We must ask "J. J.'s" permission to cut short, for the present, his very severe observations on the Viceroy—the length too, of this latter portion being equal to all that has gone before! J. J. divides his remarks on the Viceroy into— Not pulling well with various "Governors and Governments;" offending large and influential public classes and masses as the Army with his Shooting Rules, the Native Princes with his Travel Resolution; neglecting to hear the representation of the Disabilities of Native Christians in South India; ignoring entirely the Hindus, *i.e.*, the nation in India in both the Victoria Memorial and in his mention of Delhi; while as a contrast, markedly favouring the Mahomedans, and even going out of his way to do so; despising the Anglo-Indian or "Eurasian" body of North India many of whom have been and are officers in the Army and in the Civil Service (it is specially mentioned that the late Colonel Warburton, "Warden of the Marches," was an Anglo-Indian or Eurasian); interfering with the Civil Courts as in the Hoff case, where, to anyone who knows, it was all a conspiracy against Hoff, and the Jurors were right; losing India the services of men of the finest intellect and sense of justice as Mr. Pennell, and of the keenest sense of honour and highest services as Mr. Fanshawe; descending to writing in home magazines, and then even not telling the truth about Delhi, and otherwise misrepresenting things in favour of his pet sectional museum scheme, which he has foisted on the public in the "Memorial" and which is sure to become a dismal failure; advocating impossible and absurd curtailment of Reports; and other things too numerous for us to further enumerate—even to his gush! If we do come to print the remainder of "J. J.'s" article, we must supply the antidote with it. We do not think further that it is yet time to judge of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. For ourselves we believe him to be honest, hard-working, and with large and sincere views of the welfare of the country, even if somewhat unusual in his ways and ideas, or inexperienced or quite Western and non-Oriental. We also have every hope he will really achieve something solid and substantial before he leaves India. As yet he has been mostly a learner, and there is much to learn of India even for the oldest and most thoughtful and observant.—*Ed., C.R.*]

ART. XIV.—THE SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

DURING 1898 there appeared several articles in this *Review* on "South African Problems" dated from Pietermaritzburg, and over the signature of the same writer who now pens these few lines. The Boer War had not then commenced; nor was it even contemplated by any one. The writer of the articles had exceptional facilities for knowing both Boers and Britons, often working and living along with the former; at the same time that he was connected with a number of influential organs of public opinion. These organs, save one in the Orange River State, were rabidly anti-Boer and pro-Rhodes and the League and Capitalist party who followed him. But the writer's efforts were always directed, where possible, to allay passions, and to set things in their true and proportional light. So, too, it was in the articles referred to in this *Review*. These articles had not only the large and influential circulation of the regular readers of the *Review* itself in both India and England, and also America, but were specially circulated among leading politicians at Home and in South Africa. How true was every word written in them may be seen by referring to them. We have not the space here, however, to quote them either in their entirety or by whole pages. We would only point out that of the two courses that we said then lay open to Mr. Chamberlain, he chose the worst; that the Boers have truly proved a "hard nut to crack;" and that the "Black" trouble,—greater than any we have yet encountered in South Africa,—still looms in the future, even if the Boers became one with the English, which is not likely. It might be merely a coincidence, but immediately we left South Africa, and our influence in the press and in private was removed, the powers of evil there, as represented by the mendacious *League* and their willing slaves the Uitlander scum of all the nations of the globe parading and masquerading as Britons—whom even Lord Roberts himself had to refuse permission to stay in the Transvaal (who, however, cowards as they were, mostly themselves cleared out on the first outbreak of war!); these all gained head, and by lying "Petitions" and the like carried the day with the press, the public, the parliament, and the Ministry at Home. Any discussion even that was possible was marred by "Imperial Jingoism" on the one side, and Pro-Boerism on the other. *Delenda est Carthago* expressed the sentiments of the one party, just as complete independence and freedom from impertinent and ignorant interference the sentiments

of the other party. With a Chamberlain at the helm at home and a Milner representing him at the Cape, instead of the old race of high diplomats and experienced rulers,—with people not understanding the Dutch character,—with the cries of the Uitlanders and the Gold party ; with England's apprehensions on the one side and the Boer's apprehensions on the other ; all these capped by the Jingo cry of "révenge for Majuba" and the call for more troops, and Kruger's Pride of Place, Wealth and Power, things soon reached—as they were bound to—a crisis, and there resulted the "Ultimatum" and the War.

Both sides were to blame. The Transvaal, as represented by Kruger, might have easily yielded without loss of dignity or substantial rights. Milner, too, might have made the pill less bitter. But British and Boer alike did not understand each other. And there was no all-wise, experienced and powerful Mediator. Mr. Chamberlain will see these lines, and will know that long before things began to come to a head—when the troubles were only brewing—he received private representations to get the accomplished and experienced, the suave and the strong, Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, sent out with full powers to heal all the differences, as he surely would have done. But in his, Chamberlain's, Pride of Place and Power, he neglected these representations. It is an utter mistake of Lord Salisbury, whose mind became receptive to a lie, to say that there was a previous "conspiracy" against British dominion in South Africa, and it is as well we found it out in time. The alleged "conspiracy" is an after-invention—not of Lord Salisbury's—to bolster up the Jingo party. Some criminatory documents have been discovered, belonging to a few isolated individuals, to support this theory and the preparation of armaments has been brought forward in confirmation of it. But there are always crank and wild heads everywhere, and the thing as a *settled Boer policy*, is utterly preposterous. And we know it to be false. The Boers could see trouble coming with the formation of the *League*, and the support accorded to it by Mr. Rhodes and the misguided Press at Home, and would have been less than human if they did not prepare for eventualities. But as for contesting with Great Britain the dominion of South Africa, it simply never entered their heads. It was only their own independence they regarded or cared for ; and it was only when they thought, rightly or wrongly, that that independence was threatened, that they took the initiative. Both these were mistakes, and under the circumstances we may well overlook them. It is probable that we, or any other nation, would have done just the same.

In the continuance of the War both have shone equally—

both have won successes and renown—and the Boers more than renown : the respect of their enemies and the admiration of the world. Let us be frank : there is probably no other people—except perhaps the Scotch—and they number millions to the tens of thousands of the Boers—who would have fought, and often successfully, against a *British Army* ten times their number and led by the ablest generals for over two years, and are fighting still though three-fourths of them are either in the grave or in captivity. As an honorable and brave people we must accord honor to this brave—even if mistaken—nation. Is it then impossible now, without being ranked as *Boerish*—without being ranked along with the Boers in pride and obstinacy, which always somehow defeat themselves, to pursue a *via media*, giving England her due share, which is the supreme dominion and sovereignty of South Africa (barring the German strip, which is sure to come up by-and-bye) and giving the Boer his, which is an autonomy such as that enjoyed by all our Colonies, and which is all that the Boers want ? They do not contest the supreme over-lordship of England—if they entertained the idea in the heat engendered on the first outbreak of War, they have long since given it up. We repeat the question is it impossible to give England her due share, and the Boer his ? It is because there is such a *via media*, one in accordance too with justice, that I pen these lines.

In the consideration of this most important matter the outer limits are—

first for England to render any attempt to make head against her again impossible ; and secondly, for the Boer to have his Dutch feeling of independence respected.

Between these two outside limits, there is room enough to bring the two together in peace. The Boers are willing enough for the first, and their fortresses levelled with the ground. They have no further need of arsenals and military stores, artillery, etc. Without all these, which alone could enable them again to make war ; with ten thousand troops at Johannesburg—for the Boers may probably be glad to get rid of the Rand, which has been the cause of all these troubles,—an equal number in the Highlands of Natal, and an equal force at Kimberley or near there ; any further attempt would be chimerical. I have said that the Boers may be glad enough to get the Rand off their hands. This strip of territory should be British, and joined on to Natal, or formed into a British Colony by itself. It would thus part off the two Boer States of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony or State whichever it may be. It would also serve two other all-important purposes—besides the previously named one of being the local of a British garrison—the one being to help to pay off

the cost of this fratricidal struggle, and to keep the Boer Transvaal Government poor, so as to be unable in future to spend millions on armaments and their Hollander ridden services. Pretoria, however, would be included in the Dutch State—Pretoria dismantled, and never again to be fortified. For the Rand strip a small outlet to the sea North of Zululand may be given to the Boers as an *act of favour* and as bringing her within the pale, and commercial activity, of a British Colony.

What remains is, are the Boers willing to have a modified independence, and in what form should it be to "save their face."

England is quite sick and tired of the war. England has no dastardly revengeful wish to completely wipe such a brave and magnificent race out of existence. Hence she is willing to forego further bloodshed if the first of the above-considered objects—her supreme dominion—is secured. It is not a question of that the Boers must be brought down on their knees—or annihilated. If Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey from among the liberal leaders, or Lord Hardwicke and others from among the Tories wish for that—for their reported words would almost seem to imply that—they misread themselves, and even the true instincts of noble and heroic England that would fight the world in arms if need be, and that would not treat cruelly the worst enemy.

As we have seen above, the supreme dominion of England can be secured, and the Boers themselves are willing to acknowledge it, and to be ranked as a British-protected State. There can, therefore, be no further question about this.

The second is, in what form should the modified independence be? How is this, which the Boers want, to be given them without our suffering in the estimation of the world? I do not see where the estimation of the world comes in when we annex Johannesburg as "the spoils of war," get the costs of the war paid, draw the teeth and claws of the Boer lion, render future trouble impossible, and get the Boer State to become a part and parcel of our dominion. The real thing remaining is the "saving of our face," and the "saving of the Boer's face." The former, as has been shown above, is sufficiently done; and if we are content, the "rapscallion" element of Europe may "estimate" us just as much or as little as they like. Surely we as a world-power do not exist by the grace of such estimation. The Boer "face," however, has also to be "saved"—and they fully deserve it. And this can only be done, simultaneously with the dismantling of their forts, and the allotment of the intervening Rand strip or

British Colony, by giving them their modified and protected autonomy immediately following the declaration of their surrender. Let it be an "unconditional surrender," let them take back the Pretoria and northern portion of the Transvaal even as our gift, but let it be understood, that their own Government, etc., immediately and necessarily follow their declaration—the very day. This will "save their face," make the war to at once cease, and bring an honorable and lasting termination of war.

To any one who wishes peace in South Africa, and a firm foundation laid for the future brotherhood, and even union of the races, the above course—which is also the only possible one—will commend itself. There can be no real objection to let the few and poor Boers enjoy their barren and rocky patrimony in their own way. Even "capitalists" will not covet the sterile veldts of the North and the East, or the Rustenberg fields.

There is no previous "Crown Colony" Government needed for the course set forth above. Indeed, the "Crown Colony" Government, and martial rule, all come into it—are included in it in the "unconditional surrender" declaration of the Boers.

Let then, Lord Kitchener be authorised to allow the Boer Governments to enter on negotiations on the above basis. All the rest are mere matters of detail.

But—and here I write with the emphasis of writing from knowledge and not theorising—if the way sketched above in outline be not followed, and war is continued till it degenerates into murder, and then an enforced Military rule, to be succeeded by a "Crown Colony" Government, the result will be as surely as the Boers are what they are, and the sun shines in Africa, there will be, not merely, say, 20,000 troops in garrison, but 50,000 troops; there will be not a cessation of expenditure, but a huge sum will be required annually for an indefinite period; there will not be peace, but sure outbreaks on favourable opportunities. And for all this, we may as well retire altogether and at once from South Africa. "The game is not worth the candle!"

A. M. C.

ART. XV.—ACROSS THE PELOPONNESUS.

I.—OLYMPIA TO ANDRITSÆNA.

"Afoot and light-hearted I take to the open road.

Walt Whitman.

ANDRITSÆNA was our destination and Andritsæna was said to be twelve hours' journey away. Therefore it was that it behoved us to make an early start; we were stirring long before the dawn and breakfasting by candle-light. There are two routes that may be followed from Olympia to Andritsæna; one which ascends the valley of the Alpheus for six hours (we measure distance by hours in the mountains of Greece) before crossing the stream and turning S. This was followed by Professor Mahaffy and may be found described in his delightful "Rambles and Studies" (Chapter XII). The other, which, on deliberation we chose, crosses the river a little below Olympia and winds into the hills in a consistent S. E. trend. Two guides from Athens, whom we met yesterday with the party from the "Argonaut," insisted that it was a two days' journey; such is the manner of guides being for the most part luxurious and pampered animals, prosperous and portly. Professor Mahaffy rode by the one route and we walked the other within the day.*

On quitting the hotel our first business was to get across the river and to that end to find the ferry. At the hotel despite its high pretensions and our English-speaking host we could get little information that was satisfactory, so we had to trust to fortune and a brief reconnoitring of the road the previous evening. Murray puts the ferry at three-quarters of an hour's distance. We found it within a mile. Descending by a middle track gradually towards the river we sighted in about twelve minutes, a largest flat-bottomed boat—or rather punt—moored to the opposite bank and pushing on came to a little rustic hut and another boat of like kind on our side. So far good, but there was neither ferryman nor oar. The river here looks deep and runs rather swiftly, and its breadth is as the breadth of the Thames between Oxford and Godstow.

We wondered how long we should have to wait, chafing at the delay (for the day promised to be hot, our goal was far, the way unknown), but, there being nothing else to be done, lit pipes and watched the water. There seemed no one at all about, but presently a man sauntered into view on the further bank, in appearance suggesting the town rather than the country and certainly not at all like a ferryman. At him we shouted the

* Cf. "The Alpheus at Olympia is broad and rapid, and about the breadth and colour of the Tiber at Rome."

Dodwell. *Tour Through Greece*, II, p. 336.

nearest we could attain to a question in the vernacular, but he remained wholly impassive. However, just as we were debating the wisdom of going back to the hotel and impressing a boy to punt us over, a brisk form swung down the path above us and the ferryman had come. He tried to extort two drachmas from us, which was impudently excessive, but we were, at all events, on the right side of the Alpheus !

From the river side the path slanted across the level fields, at one time merging in something very like a dry ditch, and led obviously towards a dip in the low ridge bordering the valley. So far, at all events, our way was made plain before us, and very pleasant it was, winding up in the morning freshness, passing on the way peasants and cattle and mules and sheep. Incidentally we stop a run-away pony for its panting owner and exchange vernacular greetings with all and sundry. 'Kal-*emàirass*' (*καλὴν ἡμέραν σᾶς*, good-day to you) is a simple formula and easily learnt, and friendly greeting between those who pass in high-way or bye-way is the kindly custom of the land.

On topping our dip we had before us a little town, by name *Măkreésia* ; very spruce and new and suggestive of progress. Here we made a turn to the left into a fairly good cart-road leading towards *Créstena* (*Cráistěňă*) our first route-mark. We reached *Créstena* by 8 o'clock, a fair-sized town in a hollow of a varied up and down country. Here we made trial of the wine of the country, which requires a educated palate or, at all events, an exceeding great thirst. Providently, too, we bought a small store of lemons for the way : because one cannot be sure of finding drink when once committed to a road or mountain track in Greece, neither from the wayside khan nor from stream or spring in the Greek hills (than which no purer or more refreshing draught is to be found anywhere), and on a hot day in default of these a lemon will be found a most acceptable antidote to thirst.

The neighbourhood of *Créstena* has an interest as being associated with Xenophon's later years after his return from the expedition of Cyrus and his subsequent banishment from Athens. The territory of Skillus, assigned to him by the Spartans, where he built a temple to Artemis and passed his time in writing books and in field sports, was somewhere hereabouts, and a stream we presently cross is probably the *Selinus*. (Paus. V, vi, 5.)

We are now following a white and dusty but exceedingly civilized road through open country with the long range of *Caiapha* somewhat to the right and far ahead loftier limestone ridges, together forming a long barrier which doubtless screens *Andritæna*. It is Sunday morning ; and we meet great companies of folk all wending towards *Créstena*, whether

to Church or no, who shall say? All regard us curiously. It is soon very hot and the breeze which keeps us going comes fitfully. More than one halt in a shady nook is necessary before we reach higher ground and are freshened by a really cool breeze. After a time we begin winding into hill country and a great snowy crest is discernible in the distance to the far north (*i.e.*, behind and to the left), doubtless Atra Vouno, near neighbour of Erymanthus.

Precisely at 11 A. M. a strange thing happens. Our road suddenly gives out. The fair and broad high-road which has taken us thus far securely, breaks off sheer and literally precipitates us into the wilderness. Back the white carriage-way stretches firm and safe and comfortably obvious; forward across a fringe of broken earth, that looks as if it had been only yesterday turned up by the spade, are fields strewn with rugged stones, round which the young grain waves like a sea over a reef of rocks. Perched on a hill to the right is a village, what we have not a notion. Obviously it is necessary to gather information. A woman and some children are to be seen in a field by a dry waterway. Towards them we steer a careful course through the sea of grain. A dog, first met of the truculent dogs of Hellas, greets us with furious menace, but we find out that the village is Gremka and the path lies somewhere above. Accordingly we climb towards Gremka, and on reaching the houses naturally choose wrongly amid a labyrinth of paths and get involved. An attempt to enter a yard for enquiry brings out three or four savage watch-dogs, who charge down open-mouthed as if to devour us. We draw back to more favourable ground and form a sort of hollow square, till relieved by a pleasant old lady who puts us right for the main street of Gremka.

Fairly arrived in Gremka we are at once the object of curiosity and interest and soon the centre of a group of idlers, one in a broad-cloth and an Alpine hat, two or three in furtanella and leggings, the rest non-descript. They hem us in with greetings and enquiries, borrow our field-glasses and eagerly compete for a view. In return one brings a noble stoup of wine and we pledge the company. They ply us with questions, where have we come from, what are we, whither are we going and why, but conversation is not easy, as we only catch with understanding one word in six. One friend more solicitous urges the distance of Andritsæna and the wisdom of stopping for the night at Gremka. We get free as soon as we conveniently can and make on hopefully along what is now a mountain track. The way forward, however, is largely conjectural. Twice when the ways divide we are only hindered from taking the wrong path by the fortunate accident that some

one is there at the critical moment to put us right ; for instead of ascending the way at first leads downwards. But before we have gone very far we are hailed from behind and overtaken by one of our lately-made acquaintances from the village, who soon makes it clear that he purposes to make himself responsible for our further safe conduct. Impressed with the bewildering superfluity of irrelevant mountain paths on the way to Andritsæna, we acquiesce with resignation, almost with alacrity.

At each turn of the track, which soon leads steadily up, the view widens. About noon we reach a rounded knole, clear of trees, high up, from which a splendid view opens back to the mountains of Achaia. Here we insist on halting for lunch, reclining in the scanty shade of some bushes on the steep below and drink the cool mountain air with thankfulness. Leesandros (Λύσανδρος), that is our guide's name, points out the most conspicuous summits by name. The view sweeps across the breadth of the Peloponnesus almost from end to end. Right opposite is Atravouno with Erymantho immediately behind : somewhat to the right (*i.e.*, East) is what "Leesandros" calls Korinthovouno, but we conjecture to be Chelmos. The third snowy mass is much further to the east, right across the Peloponnesus, and is most probably Cyllene.

Delightful as is the prospect, luxurious as is our shady perch, we can make no long stay, for it is still said to be six hours to Andritsæna. On we go accordingly, up and down through magnificent and varied scenery, now along a pine clad steep, now across a rough ravine, now through a cultivated valley. Our party increases as we go, for we fall in with a little string of travellers going our way, with whom our guide join company ; a quaint caravan of nearly a dozen we finally make, men and boys, besides a small yellow dog of alert and combative disposition.

After about a couple of hours the party pauses for rest and refreshment at a wayside khan. We are glad enough to rest too, and lie outstretched on a rustic bench under an oak and drink water from a spring near. When our little company is again ready for a start Leesandros takes his leave commending us to one of the party whose destination is presumably the same as ours. Up and up we climb again through stony places and by the roughest of tracks. Sometimes for a respite we get a level piece through cultivated ground, but for the most part the track is of the stoniest variety indigenous to Greece, that is to say, roughly strewn with small rocks, rounded or jagged as happens, through which one stumbles as best one can, and when not steeply up, then

generally steeply down. How four-footed beasts with burdens (and without boots) pick their way among the stones and boulders is a marvel to the stranger.

Our general tendency has all along been upward, but late in the afternoon we find ourselves traversing a long and gentle incline very nearly level over a sweep of broad upland bordered by great mountain ridges. We have a kodak with us and it makes a diversion to drop behind and snap-shot the caravan.

Here too, for the first time in Greece, we hear the familiar voice of the cuckoo coming pleasantly across from the ridge on our left. Our companions are surprised to hear that the cuckoo has the same name in England too! Curiously we do not hear the cuckoo again till the very last of our walking days in Greece, on the way down from Delphi, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Livadhia.

At the end of this incline we come to a dry river-bed, and here most of the party turn off to make for a 'choreeo' (χορεύων) which can be seen perched high up on the ridge to the right front. We follow our remaining guide across the river-bed, and on mounting a rough hill-side reach another small khan at the top, on a bench in front of which two fully armed and accoutred Greek linesmen are resting. Our guide explains that they act as police in the mountain; 'astynomœ' (ἀστυνόμοι) is his word for police. Here again a short rest and a drink. Our guide says only an hour to Andritsæna or a little more, and we plod on. But it is a very long hour and our steps grow heavier and heavier. Still on and up winding round along the ridge to the right. Twilight comes on, the last hour becomes two and a long two at that: the path is rough as ever and we stumble on from stone to stone, till it becomes something of a struggle to keep going at all. "Where, Oh where is Andritsæna?" "Quite near" says our guide cheerfully; but still we find no sign of human habitation, still less of civilized town or village. At last about half past seven we fairly sight the lights of houses round a dip in the lofty ridge along which we have been moving; and now we strike into another genuine carriage-road—(δημόσιος δρόμος) as they call it on the way to Andritsæna. More than once before in the course of our march beyond Gremka we came upon a newly-made bridge, broad enough for a road-way, which carried us over a small chasm or across a torrent-bed. It seems plain that some day there is to be a carriage-road all the way from Créstena to Andritsæna; but there is still some stiff work for the engineer before it is done.

Once and again also we came upon a stretch of roughly-wrought cobble stones extending over a section of our way. "Τούρκικον"

quoth our guide feelingly, meaning that it was an attempt at road-building by the Turks. We learnt to know (and shun if possible) these lengths of Turkish road. Very evil are they—a fitting relic of Turkish administrative methods. Man and beast avoid them sedulously, and wherever they occur, there you will find also, if there is space for it a narrow border track without paving stones, and to this you stick, if you are wise. Sometimes there is nothing for it, but to go over the uneven stones, and then you flounder as best you can, and are lucky if you escape without bruises. For these stone path-ways, like the Turks who had them constructed, are the very devil.

Gladly did we hail the lights of Andritsæna and soon were walking along the village street. Our guide takes us straight to the abode of Antoni Leondarites, who entertains the stranger and is even inscribed in Murray. The house overlooks the main street and is reached through a small side alley and by a flight of steps. We are well received by Antoni himself, a bearded Greek rather handsomely dressed, who leads through a small courtyard and under a dark entry and ushers us into a spacious room, where we throw off our packs and drop into chairs. Our guide, whose name is Socrates Paschalenos, takes his leave, after offering to conduct us to-morrow to the Steelous (Στήλους) Anglice Columns, *i.e.*, to the Temple of Bassæ. We close with it and agree to pay ten drachmas for his services rendered and in prospect.

The room is rather low-pitched, but fresh and clean and moderately furnished. There are a couple of tables, a bed, a sofa, a few chairs. Our host's European clothes hang from pegs on the walls and round a mirror some photographs are ranged.

We endeavour to express our primary need of a wash. Antoni nods and smiles comprehension. We are invited into the courtyard and are soon engaged in ablutions that are truly and gratifyingly Homeric. The brave Antoni brings a basin (λέβης); Mrs. Leondarites brings a jug and pours water over our hands.

χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχῶψ ἐπέχευε φέρουσα

Καλῇ, χρυσείῃ, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λέβητος*

After the exertions of the day the mountain air is keen; it is positively chilly in the house even after one has put on all ones spare apparel. Our supper is not long in preparation and consists of eggs, bread, milk and cream cheese of the country; the milk and eggs are good, but the bread and cheese a little sour. We are too tired to be critical, almost too tired to be hungry. Then to bed and sound sleep. Not ill-earned.

(To be continued.)

* Odys., i. 136,7.

ART. XVI.—BROTHER PRINCE AND THE BRIDE,
A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY.

ON May 7th, 1834, a young medical student made the following memorandum :—"In the afternoon, at half past four, having suffered under conviction of sin fifteen months, and during the last month with the utmost agony, it pleased God, of his infinite mercy, to reveal His Son Jesus Christ to me, by faith, whilst I was in earnest prayer in my bed-room."

The journal which follows embraces the period from July 29th, 1835, to October 28th, 1839, and extracts from it were published, with a preface, in 1859, or after twenty years' mature consideration. The experiences contained therein are much the same as in all such cases of 'awakening,' and they differ from these only in the extraordinary result to which they led. Of course such 'experiences' differ with the character of the minds subjected to them, but, for all high-strung souls, the description given by Cardinal Wiseman of the period preceding the attainment of that "Peace of God which passeth all understanding" generally applies :—

"During this tremendous probation the soul is dark, parched, and wayless, as earth without water, as one staggering across a desert, or to rise to a nobler illustration, like Him, remotely, who lay upon the ground on Olivet, loathing the cup which He had longed for beyond the sweet chalice which He had drunk with His apostles just before."

The way, we say, is much the same for all men of that peculiar temper which produces apostles and martyrs,—it is the way of the 'Valley of humiliation' leading to the hills of Beulah. The issue is in that Peace of God which passeth knowledge. But the marvel lies in the diversity of the ground, of the mental attitude, whereon that Peace is found; and herein lies the psychological problem.

The great intellect of Wiseman; the far greater intellect of Newman, found that peace, at last, only in the infallibility of a human being occupying an Italian Sec. For them, "the name of" the Pope "is a strong tower; the righteous runneth into it and is safe." To the beautiful soul, which on earth was Mrs. Booth, that peace lay in work, work, work, for the moral and physical health of Christ's suffering brethren around her. By some of the type of S. Bernard, or Thomas a Kempis, it is found in entire withdrawal from the world and contemplation of their own spiritual symptoms. For the extraordinary man who is the subject of this study the Peace of God is this, as stated in his journal entry of 28th October 1839 :—

"I have passed night through the middle of self, and now, at

length, *come out at the other side into God*, where I abide continually, day and night, waking and sleeping, without one moment's intermission."

This he explains further on :—

"I now say, in all simplicity, that I am in a *habitual state of pure inward passiveness*." I have now no *desires or wishes whatever*." In his preface to the journal written twenty years later, he says that the reader will see the spirit whose progress is traced in the journal "arrived at length at home, and entering into rest, the rest that remaineth for the people of God—God Himself. He will see it perfectly delivered from the *creature* and from *self*, and perfectly restored to God."

Dean Goulburn somewhere tells an anecdote of a holy man who, on his death-bed, beckoned a disciple to him in order to communicate a secret which God had revealed to him. Eagerly bent the disciple to learn this secret of holiness from the lips of the dying saint. It was this, "to desire nothing, and to ask for nothing." Upon this Dr. Goulburn very naturally remarks that the sentiment is over-strained and false. The Master Himself teaches us to desire, to ask, to knock, to take no denial. If we want nothing else we want holiness, we want rest from sin. But He teaches us to ask, too, for our daily bread; to take to Him not only our great but our smallest needs, as children to a father. Every good thing which Wisdom may devise, which Love would give, which Power can afford, is the child's *right* from Him who brought him into the world. This claim was acknowledged on the Cross; only, as with human parents, the father must judge as to the way, the means, and the time; and the resignation shown and inculcated by the Master is resignation in this respect.

This may be, possibly, what is meant by the writer of the journal in saying "when our will hangs delicately suspended on the divine will in a holy equilibrium of inward passiveness, then is the soul in the best possible position for rendering obedience." In fact, when what is called 'free-will' has become 'Christ-will;' when the imperfect functioning of the brain has been perfected by Him from whom was the previous imperfection. For evidently the molecules of the brain can no more function, either perfectly or imperfectly, without His operation, than can the molecules of the universe. If the motions of the molecules called stars are imperfectly organised, leading to cataclysms and chaos (whence renewal of life and order), so must it be with the brain molecules, by the same Supreme Will, producing similar catastrophes of evil tending by similar unthinkable methods to the same certain goal—PERFECTION.

This perhaps is the truth which this remarkable man means

to indicate ; as he has also shadowed forth those other truths, that there is no such break of continuity as that popularly understood by the name of ' death,'—but merely a change of state, a stage of evolution. In short that nothing which lives can ever cease living. Also that sin and disease are synonymous ; that they are external affections ; that sin or any other form of madness, is as much the attack of some divine agent (call it devil if you please) upon the brain, as is phthisis similarly produced in the lungs.

These truths are, however, greatly and dangerously obscured—probably in the writer's own mind, but certainly in those of his followers. To those followers Brother Prince is, not merely filled, like other saints, with the Spirit of God, but is the actual incarnation of the Holy Ghost—indeed he has frequently to protest against the error that he is himself Jesus Christ. Immortality in their view, is the attribute, not of the perfected body evolved from this grosser matter which we now inhabit but, of that fleshly envelope itself : not merely in the sense that no matter perishes, but is subject merely to dissolution resulting in other forms of synthesis, but in the sense that these very bodies will be translated to a *place* called heaven. Sin is not an imperfection in ourselves, which is in process of cure by suffering, but it has absolutely nothing to do with us, and every fault and crime is perpetrated by ' that wicked one ' to whose vicarious shoulders the responsibility is comfortably transferred. Even an attack of indigestion, or a cold in the head, is not from our own imprudence, but is the malicious contrivance of ' the enemy.'

There can be no reasonable doubt, both from his published writings, from the numerous letters which he indites to members of his flock, and from the tenor of the long life passed under many critical and unfriendly eyes, that Brother Prince is a holy man ; that the Spirit of God does indeed abide with him ; and that he has certainly found that Peace of God of which Cardinal Wiseman speaks. The holiness of Brother Prince is, indeed, the ground of belief in him with many members of the Bride, shrewd level-headed persons by no means subject to hysteria. The observation of a walk in Christ which, in human eyes, appears to be without flaw coupled with intuitive perception of the truth of the cardinal points of his faith ; namely, that free-will is Christ-will, a will freed by God from imperfection ordained by God, and set free at last to follow its natural course towards God ; that sin and all other suffering result from external attack fastening upon the weak points of a nature as yet not perfected ; that Christ actually has (for ' time ' is but a human idea) perfected imperfection, completed evolution, and abolished the death or

dissolution to which imperfection necessarily tends in order to further evolution : this objective observation and this subjective perception lead many men possessing sound reasons and practical minds to admit the claims of Brother Prince. The man, they see, is perfectly holy ; he announces truths which they feel to be true ; these facts, they say, are credentials of a Divine mission ; he must surely be, as he says, an incarnation of the Holy Ghost. They, therefore, accept without reserve the revelation with which he is charged. " Behold, I come quickly." Christ's second coming shall indeed be, as Brother Prince announces, within the term of his natural life. It has been revealed to him that he is not to see physical death, but is to be translated, in the natural body, like Enoch and Elijah to meet His Lord in the air. Therefore, as he is eighty-six years of age and infirm, this second coming is immediate. Each younger member of the Bride may feel an assurance of partaking their prophet's translation. Death *may* of course come first, but, if so, it comes as a surprise and a disappointment, for the Lord is here, at the door ; He must come to-day, or, if not, then to-morrow.

That for fifty years Brother Prince has announced the same message, and the Lord's coming is still delayed, staggers no one. Brother Prince does not know the day nor the hour ; all that has been revealed to him is that he shall not see death but shall in his body behold the Lord. Hence, and because they believe that the Lord ascended with actually the same corporeal structure which he had inhabited as Jesus of Nazareth, therefore the body itself, that vile body of which Paul speaks, is of immense importance in the eyes of the Bride ; they have no wish, like Paul, to be rid of it, and to achieve the evolution from this imperfect compound of gross gases to a more ethereal stage.

Community of goods and absolutely social life may or may not have been part of Brother Prince's original scheme, though it constitutes the system of his Agapēmone in Somersetshire. Certainly nothing of the sort is practised or inculcated in the Bride, which comprises the usual social distinctions of position and means, in fact the tenets and polity of the sect are extremely and evidently purposely vague : for Brother Prince is a man of extreme sagacity, and after all, what does anything much matter when the Lord is coming to-day ! One thing certainly, if not declared as binding, is rigidly practised ; namely, conjugal abstinence, for the body is a thing too holy to be defiled. Another very evident characteristic of the Bride is a charity, a brotherly love, a gentleness, peace, and rest most beautiful to behold. This is the impress of ' the Beloved's ' character upon his followers and it is an eminent

testimony to the beauty of that character. It is this which attracts, and will continue to attract, so many from the storm and turmoil of the Salvation Army. When the *Vis Viva* of an enthusiast in those ranks is exhausted—as exhausted sooner or later it must be—then it is of immense importance where the degradation of energy shall leave him. Well it is for those whom it leaves at rest in the gentle bosom of the Bride.

We have above spoken of Brother Prince by the name universally used in the Bride—‘the Beloved.’ He himself uses only the signature ‘Beloved’—being vague in this as in all things, probably purposely vague. Nor is it certain that all of ‘the Bride’ understand ‘*the* Beloved’ in the usual sense. As before said, Brother Prince often protests against the error that he himself is Jesus Christ. Nevertheless the use of the term ‘the Beloved,’ in the prayers and exhortations of ‘the Biide,’ leaves the hearer often in doubt as to whether reference is made to our Saviour or to Brother Prince; and undoubtedly there is here a confusion in the minds of the worshippers which they prefer to leave undetermined. Whether in Brother Prince’s own mind this confusion is determined may be judged from the following passage, written in 1859:—

“The professing people of God under the law—the Jews—in the last days of their dispensation, might have seen in Him in whom their dispensation was made perfect—Jesus Christ—*the glory of God*; they *might* have seen this, for the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His Person, were there: but what *did* they see?—*one who had a devil, and was mad.* * * *

The professing people of God under the Gospel—the Christian church—in these the last days of *their* dispensation, may see in him in whom their dispensation is made perfect, *the likeness and glory of Christ*. They *may* see this, for *one changed into the same image from glory to glory is there*. But what *will* they see? Alas, my Lord, let them *not* see in thy beloved, the only one of her mother, and the choice one of her that bare her, *one that has a devil and is mad*, a man carnal, sensual, and selfish, a frequenter of low company, one that speaketh blasphemy, and a deceiver of the people—led by the devil into error, even whilst he was living upon Thee as truth.”

Here Brother Prince draws an elaborate parallel between our Saviour and himself. He claims to bring in, like our Lord, whose likeness and glory he is, a new dispensation. He also will be rejected as our Lord was. The omission shown by asterisks in the above extract quotes the accusations of the Jews against Jesus of Nazareth, which are repeated

against Brother Prince himself as stated in the last lines of the extract. Brother Prince, like Jesus, is God's 'beloved,' for it is evident from the context that the '*hers*,' which follow the word 'beloved,' do not refer to his Church 'the Bride,' but to Brother Prince himself. All this would argue an identity between Brother Prince and Christ, and that Brother Prince is a renewed *Autar* (Avatar) of the Godhead, or Christ come again upon Earth. But the next passage reads differently:—

"O my Beloved—Lord of my life and my everlasting hope—how truly have the reproaches of them that reproched *Thee* fallen *upon me*! As it happened to Thee for Thy Father's sake, so, O Lord, has it happened unto me for Thine."

Here, then, Brother Prince appears as only Christ's messenger—at the utmost as an incarnation of His Holy Spirit, His promised Comforter. At any rate he has not been further explicit as to his claims, save that he denies, in his letters to his flock, that he himself is Jesus Christ.

It will be seen that Brother Prince is under the impression that he has suffered like Christ. He always claims, as does the Bride, that his persecutions are credentials of his mission. When La Révellière Lépeaux consulted Talleyrand regarding the reason of the failure of his new cult, and the best means of founding a religion, Talleyrand recommended him to be crucified and to rise again the third day. Mahomed, too, was greatly troubled by the lack of credentials. He appealed to the beauty of the Koran as a miracle, but the credentials upon which the Arabs finally accepted him as God's prophet were the successes of his sword. Brother Prince seems to take his stand—not, like Lépeaux, upon reason, or, like Mahomed, upon his message, but—upon his rejection and his sufferings. Rejected he certainly has been, but, on the whole, in a gentle and polite way suitable to this age. As to his sufferings scoffers say that, on the contrary, his lines have fallen in peculiarly pleasant places. Indeed, as before said, his acceptance by his followers rests upon no such credentials. They accept Brother Prince because, in their view, he is a perfectly holy man—which is an evident sign of the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in him; and because his announcements accord exactly with their intuitive perceptions of truth, which clearly proves his inspiration. His life and his teaching meet a want in the hearts of the gentle and pious beings who come into the 'Bride' as into an ark of rest and safety. They are people of earnest minds and strong religious convictions, who have found no satisfaction in any other of the existing forms of belief. They have felt that, say what the orthodox may, their will is *not* 'free;' that their sins and failures are *not* their own, but, on the contrary, are hateful to them;

that punishment would be gross injustice; that death would be, in the case of any single son of man, a most lame and impotent conclusion of the astounding achievement of the Son of Man; that it is absurd to suppose that a Father All-wisdom, All-night, and All-love, will not act by His children as earthly parents would (whose love can only be a faint reflex of His), had they the wisdom and the power. When, therefore, Brother Prince announces doctrines confirming these intuitive perceptions, the belief of such earnest simple souls is conquered as was Nathaniel's—each feels that the teacher must have seen into his mind under the fig-tree, and must therefore be a Son of God. There only, then, remains to accept by faith the further teaching 'Behold, I come quickly,' as interpreted by Brother Prince under the direct revelation that 'quickly' means within his own lifetime. He *must* know, for his holiness and his inspiration prove his Divine mission.

In the attitude of mind, then, of those who constitute 'the Bride' in England, Ireland, Norway and America, there is no peculiar psychological problem. That problem lies in the man himself who has achieved the personal holiness, who has attained the perfect Peace, and who has excogitated the solutions of the tremendous riddle of our existence, which holiness, Peace, and inspired solutions are his credentials to the minds of 'the Bride.'

We put aside at once the idea that Brother Prince is a conscious deceiver. Moseylmah "the liar," is a very rare case among religious teachers. Moreover Moseylmah, like the leaders of extinguished heresies in the early Christian Church, was only "the liar" because he failed and succumbed. Had Luther failed, how would his name now be stigmatised. Had Moseylmah succeeded, it would have been Mahomed whose name would have come down to posterity as Fl-Kazzab. Was even Mahomed himself a conscious deceiver? No one can study the Mecca period of his mission, and the *Suras* of that period, without feeling that Mahomed *had* a mission; that he was profoundly impressed with the truths which he declared; that he was justified in declaring himself a messenger sent to turn his people, from the gross abysses of idolatry and sensuality in which they were sunk, to the knowledge of the one true God. "There is no god but God, and Mahomed is his prophet" was, in the mouth of the camel driver of Mecca, an actual divine message—just as much as in the mouth of the Egyptianised Hebrew who in the deserts of Midian received a similar message. No doubt Mahomed did subsequently, when he found that his mission was not acknowledged, descend to imposture in support of it. He perverted his

message. He adapted a doctrine which the Arabs would not accept, into one which agreed with their traditions, their prejudices, and their inclinations. He fabricated *Suras* to meet the requirements of the hour: no longer embodiments of intuitive perceptions of divine truth, they became mere declarations of Mahomed's political ideas, or justifications of his emotions of anger, revenge, or lust, imposed upon his followers as announcements received from God. But, even so, it is often difficult to distinguish between conscious deception and self-deception in Mahomed's case. There can be little doubt that, up to the very last, he sincerely believed himself to be God's chosen prophet and instrument. He died in the firmest confidence, and his last words were "to the most excellent companions in Paradise." Under such a conviction of his mission it is more than possible that Mahomed often really mistook the promptings of his own wishes to be indications of the Divine Will borne in upon his mind. "Thus saith the Lord" was not always, probably was not often, conscious deception* in the mouths of the prophets and teachers of the Old Testament, and the same may fairly be supposed in the case of Mahomedan. He was probably no more consciously deceiving when he announced God's command for the massacre of the Jews of Medina, than was Samuel in directing the massacre of Amalek.

Now Brother Prince's teaching is holy, and the fruits of that teaching in 'The Bride' are most evident and beautiful holiness. "By their fruits ye shall know them," said the Master, and upon this evidence Brother Prince's claim to a divine message is justified. This, however, applies to other prophets, who nevertheless descended, like Moses,* to imposture in support of their mission: has Brother Prince descended to such imposture? He pretends no miracles; he announces no visions; he declares no messages communicated to him by the Most High. He asserts simply a spiritual state, leaving his followers to judge of that state from his life and his conduct. He argues, from that spiritual state, a divine condition, *viz.*, that he is "the likeness and the glory of Christ," an incarnation of the Holy Spirit; and many sincere Christians from observation of the truth of the premiss, accept the inference. With the authority of such a condition he announces the immediate fulfilment of an accepted prophecy "Behold, I come quickly:" and he interprets the many starry hints studded over Scripture, regarding the condition and the future of man in a sense which no reasonable student can deny that they may bear; in a sense which many devout persons believe that they do bear; in a sense which turns

* [This is strange doctrine!—ED., C.R.]

Christianity from a creed of injustice and despair into a religion of hope.

Granted that, as regards himself, Brother Prince has fallen into a foolish delusion,—at any rate it is delusion, and a harmless one. Granted that his ideas of the Second Advent are out of keeping with the Master's declaration that 'the kingdom of God cometh not with observation,' still he only shares the error of the early Christians who hourly expected the Lord's return. Granted that his conception of actual physical translation to an actual place is curiously material and illogical, still such appears also to have been the conception of Paul.* At any rate, with all these traces of human infirmity, this remarkable man has done great things. He has achieved holiness. He has attained 'the Peace of God which passeth understanding.' He has grasped and announced, though perhaps vaguely, approximations to the infinite truth which are of tremendous import. Brother Prince has, in a measure, "*recognised sin as disease and imperfection; suffering as its cure; faith as a force; intuition as a faculty; the 'new birth' as a process of evolution; the conservation and transformation of energy as applicable to human failures equally with all other failures in nature; and the power of Love as a law—as indeed the Supreme Law.*" This quotation is not from any writings of Brother Prince, who has not thus formulated his perceptions, not even, perhaps, in his own mind. The quotation is from an Indian work,† of a tenor of free-thought foreign to the mind of Brother Prince. It nevertheless correctly states ideas which are present in the teaching of Brother Prince, as they are in the writings of the poet Shelley; ideas which have long been floating in the air, and which are in process of becoming concrete conceptions.‡

The genesis of these ideas does not very clearly appear in Brother Prince's published journal of the period July 1835 to October 1839, nor in the preface dated 1859. That journal shows only, as stated in the preface, "the history of a redeemed spirit in its progress from the creature up to God." As before said, most of the journal shows only the ordinary experiences of 'awakening.' The extraordinary results to which these led only begin to appear in the record of the last year of the journal. On October 22nd, 1838, Brother Prince writes "On Sunday, after having been much grieved in spirit by the miserable mockery of God in what is called the *morning service*, I had such a view of the *intense love* of Christ for my soul as pierced me through." Three days later he says, "My path,

* [No.—ED. C.R.]

† Rudiments of the World. Sen & Co., Delhi, 1893.

‡ [We doubt this.—ED. C.R.]

I feel assured, will be a very peculiar one. I find myself called to separate the precious from the vile. * * I believe that God has given me peculiar light for that very purpose. * * I foresee much severe trial. * * I sometimes feel much discouraged at the prospect of being a 'man of strife,' and a man of contention to the whole earth." These might of course be the words of a Wesley, or of any nascent reformer penetrated with the sense of a mission to denounce the coldness and formality of an established and benumbed Church; but further on we begin to perceive the peculiar condition of spirit induced in this particular case by this sense of a mission. "As a preparatory step the Lord has brought me to a state of the most helpless infantine dependence. I feel weak, ignorant, and helpless to a degree beyond expression." On October 29th, however, he complains "what I find my spirit chiefly prone to turn to is abominable *self*. * * I find it exceedingly difficult to *abide in Him* steadfastly." * Nevertheless, three days later, the journal terminates an extraordinary poean of peace and content with the words "How much does all this sound like the language of a warm imagination: few, perhaps, could believe that there is not much embellishment; but O Thou holy God, Thou dost know me, and Thou knowest that I speak the truth in all simplicity!"

At this time Brother Prince was a student of Divinity at Lampeter College, having abandoned the profession of medicine for that of the Church. He appears to have been a most ripe scholar, notwithstanding a state of weak health, and a chronic local disease, references to which abound in the journal, and are significant of the progress of the peculiar condition of spirit referred to above. For instance, "Have been very unwell for a week with a severe cold, bilious attack, and toothache; from the latter I have been in almost constant pain for many days. Prayer and thanksgiving appear to me to be two of the best remedies for the toothache: they, however, must be used *freely*, and not by *constraint*." Again, "In the last month my health has been gradually declining, and I have had some return of local affection, together with symptoms indicating its increase. God has distinctly forbidden me to use any means of relief, though common prudence, and my knowledge of medicine have frequently demanded them; but I have not omitted them either from presumption or from ignorance of the consequences. I have several times committed the matter to God for his direction, and He has as frequently forbidden me to use any means whatever." And again, "Unwell with sore throat and some fever: I delighted myself in the *abundance of peace*;" and again, a month later, "Have felt very unwell these few days; so exceedingly weak that

I scarcely know how to live; but indeed I live by faith, otherwise I often feel as if I could not survive the week."

Truly the above shows a very remarkable spiritual condition. Though one feels inclined to smile at such remarks as "By the Grace of God I have conquered an east wind;" Mr. Prince having, by faith, induced that wind, which incommoded him, to shift to another quarter; yet one can understand, from this and the former entries quoted, how completely the man was penetrated with the feeling that he was "a pilgrim and stranger upon earth, without any home save God. He is my habitation and unto Him do I continually resort." Thus the conviction of his being 'set apart' continually grows upon him. On Christmas Day (1838) he notes: "Remained to the sacrament at Widcombe; felt more like a stone than a living being: wondered whether *such* a thing *could* be used for any purpose. * * I should shrink from the work, and retire altogether from the world, if I were not fully impressed with the conviction that a '*dispensation*' has been committed to me." On January 1st, 1839, he writes: "Most Holy God, were I still my own—which, blessed be Thy name, I am not—I would sanctify this opening year with a solemn dedication of myself to Thy service. Jesus I *am* Thine, and Thou art mine, and Thou wilt do with me as seemeth good to Thee." Again, on January 9th, "Oh, that I were holy, even as he is holy! * * I really believe that, though I too often find my sinful heart desiring holiness to glory therein, yet, habitually, I desire it in order to enter more fully into God." Later, however, the consideration of this feeling humbles and hurts him, for he perceives that it is *happiness* he seeks after, in the knowledge and possession of God—whereas it grieves him to feel that he can "be made happy by anything else than doing his most holy will." Is not this the feeling of Paul, who "could wish that myself were accursed from Christ" if thereby God's scheme of restoration were forwarded?

In the same sense is an entry of January 29th, "During this indisposition the Lord made deep discoveries to me of my utter misery and corruption. * * I perceived that all his creatures were so entirely and exclusively at his own disposal as really to be no better than *clay* in the hands of the potter * and that in all the uses to which He applied this clay He was regulated only by a regard to the fulfilment of His own will" (namely the perfection of His creation). In short Mr. Prince was learning at last to be ready to be cast away, if need be, for the reconciling of the world, and contentedly to leave it to a Father, All Love and All Wisdom, how best to use him. "I cannot but regard it as a token of God's goodness towards me, that when it pleases Him to fathom some of the depths of my depravity, and open to my view the inner chambers of my

natural pollution, I am not dejected or made unhappy thereby as I once was; but can bear the sight of own extreme wretchedness and profound misery *quietly*, without being disturbed or embittered in spirit." Again, on February 12th, "Oh *faith*, *real faith*, is indeed a wonderful thing! it is the most humiliating of all possible principles, and tramples in the dust all pretensions on the part of the creature to *any kind* of goodness, wisdom, or power. O my God, what a coming down for nature! what a deep humiliation and abasement! It replaces man in the position of a *creature wholly* dependent on the absolute will, and entirely at the sovereign disposal, of his creator." And again, on March 9th and 17th, "The Lord has been pleased to lead me into an extraordinary depth in the discovery of my own *nothingness*. * What I desire to express is this, that my dependence, every instant, for existence upon *God* and *His will*, seemed so very *true*, that my *actual being* appeared to be rather in the *divine will* than in its own existence. But this must seem like nonsensical refinement to one who has not experienced it. * * I sometimes think that if others could see me in the light that God does, or even as I see myself, I should, like the Eastern King, be driven from men. * * These views of my own malignity, however, do not now make me unhappy, as formerly they did; for I do not now hope, as I once did, that *my nature* will *improve*. * Nay, I do not desire to become better, but rather rejoice that I am so bad, for I perceive that God is glorified therein."

This is, surely, the spirit of Christ's immediate followers, caught by personal contact from Himself. "Therefore, writes James, 'count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations, knowing that the trial of your faith worketh patience.' Therefore, repeats Peter, 'greatly rejoice though now in heaviness through manifold temptations, that the trial of your faith might be found unto praise and honour at the appearing of Jesus Christ.* We hold on, then, temptation notwithstanding, sin notwithstanding, knowing that even He was 'made sin for us.' We are 'troubled on every side, yet not distressed, perplexed, but not in despair;' for 'God is faithful who will not suffer you to be tried above that ye are able.' Knowing that 'His strength is made perfect in our weakness,' we even try, like Paul, to 'glory in our infirmities'—while yet crying 'lead us not into temptation but deliver us from the evil.' This is the faith which is sign of the 'new birth'—faith God-given, God-maintained. Shaken it may be when imperfection, trial, sin, reach the crisis of their cure in dissolution. Then, in the very throes of deliverance, may come to us, as to the Man Jesus,† the last

* [You misunderstand these passages.—ED., C.R.]

† [This comparison is misconceived.—ED., C.R.]

worst pang of all, 'why hast thou forsaken me.' He knows best, and loves best, who may lay even this upon us; but the prospect appals. 'O God Most Mighty, suffer us not for any pains of death to fall from Thee.' * *

On April 6th (1839) Mr. Prince writes: "Notwithstanding the blessedness my soul enjoyed in the presence of her Maker, I distinctly perceived that it is far better to do the will of God than to enjoy God. * * By the will of God I mean not His will *generally*, but in *particulars*; that, ceasing from the gratification of my own will in *every* thing, however minute or unimportant in itself, I may wait on Him in spirit, *moment by moment*, to know His will with respect to me, *for that moment*. No person can conceive, who has not experience of it, what a constant self-denial and crucifixion of the will this requires." Again, on April 28th, "I perceive that God calls me, as regards the subjection of my will, to a state of *pure inward passiveness*. * * In the state of pure inward passiveness the will is *inactive* and *waiting* for the *will of God*. It has *no secret inclination*, so as to have any tendency to *one* thing more than *another*. * An *absolute and unreserved obedience* is that which constitutes the chief, peculiar, and distinguishing characteristic feature in the history and example of Jesus Christ; and it is this to which I perceive the Spirit of God is leading me, conscious as I am that I have not yet attained it." In short Mr. Prince had now attained the stage of being ready to be used either as "vessel of wrath fitted to destruction" or as "vessel of mercy;" either in base or in glorious use for the glory of God in the perfection of mankind.

" * * Nor know I now
If 'tis for good or ill; be that Thy care.
Not for the clay to ask the Potter how
'Tis wrought; sufficient this, *that it is used*."

In his entries of May 8th and 14th (1839) Mr. Prince further describes this condition, and as it is a very interesting and curious exposition of a spiritual state, we will quote at some length. "During the last week the Lord has aimed a deadly blow at the life of self in me. * * The flesh wrought inwardly to such a degree that it appeared to have escaped from any controlling influence of the spirit. Now this condition being so very repugnant to *my will*, it was quite agreeable to the nature of things that I should wish to *get rid of it*; but to subdue *my will* was the very *purpose* of God in permitting the trial, and it was His wise intention to keep me in the trial, till *my will* should sink into *resignation to His*; and this

would be known by my becoming *cheerfully* willing to *remain in this condition*, all fearful as it appeared. * * * * Agreeably, therefore, to the divine purpose of teaching me passiveness, immediately that my soul was about to perform any *inward act*, the spirit *checked me and drew me from it*. * * This state of things continued day after day, during which the spirit was perpetually putting a check upon *my will* as often as it acted. Now as long as it did thus act" (in desire for holiness, be it remembered) "it is evident that it was not *resigned* to the state of the soul *then being*. In His wisdom, therefore, God kept up the trial * till the inward actings of my will * at length *ceased altogether* * instead of *wishing to escape* from this very unpleasant condition of soul * I was cheerfully willing to remain in it as long as it pleased God to keep me there * as in *justification* we cease from our own works and *rely by faith* on God to justify us freely, so in *sanctification* we may be brought to as *complete and entire a cessation* from our own works and rely by faith on God to sanctify us freely. Thus, in the experience just related when I refrained from inward acts, it was not done in unbelief, or carelessness, or indifference ; but it was done in faith and dependence upon God."*

A week later he writes "My spirit sleeps in the most serene peace upon the bosom of God. My chief object is not now, what it once was, *viz.*, to *enjoy God* : the desire which is nearest to my heart now is *to do and suffer His holy will*." Yet nevertheless nature *will* assert itself, and the exaltation of such resignation is too high to be maintained ; for a little further we find "I want—how shall I utter it O God forgive—I want to come as near Thee, and live as much in Thee, and be as much like Thee, as it is possible for a created being to be without annihilation." Such outburst of repining against estrangement is inevitable by any Christian. If we *must* be used as vessels of wrath for our brethren, well, God's will be done ; we are content to be even accursed from Christ for them : But the Christ-man in us *must* revolt, as He did, "with strong crying and tears,"—the spirit *must* cry "with groanings which cannot be uttered." Nevertheless the process went on in Mr. Prince. On August 15th he writes "I protest that I *die* daily. My inward life is undergoing a gradual destruction. I perceive that the life lies substantially in the will ; * * it is the Spirit of God alone that can discover, and the love of God alone that can destroy the will, the iron-hearted will of man." Here Mr. Prince appears for the first time to shadow forth that idea with which the Bride is now possessed, that

* [This is pure Antinomianism.—ED., C.R.]

this 'will of man' is some independent principle of evil 'that wicked one,' hostile to and thwarting the will of God:—in fact, that there are two independent, though not equal powers in the universe, whence must arise chaos, not harmony.

In one form or another this presentment appears in the conceptions of all ages, for, as Professor Jevons writes, "The hypothesis that there is a Creator at once all-powerful and all-benevolent is surrounded with difficulties verging closely upon logical contradiction * * if we cannot succeed in avoiding contradiction in our notions of elementary geometry, can we expect that the ultimate purposes of existence shall present themselves to us with perfect clearness?" The reason of this evidently was that man judged God by himself, having, until Christ came, nothing else to measure God by. It is only now clear to us since we have discovered, in Jesus Christ, that God is all-love—that the idea of a personal Satan is contrary to the idea of a God Almighty and All-wise.* "Either the Devil is the author, or he is the victim of evil. Either Satan's functions are of God's appointment, or without it. If without God's appointment, then there is an independent power of evil in the universe and God is *not* all in all. If, however, he exists by God's appointment, then either he is an imperfect creature of God, like ourselves, and is such for the exhibition of God's glory, which cannot reasonably be supposed to be manifested otherwise than in perfecting him; or he is a creature specially appointed to hinder God's own work of perfecting imperfection, for the express purpose of thwarting Himself—which is surely absurd."† Similarly absurd is the conception of a 'free' will to oppose God. "If once we admit that 'all things in life are arranged by God,' that is to say, are the resultant of forces foreknown ('which,' writes Bishop Martensen, 'in a Supreme Being is equivalent to fore-ordained') to operate with that resultant * * then to regard 'free-will' as one of those forces is a contradiction in terms; for; if it is a force fore-ordained by God to act in the 'arrangement of things' then it is not 'free-will' but 'God-will.' To talk of the power of 'free-will, meaning thereby something not God-inspired, God-directed, is contrary to reason, for to introduce into the order prescribed by God from the beginning an uncalculated force, independent of Him, must produce chaos."‡

Although the idea of a Satan thwarting the purposes of God, or of any 'freedom' of the will of a created being to interfere with those purposes, is inconsistent with the conception

* [An extraordinary discovery ! and the following quotations *very* extraordinary logic !!!—ED., C R.]

† Rudiments of the World, p. 134.

‡ Rudiments of the World, p. 211.

of a God Almighty and All-wise, yet it was perfectly possible to suppose a minister of God for evil until it was realised in Jesus Christ, that God is also all-love. Such a minister is what Mahomed supposed; his devil is merely the servant of the cruel capricious tyrant whom Mahomed calls 'God.' "Barbarous and cruel ages," writes Morrison, "have ever generated barbarous and cruel religions." Till the coming of Christ the God conceived by man was necessarily anthropomorphic; he was cruel, capricious, tyrannical, like man himself. Now, however, the idea of God is based upon the perfect *anthropos* as seen in Christ. Granting a personal God the author of creation "then by analogy we suppose that His work must represent His mind. We see in man, the highest known development of His work, a great development of the faculty of love, and the higher the nature of the man the greater is this development. In the very best individual of the race, as the man Jesus is by all admitted to be, we see the very highest development of this faculty, and from this we may argue that, in the author, the faculty must exist in perfection. He *must* love His creation perfectly and injustice, harshness, unkindness on His part are inconceivable. What man is ruthless to his own workmanship? What father but pitieth his own children? The inference of David, in the 103rd Psalm, is that of Jesus of Nazareth, in the sermon on the mount, of Paul in his letter to the Jews of Rome. If we, consciously imperfect as we are, love our children, *how much more* does the Perfect Father! Therefore evil cannot be what it appears to be. It must be a process of good, and can thus be accepted with entire trust in God to do for us exactly what we ourselves would have Him to do—if only we knew!"*

This is the point which Brother Prince appears to have failed to grasp, or at any rate to have omitted to bring out in his teaching. Man's "free" will, he explains, can only be Christ-will, but 'that enemy' will not leave it free to turn to God; that enemy from whom is all the imperfection, failure, suffering, sin, of God's creatures. The further explanation that this enemy—whether devil of cholera or of phthisis, of madness or anger or lust—is also God's creature working by appointment in furtherance of an unsearchable purpose which can only be 'good' both for 'enemy' and victim, because God is Love; of that explanation we find no trace in the doctrinal writings or the journal of Brother Prince. Possibly, like Bengel, he holds that one who proclaims God's love to be all-embracing is "a tell-tale and divulger of God's secrets,—tells tales out of school!"†

The entry of October 28th, 1839, closes this remarkable diary

* Rudiments of the World, pp. 216 and 290.

† Bishop Martensen's Christian Dogmatics, §. 287.

because, as Mr. Prince says, his personal life having ended, his journal must end too. He writes on that date: "It would not be possible, if, indeed, it were lawful, to describe minutely the marvellous work which God has been carrying on in my soul the last seven weeks. Where is the man who would be able to understand me, were I to assure him that *I have passed right through the middle of self*, and now, at length, *come out at the other side into God* * * and if I were to add that, with respect to the present position of my soul, it is *precisely the antipodes of what it was at the time of my first awakening*. Yet so it is." And he concludes with the words, "This, then is my testimony of God—that, though my prayers have been of such a kind as perhaps few have offered" (he refers of course to the boldness of his demands) "and though, when offering them, my expectations were almost unbounded, yet, that God in answering them has done for me *exceeding abundantly more than either I could ask or think*. * * Yes, I say it in all sobriety and seriousness, 'I am filled with all the fulness of God'" A marvellous hallucination, indeed, one which has produced a holiness which to any eye is beautiful, and which many clever shrewd men among Brother Prince's followers pronounce, from personal observation, to be without flaw. Indeed this holiness is the main ground of his acceptance by them as an incarnation of the Holy Ghost.

Fifty-five years later,* Brother Prince declares his pretensions even more explicitly, and explains the expression 'her' in the prayer which we quoted from the preface, written in 1859, to his journal which had been closed twenty years previously. After explaining that the 'world's malady' is the presence, in the vital principle ("the generative reproductive life-current") of the human race, of a specific poison-germ styled by him 'the evil one.' Brother Prince states that this terrible reality has been brought to light by God Himself—by God the Holy Ghost. "I say, then, that the Holy Ghost in me took flesh—a woman—and made himself one with it as a man is one flesh with his wife." "This is the 'her,' the body of Brother Prince, prepared by Christ as "a body for the Holy Ghost to carry out His purpose. * Without being unclothed of his earthly body he" (Brother Prince) "was clothed upon by his spiritual body. * * To bring man out of self into Christ by faith, and thus to save him, was the object for which the Gospel was given. The Holy Spirit, working by the Gospel, did this more or less in every true believer; but in Brother Prince He did it *fully*. • He did by His Spirit quicken his mortal body and raise him from the dead a spiritual body. In him, then, thus made meet for the purpose, the Holy Ghost took flesh, a woman, and made himself one with it."

* The World's Malady (1894)

Now this sounds like nonsense, and yet, examined closely it is but what was conveyed both by The Master and His apostles.* So far as The Master explained to Nicodemus the meaning of 'the new birth' it certainly is that, as in the case of Mary, so for every man, as in his turn the evolution takes place in him, "the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee." No one attentively reading the letters of Paul and John can doubt that they were filled with the same view.* Professor Drummond in his '*Natural Law in the Spiritual World*' quotes from Beale that there is "a period in the development of every tissue and every living thing known to us, when there are actually *no structural* peculiarities whatever—when the whole organism consists of transparent, structureless, semi-fluid living bioplasm—when it would not be possible to distinguish the growing moving matter which was to evolve the oak, from that which was the germ of a vertebrate animal." Huxley describes how he observed this bioplasm being fashioned into a water-newt. Similarly, says Professor Drummond, when a bird is wanted, "the bird-life seizes upon the bird-germ and builds it up into a bird, the image of itself. The reptile-life seizes upon another germinal speck, assimilates surrounding matter, and fashions it into a reptile. The reptile-life thus simply makes an incarnation of itself. The visible bird is simply an incarnation of the invisible bird-life. Now we are nearing the point where the spiritual analogy appears. There is another kind of life of which science as yet has taken little cognizance. It obeys the same laws. It builds up an organism in its own forms. It is the Christ-life. As the bird-life builds up a bird the image of itself, so the Christ-life builds up a Christ, the image of Himself, in the inward nature of man. When a man becomes a Christian the natural process is this. The living Christ enters his soul. Development begins. The quickening life seizes upon the soul, assimilates surrounding elements, and begins to fashion it, and all through life this wonderful, mystical, glorious, yet perfectly definite process goes on 'until Christ be formed' in it." Professor Drummond continues by answering the objection that the bird-germ becomes a perfect bird, whereas the Christ-germ does not become a perfect Christ, He demands for the latter the years proportionate to his place in the scale of life—"what wonder if development be tardy in the creature of eternity."

This, stripped of his extravagance of language, is the truth which Brother Prince is struggling to enounce. When this new germ has been conceived, seized, and its fashion commenced by the Christ-life, by the Spirit of God, then

* [Very extraordinary!—ED., C.R.]

the human matrix has fulfilled its purpose as the decaying acorn has, as the chrysalis has, as the animal mother has. There is as truly a new and imperishable divine being within the outward envelope as there is a snake within the slough ready to be shed. "I live," wrote Paul, "yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." The apostle, says Brother Prince, "did not intend it to be understood that he was Christ. So neither do I express, nor intend to be understood, that I am the Holy Ghost, when I say that I lived, yet not I but the Holy Ghost lived in me, when I took flesh and made myself one with it."*

So far then, Brother Prince, mainly goes upon what is, in the view of Christians, assured ground. [? ED.] He⁹ proceeds to say that this 'new birth' taking place in him, this indwelling of the Holy Spirit, "brought out into manifestation the character of that other" (the devil) * "not the sin only but also the death there, in the form of sickness, pain, and severe illness apparently unto death * the Root of the World's Malady * *Satan concealed in the flesh.*" As chemists have succeeded in isolating the deadly alkaloid which is the principle of many vegetable poisons, as they have discovered the germs, the bacteria, which propagate many diseases, "so also has the Great Divine Chemist discovered and separated from the poisonous life-current, the generative and reproductive principle by which the world is peopled, the lethal essence to whose presence its poisonous quality is owing." The concrete presentment of this lethal essence by Brother Prince is Satan, 'the adversary.' It is convenient so to present the incomprehensible principle of evil, the manifest results, in Protean forms, of the manifest imperfection of the universe, an imperfection necessarily containing in itself the seeds of decay and dissolution—the solvents, so to speak, which by God's ordinance, whether alkaloids or bacteria, whether diseases, sins or whatever lesions of bodily and mental organs, do continually disintegrate existing imperfect forms in that universe for further and better syntheses continually progressing towards perfection. Brother Prince calls these, collectively, 'the devil:' he has the idea, why should we quarrel with his manner of expressing it.

"But this was not the conclusion of the matter; for, the Holy Ghost having accomplished the purpose appointed for Him, *viz.*, the bringing to light of the devil as the poison of the life-current of the human race, and the source of all the sin and evil in the world—the Lord Jesus Christ, who was in His Spirit, revealed Himself from heaven as the Son of Man in His body, Brother Prince, and consumed with the Spirit of His mouth that Man of Sin, the wicked one." In short Brother

* [What an utter confusion of ideas in the unfortunate man!—ED., C.R.]

Prince has destroyed the devil. This is that head of Charles I which is always cropping up in the writings of this remarkable man to mar what would otherwise be most valuable and admirable. What has been done for and in himself, wonderful as it certainly is, so fills the field of his view as to destroy all sense of proportion, like the spider in the telescope. The Gospel Dispensation is now past and that of Brother Prince has arrived. "As it was at the close of the Dispensation of the Law, so it has happened also at the close of the Gospel Dispensation God has sent forth a Special Messenger to make ready a people for the coming of the Son of Man in judgment. But though this Messenger and his work were prophetically announced in Scripture" (as explained by Brother Prince in his work *'The Counsel of God in Judgment'*) "the Christian Church have been so blinded by their prejudices * that they cannot discern in Brother Prince and his work the fulfilment of those prophecies." In consequence of this rejection of Brother Prince "God has withdrawn His Holy Spirit from the Gospel Church, that Spirit by which the Prophets were inspired, and without which their prophecies cannot be duly interpreted."

What a wonderful and delicately balanced thing is that concentration and development within the skull of the ganglia which in lower animals are distributed over the body. What a penalty is paid by us for this concentration and development. The sedentary animal thinks and feels all over his body. Cut off the head and body of a creature even so highly developed as the Mantis and he has mind enough left, in his first thoracic segment, to use his arms in defence or to seize his prey. There is little fear that the mental balance may be upset in either mollusc or mantis. But the astounding concentration and complexity of the organ of the mind in man exposes it constantly to the danger that some slight disarrangement of a part may affect the whole. Similarly, predominant use and development of a part affects the general balance. Right-handedness, for instance, has produced left-speech. Undue use of the right hand throughout successive generations, has so developed the left hemisphere of the brain (from which the nerves of the right originate) as actually to give greater specific gravity to the cortical grey matter in that region than in the right hemisphere. The latter no longer incites speech movements (except in left-handed people), and the left hemisphere exclusively acts for that purpose. How much disturbance of mental balance is the poring upon the wild [! Ed.] utterances of Hebrew prophets answerable for! Brother Prince denotes some pages of polished satire to the prophecy-interpretations of Cumming and Baxter—who discovered poor Louis Napoleon to be Anti-

Christ, without perceiving that *de se fabula narratur*. Unconscious prophecies there of course are in the Hebrew poets, as in Plato or in Virgil. We can see their fulfilment in past events. But hopelessly to seek for the forecast of future dealings of God, in those rhapsodies, seems to have the effect of so developing the activity of particular cells in the cerebral cortex as to impair the efficiency of other cells; just as mental worry will produce Aphasia.

Only thus can we account for the sudden aberrations of the eminently sound and acute intellect displayed in Brother Prince's most able and profitable works. So impressed has he been with the wonderful working of God's Spirit in himself, that he has dwelt upon himself in connection with prophecy till his mental view has become distorted. Christ's testimony, 'Behold He cometh,' has now become, in Brother Prince, 'Surely I come quickly.' "Yes, it is done. The work of the Holy Ghost in taking flesh has proved itself to be the wisdom and power of God to make ready a people for the coming of the Son of Man in judgment. * * By this reception of my testimony concerning that work, they have been delivered from that wicked one who was before concealed in their flesh to its defilement. * * That living word, BEHOLD HE COMETH was the holy seed of the new Dispensation. Out of it sprung the Agapēmone, the House" (in Somersetshire) 'where Christ has put His new Name as the Son of Man.'

After building up step by step the demonstration that Conscious States or Feelings are an appanage only of nerve actions, "no more capable of being dissevered from the physical conditions on which they depend than is Heat to be dissevered from its physical conditions." Bastian necessarily proceeds to enquire *the motor* of those nerve actions out of which consciousness, feeling, thought, all mental operations, arise. "To say that Heat is a 'mode of motion' takes for granted the underlying fact that we cannot have motion except though a something which moves" (moves=causes motion). And then, in this inquiry, there arises in the cool cautious scientist who wrote '*The brain as an organ of the mind*,' the same prepossession which we find in the emotional assailant of Christianity, the author of '*The creed of Christendom*.' "In the free-will of man," writes Mr Greg, "we do believe and must believe, however strict logic may struggle against it." Similarly Bastian, while saying that "to show how these particular motions in nerve tissue arise which underlie conscious states * must ever remain impossible," will not admit that they have not a 'natural origin,' i.e., that they are not effected by man himself:—for, if not, then "all notions of Free Will, Duty, and Moral obligation would * be alike consigned to a common

grave." Gravity, wrote Newton to Bentley, "must be caused by an agent acting constantly according to certain laws." No scientist would conceive that the motions of the spheres, or of other particles in space, are self originated—why then those of the molecules in the human brain! All goes back to a Supreme Will, and that Will alone can it be* which originates 'these particular motions in nerve tissue which underlie conscious states' and which thus causes the nerve actions of thought which are the result of those motions.

From this Supreme Will must have come then [! Ed., C.R.] the mental aberration under which Brother Prince declares himself to be the Messenger of Christ, sent in His Power and Spirit to announce His immediate coming. And as every operation of that Will of a Being all-wisdom and all-love must be for good, must absolutely tend to the completion and perfection of His creation, we have to seek the explanation in such results as we see. Those results are that the confidence of Brother Prince in his own mission—inspiring similar confidence in numerous persons who accept him upon the credentials of his evident holiness, and of his inspiration to declare truths which they intuitively perceive to be true—has raised up in England, Ireland, Norway, and America, a body of Christians peculiarly filled with the graces of meekness, charity and the spirit of prayer and praise. Brother Prince's hallucination has been the means used to this end, and it is presumably the sole means which could have effected it in minds so constituted as to absolutely need a human guide speaking with what they believe to be divine authority. "There are diversities of operations," writes Paul, "but it is the same God which worketh all in all." Some minds can only find repose in committing themselves to the guidance of the Holy Ghost residing in the person who is Bishop of Rome for the time being. Others regard that Divine Spirit as incarnate in Brother Prince. Others again, such as Bible Christians and Plymouth Brethren, are content to feel that Spirit guiding themselves directly; experiencing personally the truth of John's statement that "ye have an unction from the Holy Spirit and ye need not that any man teach you." All these diversities are by the Supreme Will, in pursuance of the purpose of the *perfection of all*, though each absurd little group supposes the perfection to be for itself only. What does it all matter, cries Paul; so long as "Christ is preached I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice."

We have referred, in the early part of this article, to the risk of perversion of Brother Prince's vicarious theory of sin.

* [To refer our Wills to the Supreme Creative Will. and to make them one with IT, are very different things.—ED C.R.]

He himself admits that it seems dangerous. "In like manner formerly did the doctrine of justification by faith without works seem dangerous. * * Those who make objections of this kind do not perceive that the *love of Christ*, is the power of God to preserve the individual from sin, and to make it hopeful to him." Certainly it is true that, when Christ has been born in any man, then 'the spirit warreth against the flesh.' As John says (New Version) "whosoever is born of God sinneth not, but he that is begotten of God keepeth him." The doctrine so crudely held on the Bride is dangerous only until the 'new birth,' and that, after all, must come to each man sooner or later. Again, Brother Prince guards against misapprehension of his teaching that the 'new-born' cannot die. He has never said "that they cannot die in the ordinary sense of the word 'die.' What they have been taught is that, regarding death as the separation of soul and body, the unclothing of the soul by the removal of its body, they cannot die, because * they are already clothed upon with a spiritual body, and raised above death as Children of the Resurrection." This presentment of the 'new birth' is what the common sense of Christians is already arriving at. [Really? ED., C.R.] "How be it," says Brother Prince, "what the Bride of Christ is *looking for* is not death of any kind but translation without death." This we before explained to be the expectation of each member of the Bride, because Christ must arrive, if not to-day, at least to-morrow.

We cannot do better, in concluding this article, than to extract from two pamphlets, published in 1888 regarding the exposure of that lurking personal devil who is the Bride's *bête noire*, Brother Prince's scattered notices of himself and his Agapêmoné. "In the year 1845 there was publicly proclaimed in many places in England this important Testimony, *Behold He cometh*. There was then declared, in the power of the Holy Ghost, the near approach of Christ in judgment, and the Church and world were solemnly exhorted to prepare to meet Him. Out of the many to whom this Testimony was preached a few believed it. As may be supposed, their acknowledged reception of this Testimony, as a message from God separated them from the rest of the professing Church. * *

* * The person from whom this religious movement originated was a Clergyman * * This Clergyman having been prohibited by the Bishop of Bath and Wells * also was prohibited by the Bishop of Salisbury * * also by the Bishop of Ely * Thinking he was hardly dealt with the Curate wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury * but the Archbishop replied that he could not interfere * Prevented thus from preaching *within* the pale of the Established Church

Brother Prince, after some months waiting upon God for guidance in faith and prayer, proceeded to preach *without* it.

* * A piece of ground was purchased * and a chapel and small dwelling house built on it. This place, gradually enlarged as more persons came to reside there, * was subsequently called the Agapēmone (abode of love). It was there, where several of those who had received that Testimony resided, and whither the rest at various times resorted, * that Christ accomplished the great work I speak of—the taking hold of that spiritual Leviathan the Devil, so as to draw him out of that deep in which he had so long concealed himself, to his destruction. * * Those brought to reside in the Agapēmone had been led by the testimony of Jesus, *Behold He cometh*, to look for the speedy coming of the Lord in judgment. Ere long He did so come, though in a way very different from that they had expected, and was revealed among them as the Son of Man in judgment * * He brought to light in them the secret of the *fallen nature* of the flesh, namely, THE PRESENCE IN IT OF THAT SPIRITUAL LEVIATHAN THE DEVIL.

* * * In such a terrible position there would doubtless have been utter destruction, but for one thing which alone did keep them from making shipwreck of their faith in God. It was this : they did hear *the voice of His Spirit*, as he spake by His messenger. * * This strange and terrible state of things—it is now many years ago—continued for some time, the heat of the day waxing and waning as it were until it culminated in the bringing to light of that wicked one * and the destruction of that Levathan * to their complete and most blessed deliverance. * * * The whole of this period is replete with painful recollections, and, though a terrible reality, it seems, at this distance of time, like a hideous dream. The subject is not pleasant either to speak or write of ; but it was needful to mention these things as being involved in the account of the manner in which God visited His people in judgment. * * But what was the result in these inhabitants of the earth, of this destruction of the Wicked one by the sword of the Lord.' * * By the destruction of that *consciousness of self* they have learnt, of any evil in them, that it is not *they* but the Evil one ; so they do not condemn themselves for it, and do overcome it ; and of any good in them they have learnt that it is not *they* but the *Holy one*, even Christ ; so they cannot glory in it. * * * Accordingly I say that this place is worthy of its name, the Agapēmone * and I add that it is not the abode of love in the sense in which it has been represented. It is not the abode of sensuality, casual-mindedness, lasciviousness, uncleanness, or impurity ; but it is the place from which all these things have been utterly

banished. * * I repeat, the place is worthy of its name ; and they who live there do live in purity of body and simplicity of life, and in unity, peace and love, not seeking their own. * * This is their home life ; and it is manifestly so as they live abroad ; for they live for little else than to go about doing good * * not as a duty but as their privilege and blessing , and all in any way connected with the Agapēmone, especially the poor send as a matter of course to them for assistance . Nor is this account to be strictly limited to those who live in the Agapēmone, for others share in these ministrations * it is no exaggeration to say that, for Jusus' sake they make themselves the servants of all. * This assistance is not restricted to those that are connected with the Agapēmone but is freely rendered to all * and rendered often to many who have before been bitter in opposition."

All the above, regarding Brother Prince's followers, *is true*. The Bride, whether in the Agapēmone or elsewhere, does most evidently show forth the beauty of holiness. "By their fruits" said the Master, "ye shall know them," and by that test is this the work of the Spirit of God. Truly "God has spoken at sundry times" and in very "divers manners ;" and evidently it is no small thing that such a movement of sanctification and perfecting should have originated from a hallucination which, He caused* to arise in the mind of His servant, the Church of England, curate, Mr. Prince.

* We should think it is the other way God can "cause" no hallucination (even though He may permit evil spirits to do so), but He may overrule it for "sanctification," but not the *unhealthy excrement* of "Brother Prince and his Bride."

One word more ;—we seem to have come again to the grand old times of *Methuselah* in the above article, which is by a well-known Military Officer !—*Ed., C. R.*

THE QUARTER.

SOUTH AFRICA.—We regret that the three months past have brought no betterment in the unfortunate "war" which has been raging in South Africa for two years past. No betterment in any way. The unpractical theorists at home, united with the "man-in-the-street" element, still can only see what they call "a war to the finish"—just as if it was a prize-fight—and not a statesman's opportunity. At the same time, we record the same number of losses—in June it was double, or two officers and 22 men—every day at the seat of the struggle, and our military position is even worse. We have now actually 252,000 troops on the field, while the number of forces of the "enemy" are increasing every day by considerable additions from the Dutch in Cape Colony. The mere invasion of the Cape Colony which we last noted, is spreading into a conflagration, and we have been obliged to give up guarding the through communication by rail of the Cape line. For the rest we have been obliged to construct block-houses, lest our communications in the two States and with Natal be also cut off! At the same time, the same mendacious and toned-down stories are being officially circulated at home to keep the "man-in-the-street" in humour. Here are two independent, and by no means "pro-Boer," accounts, the one from a Colonial yeoman, and the other from the correspondent of the *Standard*, which cut directly against Messrs. Brodrick's and Chamberlain's glozing accounts:—

"The situation in Cape Colony in brief is this: From Colesberg to Orange River Station along the Orange River small parties of marauders constantly appear in Cape Colony. Westwards, towards Kenhardt, a small commando composed largely of local rebels appears and disappears with annoying regularity. Further south, in the Grahamstown, Burgersdorp, and Colesberg Districts, small but very successful commandos under Kruitziuger, Scheepers, and Van Reenen (a Cape rebel) have so far defied the many columns sent after them, pillaging with scarcely any hindrance and but little loss to themselves. There is no doubt whatever that Kruitziuger's commando originally but 250 to 300 strong, has been considerably reinforced by local rebels, with the result that now commandos are constantly being heard of as working independently."

"The general position in the Colony is absolutely deplorable. Stories of robbery and outrage come from places so far apart as Barkly West and Klipdam, North of Kimberley, and Elandsveit only two hundred miles north of Cape Town. From the Transkeian border in the east to the confines of the Kalahari in the north-west, the Colony is over-run by small bands of rebels, who are absolutely reckless of their lives, and equally indifferent to the ordinary

THE QUARTER.

requirements of civilised warfare. From the Graddock District alone as many as six hundred British subjects have joined the invaders since April last, and from the Somerset East District another two hundred rebels have taken up arms. They are living on the fat of the land, and have few wants. The reports that they are a mere rag-tag and bobtail are quite untrue. Prisoners who have been with them for three or four days declare that they are better clothed and better fed than our own men. For ammunition they depend on the all-too-frequent captures they effect, and, despite our large seizures of horses, they are still well-mounted. The naive stories that they have been driven from strong positions are, as a rule, worthless. The whole country is terrorised."

But it is even worse than all this—the "war" is degenerating into absolute murder. This, the last phase of such an unhappy and wicked—and really "civil"—war, is what might have been expected from all the circumstances—the gradual wearing out and depletion of the Boers, the refusal of ordinary honourable terms, and the employment on our side of colored help. It is too much in human nature to expect that two years continual harassing warfare will result in lenient and reasonable views, or that wholesale hangings and confiscations will not be resented. And as it is now degenerating to pure and simple murder it is quite possible that the "enemy" instead of generously letting their numerous captives go free, as they have always hitherto done, will just shoot them. In such a case, there is little doubt which side will suffer most, for we cannot, even as reprisals, shoot down men in cold blood—men who are fighting for their independence even as the Scotch of old—and if we did, we should probably at once see the whole of the Cape Dutch—now barely restrained—rise and we lose South Africa (plus that everlasting make-bate Rhodes and his Kimberley mines) for ever. As it is, in regard to a rising of the Cape Dutch, a *Daily Mail* telegram says that the invaders are swarming in the Eastern and Midland Districts and number 7,000 to 10,000, and the Colony, from Dordrecht to Willowmore, across to Kenhardt on to Namaqualand, is virtually in the possession of the Boers. General French, who was going away on sick leave, has been persuaded to remain and take charge of the operations against them, but neither he, nor Lord Kitchener, can work miracles. Meantime Kruitziuger, a German, and Fouche, a Frenchman, who are leading the Boers, have placarded the northern districts of the Colony, stating that they were annexed to the Orange Free State at the beginning of the war, and warning the inhabitants against divulging the whereabouts of the commandos under pain of a fine or accompanying the commandos. Natal too, on the Zululand border, has been raided, while even close to Pretoria daring attempts are made, and several severe engagements

have come off, in one of which—Vlakfontein—our casualties were 14 officers and 177 men. A charge having been brought of our wounded being killed in cold blood by the Boers, was found to be, as usual, grossly exaggerated, and Mr. Bennet Burleigh, the war correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, had to write and say “the Boers on the whole have behaved very creditably, courageously, and *kindly*. They have rarely maltreated their prisoners, and hardly ever when their officers have been present. And they have been usually generous and tender towards our wounded.” How can they be otherwise when they are a grave race brought up strictly in the Reformed (*Scotch*) faith, and (we speak from personal knowledge) many of them kith and kin with ourselves, born, too, at “Home,” and speaking the same tongue. To confirm this General Lyttleton, who is returning to South Africa with Lord Milner, has publicly stated in England, that “the Boers were brave men, and he did not think the atrocities that had been reported were the acts of the regular Dutch burghers, but of some of the riff-raff who got into armies.” General Lyttleton is supposed to be going to replace Lord Kitchener (who has been selected for the Chief Command in India, and will come out here after a brief rest at Home), and this (with other facts) points to a possible pursuance of a more liberal, generous, and truer policy, which may lead to a solid, honourable and lasting peace. In this connection, and with reference to Mr. Kruger’s asserted impracticable attitude, we draw attention to the paper on South Africa in this number of the *Calcutta Review*, written by one who knows what he writes about. We ourselves have already drawn attention to the evil effects of this utterly foolish “war” on our position in China, and that means in Asia; and Lord Salisbury, with Messrs. Chamberlain and Balfour, are directly responsible for it as having brought about, and continued, the struggle in South Africa. Meantime, “Proclamations” are flying about on one side and the other, on our side threatening pains, penalties, and death for resistance after the 15th September, and on the Boer side—“no peace will be made and no peace conditions accepted by which our independence and national existence, or the interests of our Colonial brothers, shall be the price paid.” The prospects, however, are that there will be peace soon. Else,—what? For the South African Lands Commission reports that unless strenuous efforts are made to establish a thoroughly British population large enough to prevent the recurrence of disorder—which can never be done,—the whole expenditure of blood and treasure in the war may—even as we have in previous numbers asserted—be wasted. And, “owing to the impossibility of the Cape

Parliament meeting in the present state of the country—that is, there is no constitutional government now at the Cape—the Governor has decided to meet expenditure by the issue of warrants?” So much for the “war” initiated by Messrs. Rhodes, Jameson and the *League* in union with the riff-raff Polish Jews and others figuring as “Uitlanders;” begun by Mr. Chamberlain in conjunction with the “man-in-the-street;” and supported by Lord Salisbury (in his infirm old age) and Mr. Balfour, to the utter detriment of England, her honor, and her Empire in the East. Let us have some sense of truth, proportion, and honor and magnanimity. We do not believe in either “Brummagen,” nor “the man (hooligan) in the street.” And we believe we have lived longer know more of men and nations, than either Mr. Chamberlain, or his convert Mr. Balfour who would rather fit into a chair of “Philosophy” in a small University than be where he is.

CHINA.—We stopped in our last with the beginning of the Third Act in this great drama. How it will exactly go on, it is difficult to predict, though the disastrous results may be easily foreseen. The Indemnity question has been hastily settled, though we are not yet quite sure of the proposed increase in the Opium tax not still blocking the way, or that the whole question may not go before the Hague Tribunal. The Protocol with China, too, still remains unsigned, and the latest news regarding it is that it omits the punishments of provincial officials, and does not provide for the destruction of forts—so that the Chinese are recovering ground though England (alone) protests. Foreign troops are all withdrawn, save the Legation Guards. The increase of duties in China—5 *per cent. ad valorem* on all articles except flour and rice—will seriously affect Indian trade and manufactures. Germany and France both maintain garrisons in Shanghai. to the dismay of the local British population, and England quietly accepts the situation. Another fire in Peking has destroyed the priceless Imperial Library, with all the archives and records. The Manchurian Agreement between Russia and China of course holds good, and there are rumours of Russian and Chinese troops fighting insurgents side by side. Prince Tuan has managed to get hold of his son, the heir to the throne, and has raised an immense following of Mongols with whom he proposes to drive the “foreigners” out of China. It seems that Tung-foo-tsiang also proposes to do the same with another army. Meanwhile, no one can say whether the Emperor is dead or alive, and the Empress Dowager refuses to return to Peking, and has fixed on a new capital at Haiseng-foo, the capital of Honan Province on the Yang-tse, 300 miles

from Nankin. Bands of Boxers are again terrorising Northern China. The Chinese Government have still numerous arsenals and smokeless powder factories, and are proceeding at once to manufacture arms. We shall carefully watch the developments of the Third Act. At present things look very threatening for the "foreigners" in China—Boxerism again rampant, the Chinese re-arming, Russia and China in agreement (and France behind them), England's supreme position lost, and the foreign troops mostly recalled for contingencies nearer home and on the score of expense. It is possible the Third Act will really begin concurrently with a still greater drama to be enacted in Europe, in which, say, the Austrian and Turkish Empires will topple to pieces, England lay hold of Jerusalem (!), Germany seat herself at Constantinople and Baghdad, and Russia absorb interiorly the delicate and choice morsel of Persia.

Of other countries there is not much to be said this quarter. Russia has received a Thibetan Mission, the object of which was merely to secure privileges for Buddhists in the Russian Empire. The Russian Geographical Society is sending out another scientific expedition to the Pamirs under the leadership of Dr. Fedshenko. A Russian Squadron, commanded by the grand Duke Alexander has been visiting Constantinople, and also the Bulgarian and Roumanian ports. The Russian Journal *Novosti* states that it is a great mistake for the German and Austrian Press to consider Russia and England as adversaries, and there is no question of India. A straw shows sometimes which way the wind blows, and this amicable tone towards one, and reproof as well as the reported statement of the visit of the Czar to France to others, may mean something. Even the *Times* in reviewing the situation in the Balkans, and the unusual anxiety displayed at Vienna, says that the spirit of resistance ominously manifested on the part of the races subject to the Turks is little calculated to inspire the hope that tranquility will long be maintained.

France has expelled her Religious Orders and Associations and the Pope has been deeply grieved over it. Many of the expelled have gone over to England. Paris expects to see Count Lamsdorff, the Russian Foreign Minister, in September, as well as the Czar later on to a grand Military Review. A Frenchman is stated to have solved the question of aerial navigation! Indo-China is to have railways constructed immediately; and a dangerous French submarine torpedo has been invented. Relations strained with Turkey as we write.

Germany has received back Count Waldersee safe and alive and the Emperor has covered him with unusual honors. But the Count, unlike the great Von Moltke, has been making

self-laudatory and aggressive speeches, and stated that while the names of other nations have sunk, Germany's has risen!!! We suppose nothing better can be expected from him. His Imperial Master, meanwhile, has been toasting the French Army (!) whom he called "glorious," again urged the necessity of having a strong fleet, and has held a grand Military Review at which the Queen of Holland was present. The Queen has been over to Berlin, it is supposed, to place her Colonies in the East Indian Archipelago under the protection of Germany. Germany is now determined to have a separate Colonial Army (!)—what this can mean we do not quite see, for two or three islands and a corner of New Guinea in the Pacific, and some inconsiderable parts of Africa, do not need a "Colonial Army." There is, perhaps, more in it than appears on the surface, especially when viewed with the garrisoning of Shanghai, occupying Farsan Island in the Red Sea, and probably "protecting" the Dutch possessions. Count Von Bülow, too, imitating Count Waldersee, has publicly declared "that Germany, lying in the middle of Europe, was bound to be always *en vedette*"—the reason for which, too, is not very convincing. Evidently the trio—the Emperor, his "only general" and his Minister—are all worthy of one another, and they are working on a plan which we shall know as soon as either the Austrian Emperor dies, or the Balkan troubles begin—unless Russia and France force his hand previously, which would probably be the most advisable course. There is, however, an enormous shortage of grain produce in Prussia, and a severe commercial crisis in Germany owing to over-production in factories and over-financing of new undertakings, including in the latter probably the increase of German trading steamers in the East from 26 to 45.

Austria has no history; Spain is still full of Anarchist troubles and anti-clerical riots; Italy is shaking herself more and more free of the triple Alliance, which now probably exists only in name; and Turkey, as usual, is falling into trouble, and "doing the grand," even though her pretentious Mission to China has, as we predicted, been simply scouted by the Chinese and been obliged to return without having even set foot in China! The Khedive has been to Stamboul, and been banquetted by the Sultan at the Yildiz Palace, an official communication to the native press saying that the object of the visit is to pay homage to the throne! (Lord Cromer has also proceeded to London.) And while the Plague has entered both Turkey and Egypt, foul play is suspected in the Sirdar's, General Wingate's, train being derailed between Cairo and Alexandria; and Turkey is angrily contesting England's right to interfere in the

interior of Aden ! At the same time, she has just got into a quarrel with France about certain quays in Constantinople owned by a French company. The Aden expedition matter does not seem to be quite settled yet as we write, but of course it, as well any trouble in Egypt, will be firmly and promptly met with by England. What with these signs, and the Ameer's reported diplomacy of drawing all the Mahommedan States together, with Arab intrigues even in Java, and bringing all "the Faithful" together into common objects and a line to acknowledge the sovereignty of "the Khalif," as by the proposed Railway to Mecca, there may be something brewing, and we may do well to take heed betimes.* From all this mesh perhaps Persia remains free,—(and she has been just removing very vexatious restrictions on her commerce—all inland customs being abolished)—we may also add, even Moorish Envoys have been careering all over Europe, to be only thrown into prison on their return home for spending two millions sterling !—; but we cannot feel sure that the *Cenoussis* of Africa have not been at the bottom of it all. This may seem far-fetched, but Mahommedanism can never rest, and we may refer our readers to a most valuable article on them that will appear in the next number of the *Calcutta Review*, written by one of the most competent authorities on the subject—an article that will perhaps draw as much attention in France as at Home on this particular development of Mahommedanism. Japan has changed her Ministry, and the two, Corea and Japan, are still bickering and playing with one another. The Abyssinian Menelik has sent 15,000 troops after the "Mad" Mullah, and despatched a congratulatory letter to the King of England.

We now come to Home and our English-speaking countries and colonies.

ENGLAND has again had to mourn a loss of a prominent member of the Royal Family, the Dowager-Empress of Germany and our former Princess Royal. Notwithstanding her early wilfulness, she had attached herself to the affections of Englishmen; and from her long and sad life, as well as her prolonged sufferings from the malady which terminated in her death, had come to be much respected. She could not reach to her ideal of good work owing to the crass and cross German nature of her adopted countrymen, and she has early followed her mother to "her reward." All England mourned for her, and King Edward went to her death-bed. Thence he proceeded for three weeks to Hamburg. The Queen has been also spending some time at Copenhagen. His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, has been inaugurated Grand of English Freemasons in succession to the Prince of Wales

* Mr. Amir Ali is utterly mistaken in his *Spirit of Islam*.

who resigned on succeeding to the throne. The Crown Prince of Germany has paid a visit to England, it is supposed on a matrimonial project. The King has issued a Proclamation announcing that the Coronation of himself and his consort will take place in June next, and appointed a large Commission to consider the ancient Coronation customs. The Coronation will be limited to that portion of the ceremony usually performed in Westminster Abbey. The King also received the Moorish Mission, and conferred honors on the Ambassador and on the Sultan of Morocco. The Duke of Cornwall has been immensely enjoying his trip to Australia since we last wrote, and has visited all the capitals of the several Colonies, besides a number of places in New Zealand, receiving a great Maori welcome at Rotorua, where 5,000 natives assembled to shout and give war-dances. About the Leeuwin, as well as between New Zealand and Hobart, very bad weather was met with, and in the former case the party had to return to Albany. After leaving Australia the Duke has successively visited Mauritius, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Ladysmith, Simonstown, and Capetown, everywhere meeting the most enthusiastic reception. He and the Duchess are now on their way to Canada.

The Parliament have been occupied with various important and unimportant matters, but little progress has been made in anything. The matter of the Coronation Oath has taken just the turn we indicated last quarter. The Bill was introduced after the Committee had reported in favour of the amendment by a declaration affirming disbelief in Transubstantiation and declaring the adoration of the Virgin contrary to the Protestant faith, and the House of Lords passed it. But Lord Salisbury, referring to the prospects of the Bill, said it was now evident that the Roman Catholics did not desire the withdrawal of the offensive words unless the Declaration securing the Protestant succession was simultaneously withdrawn. They were not entitled to complain whatever happened. It is understood that the Government will drop the Bill and not renew it next year. A Bill also to elaborate and add to the King's Title has been passed, but what the precise form is yet to be determined. We think this idea of going after Titles will be no improvement, and is a mark of the degeneracy of the age. Lord Roberts has been made the recipient of a grant of £100,000. The Reorganisation Scheme for the Army has made little headway; and while twelve millions have been sanctioned for Military and Naval expenditure, including the breakwater at Malta, it has come out, England would have to look for Naval Reserves elsewhere than in the Mercantile Marine, in which British seamen were

5,000 fewer than they were 30 years ago! The Education Bill, which satisfies only a section, has passed, and that (with the passing of the Home Estimates) seems to have been all that have been accomplished, along with a new closure rule enabling estimates to be voted in groups instead of separately! Expression was given in Parliament to the subject of the Colonies contributing a share to the upkeep of the Navy, but to any one who knows Australia, that day is very far off indeed. Even the bible of representation in the House will not move them. The head of Australia is moved by the tail, even as the Kangaroo—apt emblem! And yet, there is no better race on the face of the earth than the “upper crust” of “Young Australia,” but these are a handful in the millions of the “wurraking classes.” The Parliament stands prorogued after the ordinary speech from the Throne in which there was nothing remarkable or striking to notice. It could not close, however, its useless existence—which even Lord Salisbury deplores, only he lays the blame on there being no Opposition, and not on himself—without betraying its littleness, this overwhelming and magnificent “Khaki” Parliament, by bickerings with the Press, including the *Globe* and the *Daily Mail*, the Editor of the former having been called to express regret before the bar of the House, and the latter being told that it had been guilty of a breach of privilege. These are signs of the end. The defences of Gibraltar, which are in a perilous state owing to Spain’s new works opposite, were adverted to, but nothing very essential can possibly be done. Some Naval Manœuvres closed with an important battle off the Lizard, but the decision of the Umpires is awaited as we write. The following is a return of the fleets of the various powers as they stood on 15th January 1901:—

BATTLESHIPS.			PROTECTED CRUISERS.		
	Built.	Building.		Built and building.	
England	... 50	16	England	.. ... 107	
France	... 28	5	France	... ... 40	
Russia	... 15	10	Russia	... ... 14	
Germany	... 19	10	Germany	... ... 23	
Italy	... 15	6	Italy	... ... 16	
United States	... 7	11	Japan	... ... 16	
Japan	... 6	1			
ARMOURD CRUISERS.			TORPEDO CRAFT.		
	Built and building.			Built and building	
England	... ... 29		England	... .. 247	
France	... ... 22		France	... ... 316	
Russia	... ... 12		Russia	... ... 223	
Germany	... ... 7		Germany	... .. 169	
Italy	... ... 6		Italy	... ... 168	
Japan	... ... 7		United States	... ... 49	
United States	... ... 11		Japan	... .. 92	
SUBMARINES.					
France	... ...	...	...	... 22	
United States	... ...	...	...	... 8	

We ought to notice that there has been considerable to do in the Liberal Camp, the Imperialists going further away from the Moderatists. The outcome of a number of dinners and speeches has been that things remain pretty much where they were before. Only Lord Rosebery has again come forward and declared that he will lead if he will be followed! We are afraid he has none of the elements of a leader. He is a mere trifler, who thinks too much of himself. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has declared the very truth that mere petty personal jealousies prevent the consolidation of the Opposition. There are too many merely brilliant men, and few Moderatists and those willing to submit to the yoke. Even Mr. Labouchere has got a decent following of ultra Rads! The end of the Boer War, with a peaceful settlement, will doubtless result in the resuscitation of a respectable Opposition. With reference to the weakness of the present "Khaki" Parliament, which was forced on the country, and which came in with such a flourish, even the *Times* writes that "It is idle to attempt to disguise the fact that there is a great deal of discontent in the ranks of the Unionist majority. It is not by any means confined to the Liberal Unionists, and perhaps its most decided and uncompromising exponents are identified, by life-long allegiance, with the old Conservative party;" and Mr. J. M. Maclean's withdrawal from the Carlton Club and estrangement from the Conservatives means much more than the mere solitary fact. He has only had the courage to do, what every true Conservative would do tomorrow to get free from the "Brummagem" Club of Mr. Chamberlain, and the unnatural union between Whigs and Tories. The Jingo Spirit has been considerably exorcised of late, and probably before long will turn to a new form of rabies in regard to home matters of taxation. The details of the recent Census have been published, and show that 77 *per cent.* of the population live in the towns. The population in England and Wales has increased by 12·7 *per cent.* as compared with 11·65 in the preceding decade. The decennial birth-rate, however, is only 31·57, as compared with 34·24 in 1881-91 and 37·89 in 1871-81. But for the war, immigration would for the first time have exceeded emigration.

We may fitly conclude this section of our remarks by quoting Mr. Andrew Carnegie's solid words of wisdom in a late *Nineteenth Century* as against Sir Michael's interested words that it was all right at a Bankers' Banquet. Mr. Carnegie writes :—

"The true statesman will soon turn his attention to the bettering of conditions at home, for it is here that the greatest increase of British trade can most easily be effected. A profitable home market is the strongest weapon that can be used to conquer markets abroad.

After British employers and employed reach the American standard of economical production Britain will still remain heavily handicapped in the industrial race by the enormous load of taxation under which her producers labour as compared with America. It seems to the writer that this should be one, if not the chief, controlling factor in determining the world policy of the nation. It must soon force itself upon statesmen.

"The blood has not deteriorated. It is the financial and political situation which is alarming, for it needs no prophet to foretell that a continuance of the aggressive temper which alienates other Governments and peoples, and which has mistaken territorial acquisition for genuine empire making, must soon strain the nation's power and lay upon its productive capacity such burdens as will render it incapable of retaining the present volume of trade which is essential to the preservation of Britain's position as foremost in the world financially, commercially, and industrially (*American Union hors concours*).

"If ever a nation had clear and unmistakable warnings, as the writer thinks, that the time has arrived when it should henceforth measure its responsibilities and ambitions throughout the world with its resources, and cut its garment according to its cloth, it is the dear old motherland of the race, with its trade stationary, an army of 30,000 men or more to be provided for in South Africa even after peace comes; its expenditure and taxation increasing, and its promises to pay already at such a discount as to attract capital from across the Atlantic. Rocks ahead, sure enough, but this does not mean that the officers of the ship of state are to drive it full steam upon them. On the contrary, it should mean that the rocks, being now in sight, should be avoided."

In Australia as well as in Canada the Census shows an increase of population, Canada of half a million and Australia of three-fourths of a million. Canada seems to have had no further history during the quarter. But in Australia, the claim of the House of Representatives to exclusive power to grant supplies has been abandoned. The Lower House has sole power in originating Appropriation Bills, but both Houses have equal power in granting supplies. The Defence Bill provides for a small force of Regulars and large forces of Militia, Mounted Infantry and Volunteers, and the classification of all adult males. All male British subjects between 18 and 60 years of age are liable to serve in time of emergency. An official return of the Defence Forces shows that there are 61,223 men and 15,000 cadets (grown up school lads). The Duke of Cornwall lately reviewed 9,000 men of all arms in Sydney, N. S. W. Mr. Chamberlain having recently disallowed the local Queensland Anti-Asiatic Act, because it placed Japanese in the same category as Asiatics generally (where are they to be?), and excluded Indians solely on account of race and colour, Mr. Barton, the Commonwealth Premier, has introduced a Bill containing a drastic restriction on immigration, including an educational test. He has also, in view of the recent move for the employment of lascars

on the Orient Steamers, announced that the Commonwealth favoured the exclusive employment of whites on the Mail Steamers. (The Australian Labour Unions, who dominate the country, have raised the outcry against the lascars, in view of the Orient Line's move and the recent decision by the King's Bench regarding space for white and colored seamen.) The Senate, however, rejected a proposal that vessels carrying Mails should be exclusively manned by whites. Mr. Barton has promised to take action in regard to future contracts. Western Australia has at last thrown off the *incubus* of the Forrest Ministry, and Mr. George Leake is now Premier and Attorney-General, with Messrs. Illingworth, Holmes, Kingsmill, Gregory, and Sommers with other portfolios. New Zealand is determined to keep out of the Commonwealth, and being annoyed at something done by the British Admiralty, has intimated to the Cape authorities that no further discharges of New Zealand troopers will be allowed in South Africa, but they must be sent home (N. Z.). New Zealand is very cheeky, and yet has Women Suffrage!

Finally, we have our cousins the United States. General Chaffee has been appointed military governor of the Philippines. A great Pan-American Congress exclusive of Canada, and into which Chili seems disinclined to enter, will be held in Mexico under the presidency of the United States, to which all the independent states in North and South America invited. The silver "question" is believed to have dropped out of American politics. There has been a great steel strike, involving most of the great companies and 100,000 men. The Chinese merchants in America are organising a movement in favour of the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act on the grounds of fair play, in return for the opening of Chinese ports, and also demand to be placed on the same footing as the Japanese. The American Admiralty has acceded to Admiral Schley's request for a Court of Enquiry into his conduct at the Battle of Santiago, a recent history of the navy having accused him of cowardice and mendacity. There has been terrible heat during the summer, and large number of deaths from it, as well as much crops withered up. An immense international Salt Trust, to comprise all the great companies in America, Canada, and England, has been spoken of; and Mr. Pierpont Morgan and over twenty delegates from the New York Chamber of Commerce have been over to England, where they have been banquetted by the London Chamber of Commerce, and afterwards received by King Edward and the Queen at a special interview granted them at Windsor Castle.*

* As these pages are passing through the press, we learn that President MacKinley has been assassinated by an Anarchist.

INDIA—POLITICAL.—We must here still give the first consideration to the subject of the memorial to Queen Victoria. The collections have not advanced very much further, though the New York Chamber of Commerce has subscribed five thousand dollars, Sir Henry King five thousand rupees, and the Army in India nearly a lakh. The total we suppose will ultimately amount to about forty lakhs, a very handsome sum and sufficient for the purpose had an appropriate Art-memorial been determined on, or the plan of granite shafts or pillars marking the boundaries and capitals of the Empire, but not nearly enough for a building—even if not “faced with marble”—in the proximity of Government House which is to show any other than contemptibly small beside it. We have to take the foundations into consideration, for these, in a soil which was practically once the soft bed of the river, have to be sunk to an extraordinary depth and then even probably supported on platforms ! Let us make no mistake in regard to the cost even if we have to construct merely a second Museum in a city which already boasts of an Imperial Museum, rich in treasures of every kind, and in a corner room of which all the old chain armour and faded letters (also misplaced busts !) which the Viceroy prizes so highly, could be accommodated. We have hopes of making a convert of him even at the eleventh hour. An incomplete Museum, of a partial and trifling character, excluding, too, the entire great Hindu period which alone truly marks the nation, for the Mahomedans are mere late exotics—we had almost said excrescences on the national life—and that when nine-tenths of the subscriptions have flowed from Hindu Princes, would seem to be self-condemned. And all this when the erection cannot but seem mean compared to the vast adjacent pile of Government House, when the money will not suffice, and the most of it be sunk in the foundations, when it is merely the carrying out of a private notion of the Viceroy which he had before this occasion rose—as he has himself ingenuously confessed—what right has he to introduce his private and previous notions into a great national Memorial subject like this ?—and finally, which he will hardly see begun, and no one will after see carried through, and will ultimately fall into a melancholy spectacle. As excluding the Hindu period it does injustice both to the true, great and real Hindu nation of India, as well as to the vast and large body of Hindu subscribers. As a private, and selfish antiquarian matter, it has no business in a public national Memorial of such a great and peerless Queen. It is entirely beside its object and will appear mean in comparison with it, will swallow up all the money in foundations alone, and will never be seen through by its originator or by any one.

Let it, therefore, we say, even at the eleventh hour be given up, and a truly national and representative Committee (to include ourselves) be ordered to report as to its form and even as to the site. If in Calcutta, the Zoological Gardens will furnish the best site. It will be a sad thing for our popular, pleasant, hard-working and energetic Viceroy, to whom India is indebted for being pushed ahead, to be remembered in future in connection with the phrase (invented, we believe, by the *Pioneer*) "Curzon's Folly," and as always happens, by that alone, for the good deeds done by him will all be forgotten in the catch-phrase. We trust it will be seen that we speak even for his own true fame and name. It is also not consistent in our opinion, for him, the ruler and chief of one of the great empires of the earth, to descend to writing magazine articles, even if in support of his views as he has lately done in the *Nineteenth Century*. It has amazed us. It is not only unconventional, but *infra dig*. When we find in it statements of the most extraordinary description to support his pet project, depreciating Delhi and its Imperial site, character and claims, by referring to it as "merely the residence of a Commissioner," and so forth, we can hardly believe our own eyes and are dumb-founded. No more can Rome in Italy be run down, or the Jerusalem of Solomon's Temple and Titus' Siege. Delhi is the Mecca of India, and Lord Curzon will never be able to belittle it. Lord Curzon may be sure that Delhi and its Imperial glories of three thousand years will outlast all he can say against it (and he is the only one we remember who has ever done so)—we had almost said outlast the future! But as we have a whole article—for which we have not space in our present number—on his paper in the *Nineteenth Century*, taking it ruthlessly and mercilessly to pieces, we refrain from saying any more on the subject at present. We are sure he would not like to see the article. As a matter both of fact and wisdom, there was no need at all of the *Nineteenth Century* article; and still less of any reference to, or belittling of Delhi. When one has a bad cause, it is best to remain silent. In conclusion we shall be only too glad to be able to say in our next Quarter's Notes that he has made over the whole thing to a representative Committee, and washed his hands entirely of the matter; and we venture to say that he, too, will be mightily glad. (There will also be no further need of publishing the cutting and slashing article we have referred to.) In all this controversy we note with the greatest pleasure the gift of the King-Emperor of a series of paintings which were executed by command of her late Majesty, and illustrate important events in her life and reign. This was only what might have been

expected of the invariable sense of appropriateness evinced by His Majesty, and his regard for both his beloved Mother and India. Should the Memorial take another form, the paintings may appropriately grace the great Marble Hall of Government House. It is also pleasant to note the considerable success of the Victoria Scholarship Fund originated by Lady Curzon, who is soon—we are extremely pleased to know—coming out to join the Viceroy, and who has lately had a special audience with the good Queen Alexandra at Windsor. The Fund now amounts to four-and-a-half lakhs, and may ultimately reach five lakhs, and a great deal of good will be done with it. The Indian Women's Victoria Memorial Scheme (which almost cut against the above Fund) started by Lady Harnam Singh, although excellent in its aims, has not made the progress that was anticipated of it, but we trust much good will come of it. It is charitable and educational in its objects, and unites all classes and nationalities of Indian Women socially and in a common and worthy aim. Before we pass from the subject of Memorials, we may as well say that the very large sum of several lakhs, collected in the North-West Provinces, seems to be absolutely thrown away as divided among merely a few statues of the late Queen-Empress whose statues are numerous and common enough. Instead of these, one great Art-Memorial in the centre of Prince Alfred Park in Allahabad, would have been far better. This matter, of the statues, however, is now beyond recall and Sir A. McDonnell is responsible for it. We may now proceed with matters more appropriately political,—and they are more numerous than ordinary—in due order, and we must give the credit to Lord Curzon, though he has had trying times of it, and in some few instances has even been hard hit, that on the whole he comes out pretty well off. No life, least of all a public ruler's or statesman's life, is one unvarying success or succession of triumphs; and whatever he may himself think, or however much some writers and portions of the press, for reasons, may flatter him into entertaining such an absurd belief, he will find what we say to be true. And first as to Mr. Fanshawe's retirement. We refrain from passing any comment on this for the reason that we have not the full evidence before us whether it was the result of an undue or a justifiable sensitiveness on the part of Mr. Fanshawe. There is no doubt that the Punjab has had the proud title of "The Frontier Province" taken away from it—in our opinion the separation is a mistake, and will be proved to be such, and we have been offered a paper on this view of the case by an old Punjabi, which we may yet accept—; and further, that its officers lose immensely; and Mr. Fanshawe's resignation may

have been necessary from a public point of view. That Mr. Fanshawe alone should have done so may be due as much to his very prominent position in the service, as to his extreme and keen sense of honor—all the Fanshawes from a long gone age have been known to us as possessing a most chivalric and keen sense of honor. That Lord Curzon should have made no attempt, if possible, to retain such a man in the service of the Government of India, is without excuse. Better than some already occupying some high positions, Mr. Fanshawe would have proved an able ruler. We cannot say if there is yet time for the Viceroy to induce Mr. Fanshawe to withdraw his resignation, and place him in one of these seats. *Noblesse obligé*, and India would be benefitted, while a bad wound would be healed. It may be a "counsel of perfection," but it is on righteousness, mercy, grace, humility and truth that even public life is based, and Beauty (grace) and Strength go *together* to form the pillars of the portal of the Temple of Wisdom and the Universe of God. As for the remarks of the London *Spectator* on the subject, they are simply impertinent. The *Spectator* has long lost touch of India, though it still makes a show of knowing something about it with catch-phrases and inconsequential assertions. We are sorry to have to say this of a paper which, while Townsend lived, was once so highly respected. Before we pass from this subject of the creation of the "Frontier Provinces" and its untoward consequences, we may refer to the creation of a new Government, a Chief Commissionership, out of Orissa, Chota-Nagpur, and the Eastern portion of the Central Provinces, both the Governments of Bengal and the Central Provinces being quite too large and unwieldy, and these outlying portions, which would form an extensive Government, being in consequence very much neglected. We are sure that Lord Curzon would both do the right thing here, promote progress and efficiency, and wound no undue susceptibilities. Our present Governments—their limits—were formed on mere haphazard and as occasion rose. There was no principle underlying, for instance for Orissa and Chota-Nagpur going along with Bengal, or even Ganjam with Madras, or the Sumbhulpore division of the Central Provinces first going along with Orissa and then being included in the Central Provinces. This is a large subject. At present we only allude to it, and draw Lord Curzon's serious attention to relieving both Bengal and the Central Provinces of heavy and unnecessary burdens, and starting an immense tract of country on a new and prosperous basis even as was done with Assam. For a name we should call it the Curzon Provinces! With reference to the contemplated removal of the Headquarter of the Punjab Government from Simla we think

it would be most unwise, even if we neglected to consider the matter of expense. Lord Curzon has to consider the case of future Viceroys who may know nothing of Central Asiatic or Frontier matters, and the proximity of the Punjab ruler would be of the greatest help to such. Besides contingencies may arise when the Lieutenant-Governor's near presence—even as Sir Frederick Halliday had to shift from Alipore and take up his quarters near Government House during the Mutiny—will be demanded with any Viceroy at Simla. Lord Curzon, however, has scored in having set the Imperial Cadet Corps project into motion. The subject was not absent from Lord Dufferin's mind when the Imperial Service Troops were instituted, but it was not thought judicious to move too fast and undertake too much at once. And the *Statesman* has shown that the idea of an Imperial Cadet Corps was first set forth by that famous soldier and administrator (and also, we will add, however little recognised as such, *author*), Sir Henry Lawrence, one of the oldest and most prolific contributors to the *Calcutta Review*, where probably some germs of his suggestion now carried out, may be discovered. We have no doubt the *Cadet Corps* will be highly popular among the class to whom it applies. As a career for the *younger* sons of Native princes, there can be nothing better. But they will have to live "laborious days"—for soldiering is no trifling matter now-a-days—and probably on scanty fare as compared with their present reckless extravagance. In order to follow up his action, the Viceroy has deputed his Private Secretary, Mr. Walter Lawrence, to visit the Chiefs' Colleges at Ajmere, Indore and Rajkot, to arrange preliminaries with the Political Officers and Principals of these institutions. The official *communiqué* issued to the press recognises that there are many difficulties in the way of the project being a success, and that the experiment at present will be of a tentative character. We quote it here at length :—

"A large field is already provided for the military employment of Native officers of good birth or position, of whom there are nearly 3,000 in the commissioned ranks of the Native Army, but there has been a dearth of a corresponding opening for the sons of Indian princes, nobles, and gentlemen, who are every day receiving a superior education, but for whom opportunities of active public service when they reach years of manhood are restricted. The desire to devise some outlet for the military aspirations of these classes has long been felt, but the difficulties in connection both with selection and tuition, with military rank and military duties, have barred the way. The experiment which has now been sanctioned will be of a tentative character, and some time will elapse before its details have been fully worked out. It rests upon the periodical selection of a small number probably some twenty to start with, of scions of families such as have been described who will with rare exceptions be drawn from the four Chiefs' Colleges at Ajmere, Lahore, Rajkot, and Indore, and who will constitute what will be known as the Imperial Cadet Corps, under

the command of a specially selected Commandant and Adjutant. The cadets will pass through a two years' course of training in the cold weather and will from time to time be in personal attendance upon the Viceroy on ceremonial and other occasions. At the end of the second year there may be some among them who will be called away to either military or civil employment in the States or Provinces to which they belong. There may be others who will not have developed any taste for a military profession. For the remainder it is contemplated that a more sustained military course in a garrison class should be instituted in the third year, and that upon such as emerge successfully from this test and have satisfied the requisite standard of efficiency the rank, position, and duty of a British officer in the Staff or other extra regimental military employment should, as suitable vacancies occur, be conferred, in such a manner that a military career would be opened to those who had satisfactorily vindicated their character and capacity. It is manifest that the success of the scheme will depend upon the co-operation which it meets with from the princely and noble classes, whom it is intended to befriend; upon careful selection in the first place, and careful management afterwards. It can only be slow in its operation, and its future must in the main be dependent upon experience. It would be unwise, therefore, at the present stage to form exaggerated expectations, but it is the hope of the Viceroy and the Government of India that in the detailed plans which will be elaborated between now and the cold weather may be laid the foundations of a reform that will both be esteemed as a recognition of the patriotism of the Indian aristocracy, and may in time become a source of strength to the State. The scheme has been honoured with the cordial approval of His Majesty the King Emperor, who has desired it to be made known that he has welcomed this opportunity of testifying his confidence in the loyalty of his Indian feudatories and subjects in the opening year of his reign."

As if, however, the fates were determined to cloud Lord Curzon in even this, Mr. McLaren Morrison, well-known as a leading merchant of Calcutta, and also author of some really nice books, has come forward to claim the credit of having put it before the Viceroy. The Private Secretary of the Viceroy has denied Mr. McLaren Morrison's assertion. Mr. Morrison unhappily was not aware of Sir Henry Lawrence having really first originated the idea, or that it was one that was seriously contemplated by Lord Dufferin. But for the *Pioneer* to write of Mr. McLaren Morrison as "somebody called Mr. —, etc., is ludicrous. Mr. Morrison, as every one is aware, is a leading and well-known Calcutta merchant, and has written several very useful books, the perusal of one of which—*Life's Prescriptions*—we would strongly recommend to the journalistic scribe above referred to, and who, we are sure, would be glad to make the "somebody's" personal acquaintance, although he has such a horribly long Scotch name.

Coming to another, though almost related matter with Indian Princes being trained to modern warfare, we find that not only the Mahsuds, but other tribes are showing signs of unusual activity. Even in Swat there has been internal strife

which we have put down. Questions have been put in the Home Parliament about this unrest, and "answered"—as usual. There can be no doubt, however, that, assuming the Ameer dies soon, or somehow or other does something which leads to something else for which he is not officially, or even morally, responsible, there will be some sort of repetition of former troubles for which we should be prepared, even if we have not a Sir William Lockhart or Colonel Warburton now living, and Lord Curzon may find his inception of "the Frontier Province" break down at the first start, and only make confusion worse confounded with the Punjab inter-related, and yet separated. We are not yet aware what effect this creation of the new "Frontier Province" has had on the imaginations and ideas of the tribes, though this may account for the unrest.

Orders have been issued for the Government of India Offices to close in Simla on the 2nd November, Saturday, and to re-open in Calcutta on the Monday following, the 4th, but Lord Curzon himself goes by a long and unfrequented route by way of Manipur to Burmah,—during which he will be cut off from the immediate Government of the country, as there are many marching stages,—returning to Calcutta only by the middle of December. We do not see the necessity of his going by that route at all, nor of his thus cutting himself off from the rest of India, at a time, too, when he may be urgently wanted.

Meanwhile, there will presently be a great shuffling of the cards of high Government appointments and Lieutenant-Governorships owing to a number of them falling in, and both Sir John Woodburn and Sir Antony McDonnell have been up at Simla. An article on "Our Rulers" in this issue, written in a vein, we should like to see absent, especially as against our very amiable and earnest-minded Viceroy, will be found treating on the subject of these changes. It is a fact, however, that if Mr. Rivaz is to go to the Punjab, Sir John Woodburn may have to be indented for for the North-West Provinces, while Sir Richard Fryer may go to Bengal, and Mr. Cotton sent to Burmah, Mr. Fuller taking the latter's place in Assam. With the exception of Mr. La Touche,* who has already officiated for the North-West Provinces, there is no one save Sir John Woodburn, and he originally belonged to those Provinces. Colonel Barr, as having passed his life in political service, and as a military man, could not oust the claims of the Civil Service. We may add that Mr. Buckland has some claims for promotion, and if the new Curzon Province of

* Mr. La Touche has since we note the above been appointed to the N.-W. P.—the best that could have been made.

Chota-Nagpur, Orissa and Sumbhulpur (capital Ranchi) be formed, Mr. Buckland may gain a step there and the Central Provinces given to Mr. La Touche. Should Mr. Fraser be sent to Assam Mr. Fuller may have his turn in the Central Provinces, Mr. La Touche being sent to the new Province. Really, we think that even as a matter of justice to the Service in regard to promotion the new Province we advocate should be created. In all the preceding changes we have forborne naming Mr. Ibbetson for obvious reasons, but his name may be interchanged with Mr. Cotton's, or Mr. Fraser's, or Mr. Fuller's, or Mr. Buckland's, he being hardly ripe yet for any of the higher posts of Bengal, Burmah, the North-West Provinces, and the P. P. And able as is Mr. Barnes, he has had as yet little administrative experience, and as a Political Officer he is unrivalled. He cannot be spared from the Foreign Office for a long while yet. Pursuing his idea of the curtailment of Reports, the Viceroy has placed Mr. Impey, Commissioner of Agra, on special duty in the North-West Provinces. At the same time, a critic of the measure has appeared in the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Mr. Cotton, who draws attention to the "constant and irksome reference to the statements in the appendices" in his Resolution on the Sanitary Report of the Province for 1900. We are afraid that the measure, though affecting at present only some few score of clerks in the public offices, will run itself out. Things must take their course—even if a spick-and-span new Native Minister in Mysore is quick to follow the Viceroy's lead—and there is really more inconvenience suffered by the change than advantage. We should think a private instruction to the heads of Governments, or of Offices, to the effect of using moderation according to requirements would have been better calculated to serve the Viceroy's ends. Under his Resolution, as pointed out, we believe by some paper, the old and extremely valuable Reports—on which almost all our knowledge of India is based—would have been impossible.

The matter of religion in education, to which sentiment Lord Curzon gave utterance in his speech at Alighur, bore the fruit that might have been expected. One of those Bengali papers which know how to twist the most ordinary utterances to advertise themselves, and to *pose* as public saviours, came forth with a leader beginning :—

"We hear that the Government of India is ready to introduce into our schools and colleges the study of the Bible," and so on, inventing minute details of the scheme from his own fertile and crooked brain, even dragging the Metropolitan's and the Maharajah of Durbhunga's names into it! To any one who knows what the lower Bengali newspapers are no

refutation was necessary : the whole thing was an invention for an end. Unfortunately the end was attained by the *Pioneer* giving currency to the article by a translation, and Sir Antony McDonnell sillily taking it up. This, of course, could only lead to an official denial by the Supreme Government through the same person. We gave credit to Sir A. McDonnell of greater sense, wisdom and gravity. The Maharajah of Durbhunga also denied any knowledge of the wicked lie. Whatever our own personal views of the introduction of religion—or of the Bible—into public Government institutions may be,—and we do think the whole system of such public education is wrong in every essential,—the question is one that cannot be practically discussed at present owing to the system being a perverted one. How and wherein the system is to be altered, both for the true progress of education and not the mere turning out any number of ill-educated clerks who even if B. As. cannot often write a correct sentence of English, and for supplying religion as a basis for life and conduct, is not under discussion before us at present. But, taking the text of the Metropolitan's pious and Christian aspiration that he hoped this century, before it ended, would see the Bible included in Colleges in India, which the *Pioneer* had previously misunderstood, the Bishop of Madras, caught at the opportunity of delivering another of his carefully-worded semi-political speeches on the subject, in which he certainly misapprehended, as did previously a portion of the Press whom we should have expected to have been better informed, or misconstrued,—the excellent Bishop Welldon, to be himself, in turn, very justly taken to pieces by the Native Chairman of the Meeting Mr. Justice Narhari Row. We regret that we have not space at present to furnish fuller details of a very interesting matter except to completely exonerate the Metropolitan. In the matter of the Bible in schools the Viceroy needs no exoneration. The invention or lie should have been treated with profound contempt and utter silence instead of a public and official denial, got up, we may say, by Sir A. McDonnell. We come now to the incident of what has been termed "the Cooper's Hill Snub." Here again it was a "friendly" paper—we wont particularise—which led the way by terming the few words in which Lord Hamilton merely observed on the inconvenience caused to him by certain claims being pressed on him, "a sharp rebuke," "a snub," and the like. Where there was neither "sharp rebuke," nor "snub," such a view taken by a leading journal, and accordingly repeated almost necessarily at once everywhere, made it one, and placed Lord Curzon in a most unenviable position before the whole public, from which he was only released by long telegrams and the subsequent explanation offered by Lord Hamilton. It is true

that Lord Hamilton is and must be an autocrat in his own sphere, and can "rebuke sharply" if he has occasion for it, and would not hesitate to do so even to a Viceroy if necessary, but we can state that the present Secretary of State for India is marked by courtesy in his dealings and communications even with lesser persons than his chief subordinate in India, and it seems to us exceedingly wrong, if not wicked, in any leading Anglo-Indian journal or journals to breed trouble between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State even though going on (admittedly) faulty telegrams, while professing to take the former's part. In this matter, indeed, the Viceroy had need to exclaim, "save me from my friends!" However, the incident is over, and Lord Hamilton has since and subsequently, as we shall see, in his Budget speech, shown conclusively his appreciation of our Viceroy's general work. Lord Hamilton is no more to be debarred from alluding to "grave inconveniences" caused by any one than Lord Curzon himself. The Viceroy, evidently smarting under the public comments,—for he refers in his telegram to "widespread attention,"—calls it in his wire a "severe censure" and a "public slur." Lord Hamilton replied:—"Without entering at present upon the question whether the course adopted by your Government was in all respects necessitated by my instructions, I wish to point out at once that the last sentence of my Despatch does not apply to your action generally, but merely to the method in which certain claims were admitted and calculated (see paragraph 9 of my Despatch) and was not intended to cast the smallest slur upon your Government. You are at liberty to publish your telegram and this reply"—a very good reply to a false and created situation. The "Governor-General in Council" has authorised the coming into force of the Punjab Land Alienation Act, and the immediate result, as seen in an auction since, has been the going down of the price of land from Rs. 100 to Rs. 40 per acre—a terrible blow to the Province. The Viceroy must bear with the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province the responsibility of this terrible blow to the wealth of the Province which was strenuously opposed by the native member and which went directly counter to the teachings of political economy for certain supposed humanitarian reasons. Sir James Lyall, at a meeting held at the Westminster Town Hall, to hear a paper read advocating the measures of the Bill by Mr. Thorburn, forbore to give it his support and judiciously said, "he did not think any one could say at present how it would work out." We are afraid it spells reduction of half the value of the land of the Province in order to avert a possible evil. It also means the stamping of the rural classes as such for ever, and will have effects deteriorating the national

character even as Bengal has found to be the case from its unfortunate Permanent Settlement.

Lord Curzon is also pushing on the extension of irrigation scheme. A review of irrigation in India in 1899-1900 shows a nett return of close on 7 *per cent.* on the total major works. The total area of crops irrigated or protected by the different classes of works during the year exceeded eighteen millions of acres. An important Commission on which the various Provinces will be represented will tour through India next cold weather to inspect the irrigation works which are to be undertaken under the scheme started in connection with famine prevention. In the memorandum issued by Mr. Higham, Inspector-General of Irrigation, for the guidance of officers employed in collecting information in connection with the proposed famine protection works, the following were the projects regarding which details were asked for : *Bengal* : The Bagmati Irrigation Project in Muzafferpore District, the Jujuti Canal from the Damodar River in Burdwan and Hughli Districts ; the Kamla Irrigation Project in Darbhanga, and tanks in Chota-Nagpur. *North-West Provinces* and *Oudh* : The Ken and Tons Canals, the Belan Project, the Dassan River Canal stoppage reservoirs in Bandelkhand, and the Sarda Canal. The first four are already under investigation. It is not known whether any cities have ever been proposed or examined regarding reservoirs in Bandelkhand. As to the Sarda Canal, a full report on this project was submitted long ago, and nothing more is required, unless additional evidence is now forthcoming. This canal has not been favourably regarded by the experts. *Central Provinces* : The construction of tanks of moderate size in certain districts, schemes for irrigation from the Hiran, Kanhan, Pench and Wardha Rivers, canals from the Narbudda or the Tapti. *The Punjab* : Storage works in Gurgaon District, small inundation canals in Jhelum, Shahpur and other districts ; irrigation works in Gujerat District ; Markanda Canal. *Madras* : Tungabhadra project in Bellary District, extensions of irrigation in Nellore District, storage works in the Cauvery valley and Paddukottah. *Bombay* : Irrigation Canal from the Tapti for Surat District, storage works in the Deccan. The memorandum referred to stated that the

" main object to be kept in view is to ascertain about all protective irrigation works which have been proposed on apparently reasonable grounds, and to ascertain and bring together all those which appear sufficiently promising to merit closer examination based on proper surveys and detailed enquiries. An effort is to be made to report, in sufficient detail, on important works which have already been under investigation to enable final recommendations to be made regarding them in view to sanction being given to an early commencement made on those which are promising, at

the same time that investigations are continued on other projects. The fact that such works may have been negatived a good many years ago is to be no bar to their reconsideration, conditions having since largely changed. The point to be specially borne in mind is not so much whether any particular irrigation work will pay, as to whether, if constructed, it would have caused such a reduction in the enormous sums spent during the past five years on famine relief as would have outweighed the financial loss that might have been expected on it, and whether such loss would be too high a price to pay for its probable value as protective work in preventing or mitigating the horrors and cost of famine.

A Mineral subject may fitly follow Irrigation, as the Viceroy has specially interested himself in giving scope to Prospecting as increasing mining operations and the development of the wealth of the country. But he is hardly aware how his Rules are carried out. In our last we recommended his getting quarterly returns from the Central Provinces and Burmah. The *Madras Mail*, the *Statesman* and other well-informed journals followed up, and improved on what we had said, by recommending the publication of such quarterly returns, *i.e.*, furnishing copies of them to the press. It is not without reason that we urged the Viceroy to get these returns, as we have had instances furnished us which go far to show what may be done by small Local Governments to defeat the Government of India's object in revising and enlarging the Rules and committing the carrying out of them by the Local Governments. And this is borne out by the other journals' comments.

The Central Provinces, which are immediately under the Viceroy's supervision, probably need more attention than any other, as it has been doing uncommonly badly under Mr. Fraser as Chief Commissioner. The death-rate, evidently the result of the famines, rose last year from a mean of 32.44 to 56.75—in 1897 it was 69.34 per mille—from the small total of some ten millions of population, more than *two millions* have perished during the last few years! And the pinch of poverty—which ultimately means death—is still heavily felt all over. Of course, for the scarcity Mr. Fraser is not responsible, but for the steps taken to meet that scarcity so as to save life, and for other steps to lessen poverty by increasing employment for the labouring classes as in mines, etc. What has been done as regards these? Mr. Fraser has been only "unfortunate" some will say, and we are reminded of the first Rothschild's maxim to "exclude unfortunate and unlucky men from any relations with your operations." The Central Provinces, which extend from Ganjam on the East Coast to Rajputana on the West, form too large a charge for any ordinary Chief Commissioner. (Only Sir Richard Temple in his younger days, by his marvellous activity—and there were no railways then—was ever able to meet the requirements of his

position); and this matter of size may have had something to do with Mr. Fraser being "unfortunate"

In regard to the late Census, a change in the age tables is notified, with a view of illustrating accurately the extent to which Infant Marriage prevails. There has also been considerable commotion among the "Khetry" class by their being included among "bunniahs." The *Indian Social Reformer* writes that if the Government of India wished to set the several castes of the Hindus by the ears, it could not have devised a more effective scheme than the institution of the so-called Caste Precedence Committees which are creating so much dissension in the country. Indeed, we fail to see how any Government can attempt to decide in the matter of castes. It may be right to take some general—say the four—divisions, but to go beyond is both futile and impossible, and as shown above even causes mischief. It is a matter of race, origin, religion, and occupation, and we had best let it alone. In the matter of the Khettries, or Kshettryas as some spell it, we have ourselves in times long gone by, when castes were better recognised and more rigidly separated or distinguished, specially made enquiries about them, in various parts of India, and have found that though pursuing ordinary occupations they formed an upper class—nearly related to the second or military class. It is not surprising then, that even now, a couple of generations removed from those times, when much has been done everywhere to obliterate even Brahmins they should revolt against being placed among "bunniahs." We trust that moderation and good sense will rule in the matter, and that everyone's estimate of himself will be taken even if he says he is descended from Rama. We may have something more to say on this point regarding the Khettries, as it involves large numbers of very influential and prominent people everywhere. Mr. H. H. Risley is in charge of the census work.

The Agricultural Banks Commission, which we reported, meeting at Simla last quarter, has come to the conclusion we foresaw—experiments suited to provinces.

The total revenues to the end of June this year is one and a half crores better than to the same date in 1900. There has also been a considerable increase in the Post Office, and it seems time that while some of the urgently-called-for reforms indicated in our last number by "Augareion" are taken in hand, some slight additions be made to salaries all round, down to even the Postal peons. The lower and lowest grades of the Post Office are miserably ill-paid, and their responsibilities, and also temptations, are great. But they are also exceedingly hard worked—harder perhaps than in any other

department of the State. The Rupee Loan for one crore in this country was covered six times over, which is very satisfactory considering the failure of the three millions loan at home. Finally, in regard to imperial matters, the Ghazipur correspondent of the *Statesman* wrote saying that the Opium Cultivators of that—the largest—Agency have gone on strike and refused to accept the advance usually made to them annually. They want a higher price of course—which spells reduction of the revenue raised by Government from the Opium Monopoly, and, what we advocate, the throwing open the cultivation and leaving it under ordinary conditions of trade. Government could easily, a few short years ago, see the “mote” that was in the Bengal Indigo Planter’s eye, but cannot see the “beam” that is in its own eye in regard to this Government—ordained Opium Cultivation, which deprives the ryots and others of probably a couple millions sterling annually. There is an easy way of getting out of it, and yet maintaining the quality and the revenue, and Lord Curzon may yet see fit to rid the Government of the double foul blot of manufacturing Opium to force it down the Chinese throats, and of depriving the poor ryots of the gains that now go into the pockets of Jews and Marwarries. If the above strike extends throughout India, it will be too late to take the matter in hand.

In the Local Governments, a Resolution of the Bengal Government on the

“Report on emigration from the port of Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies in 1900 states that of the 11,674 emigrants who embarked, 10,095 were Hindus and 1,575 Mahommedans; of these 4,588 proceeded to Demerara, 1,878 to Trinidad, 670 to Jamaica, 1,753 to Mauritius, 481 to Natal and 2,304 to Fiji. These 11,674 emigrants included 235 return emigrants. Steamers conveyed emigrants to Mauritius and Natal only, ships proceeding to the other Colonies. The death-rate on the whole appears to have been high, being 2·50 per cent. on the 15 sailing vessels, as compared with 1·05 per cent. on 17 vessels in the preceding year. The number of emigrants who returned from the Colonies was 3,147, as compared with 2,421 in 1899. There were 88 deaths or 2·78 per cent., as compared with 52 or 2·12 per cent., in the previous year. The largest number of emigrants, *viz.*, 1,145, returned from Demerara with aggregate savings of Rs. 1,5,9730, or an average of Rs. 139·8 per head. Trinidad comes next with a smaller number of returning emigrants, *viz.*, 730, and shows an average saving of Rs. 214 per head. The smallest number, *viz.*, 17, returned from Reunion, without any savings. The all-round average saving per head was Rs. 165, as against Rs. 159 in the previous year. Of the total number of emigrants who returned to India, 1,727 brought back savings.”

Mr. Geidt, Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal affairs, who lately officiated at Noakhali as Sessions Judge after Mr. Pennell was suspended, has been appointed a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council. There is a considerable local

Agitation for the appointment of more Judges and Officers of the High Court. In Madras there has been considerable distress in the great Arcot district, and the press has already begun to inweigh against Lord Ampthill for not having met it in time. A new Court of Wards Bill is to be considered, and that not before its time. Indeed the case of Lodd Govindas, who has sunk twenty lakhs of rupees in one of these Wards' Estates, is without a parallel for absolute injustice. The Hon'ble Mr. Nicholson, on his return to India from England in the beginning of October, will be placed on special duty in Madras in connection with Agricultural Banks and will return to Calcutta for the Supreme Legislative Council Session in the middle of December.

In Bombay there has been considerable class-opposition to the Land Revenue Bill, and the Government has taken the unusual course of replying at length to the criticisms passed on its Land Revenue Bill. On the main point to which criticism has been directed, *viz.*, that the passing of the Bill will mean a reduction of the status of the ryot over a large area in the Presidency, the Government asserts that there is an unaccountable misapprehension. It is entirely at the option of any person to accept the lease under the special terms proposed. The Secretary of State at Home has characterised the agitation as having been got up by the money-lending class.

In the North-West Provinces it is understood that Sir Antony MacDonnell resigns his office as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces on the 6th November and leaves for England a few days later. We believe few will regret his departure, for few like great ability, united with a strong and merciless hand, and the desire—it may have been unconscious—to advertise himself, which last was so discernible in his quickly taking up the absurd matter of the Bible in schools and even trying to hit the Metropolitan. We say only trying; for he has not succeeded. We shall have to say something more regarding this below in its proper place. The Land Tenancy Bill, which he has lately succeeded in forcing on the charge under him—forcing by his powerful intellect—is already being cried out against even by European landlords. It is supposed the matter will be sent up to Parliament. We do not know why everywhere there has been of late so much Land Legislation in India.

We conclude this section of our remarks by the following proceedings in Parliament relating to India :—

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF INDIA.—Mr. W. Redmond asked the Secretary of State for India whether he could state the total public debt of India in 1875 and in 1900; and also the total military budget of the Indian Army in 1875 and in 1900.

LORD G. HAMILTON.—Taking the Indian figures as pounds of Rs. 15

each, the total public debt of India was £95,163,672 on the 31st March, 1875, and £199,127,535 on the 31st March, 1900. But during this period £109,700,320 has been spent on Public Works, Railways, and Irrigation, bringing in a large revenue. The net military expenditure in 1875-76 was £9,763,013, and in 1900-1901 £14,239,100.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.—Mr. Field asked the Secretary for India if he could say when the Indian Budget would be introduced.

LORD G. HAMILTON was afraid he could not state the exact day.

MR. MACNILL: Will the Report of the Famine Committee be issued before the Budget is introduced?

LORD G. HAMILTON: I do not think it will be possible the papers of the Famine Commission must be considered in Council, as the questions were complex and most important and it would be unable to come to a conclusion thereon for some little time.

THE INDIAN BUDGET—Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the first Lord of the Treasury whether he would endeavour to arrange for the Indian Budget to be taken this session at an earlier date than was usually the case; and, if so, whether he could give any indication as to when the debate would take place.

MR. BALFOUR.—I do not think in the present condition of public business that I can hold out any hope to the Hon'ble Member that any unusual facilities will be given to the discussion of the Indian Budget.

THE INCOME TAX LIMIT IN INDIA.—Lord George Hamilton stated that he was not disposed to raise the limit of income tax exemption in India, and that any changes in taxation must be regulated by the condition of the Indian finances.

THE INDIAN BUDGET IN PARLIAMENT.

London, 16th August.—In the House of Commons to-night, Lord George Hamilton presented the Indian Budget. He said he doubted whether since India was first under the jurisdiction of the Crown, any Secretary of State had been able to make such a satisfactory statement. The surpluses had been large, continuous and progressive. Notwithstanding the drought India as a whole had been prosperous, and this was conclusive evidence that the economic movement in India was on the up grade. He hoped in a few years that the coal output would be doubled. He proposed to appoint a Railway expert who would start immediately; but before he finally reported he would investigate the systems in America with a view of introducing them in India, and would attend specially to the development of light railways in populous agricultural districts. The Land Revenue assessments were not above the capacity of the average cultivator, unless he was in the hands of money-lenders. An experiment would be made in establishing an Agricultural Banks Agency, which, next to Railways and Irrigation, helped the fighting of famine.

There would be an enquiry into the Educational system. It was believed that too much attention had been given to secondary instead of primary education.

He eulogised the work of Lord Curzon, promoting as it did everything tending to the internal prosperity of India, and said he used his rare power with his sympathetic eloquence to bring home to the native communities the beneficence and unselfishness of British intentions. There were inevitable difficulties ahead which could never be solved unless we carried the conviction of the great mass of the population of the integrity and probity of the British.

Lord George Hamilton hoped that the new century would be associated with a fresh era of the recuperative progress of India, he held out no hope of a reduction in the military expenditure, and feared that probably there would be some increase in ensuing years. The Government was incurring a large capital expenditure on rail roads and irrigation, and would be able to meet the bulk of this expenditure from its cash balances, surpluses and other resources, and the remainder by loans in India and Great Britain. Referring to the recent abortive issue of a sterling loan, he declared that, owing to an increase in the estimated surplus, he thought he would be able

to meet all requirements without difficulty this year. He reserved discretion regarding the method of raising the capital required for certain Railway Companies, and suggested that there should be an enquiry into irrigation works, and encouraging local bodies or well-to-do individuals in storing and distributing water.

To wind up :—A permanent monument to the memory of Sir Donald Stewart, who may be said to have been our salvation in the last Afghan War, is proposed by a large number of distinguished Military Officers, among whom we are pleased to see Lord Roberts' name. At least he can never forget what he owed to Sir Donald Stewart. Mr. T. W. Holderness has got an appointment in the India Council, to the great loss of India. An Indian Famine Union has been started by Mr. Wedderburn to report on suggested remedies as irrigation, Agricultural Banks, re-forestation, administrative reform, village industries, migration, grain storage, export duties on grain, and technical education; and both Messrs. J. D. Rees and Dadabhai Naoraji, after being on the Committee, have resigned ! Finally Lord Harris, who is always willing to oblige anybody, in his seat in the House of Lords, brought up the subject of the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief and the two Governors of Bombay and Madras taking leave of absence out of India, *on medical certificate* ! Of course the *ballon d'essai* failed. We have a shrewd suspicion of *who put him up to it*.

NATIVE PRINCES, STATES, &c.—We note here first, as connected with a cause of rejoicing, and charity, the marriage of the young Nawab of Bahawalpur. Over 12,000 guests, about half of whom were native ladies, took part in the marriage procession. The Nawab set an example to other Chiefs and Nobles by curtailing the expenditure originally sanctioned for the festivities by one-half, and forwarded a liberal contribution to the Mahommedan Orphanage at Lahore. He has also forwarded a gift of three lakhs to the Famine Trust Fund originated by the munificence of the Maharajah of Jeypur. Colonel Grey is the representative of Government in Bahawalpur.

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda has been lately going over many parts of North India to see and note things for himself. Of his great enlightenment, putting many of ourselves to shame, we have already referred in our last quarter's notes. Under such a Prince, Baroda is sure to progress morally, socially, and materially, and it is not surprising therefore for us to note that His Highness has caused to be published in his *Gazette* a Bill to legalise the Re-marriage of Widows on the lines of the British enactment of 1856. That His Highness is supported by his subjects in the proposed reform may be seen from the Praja Mandal coming forward to

thank His Highness, and even to suggest that clauses should be inserted in the Bill prohibiting the ill-treatment by disfigurement of widows and entitling re-married couples to sue successfully in a court of law in cases of contempt and persecution by their caste.

We referred in our last to impending changes in Hyderabad official circles, and recommended the employment of a Hindu Prime Minister. This has since been done by the Nizam, and we trust the result will justify his selection.

We referred to the "revolution" in Nepal in our last, the notorious Bir Shumshere having gone or been sent to his final account. He was succeeded by his eldest brother Deb Shumshere Jung, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Things, however, did not seem to go well in the country, and the Maharajah Dhiraj dismissed him on the 26th June, appointing a far more capable man Chandra Shumshere, his—Deb Shumshere's—younger brother. It is strange to see the ignorance betrayed by the general press in connection with this event. The *Pioneer* wrote saying :—"Whatever the causes which led up to the *dénouement* it is clear that Deb Shumshere would not have taken his dismissal so placidly but for one of two things; either the Maharajah Dhiraj is a much more powerful force in Nepal politics than he used to be, or Chandra Shumshere must have had complete control of the Army. The latter is probably the true explanation. The King is now twenty-six years of age, but there is no reason to suppose that he has ever thought of breaking through the trammels of a consecrated precedent which has always left the real power in the hands of the Prime Minister." The Maharajah Dhiraj, who is supposed here to be merely a *Roi fainéant*, is the only and sole supreme governing power in the country, deriving his authority directly from the gods, whom he represents. Hence, too, his seldom appearing in public acts, and delegating official duties to another, who is merely his deputy—all influential while retained—removable in an instant. Many of the Nepal Princes are very enlightened, and we reckon some of them as readers and subscribers of this *Review*.

Among the Honors conferred for China, Major His Highness Maharajah Siromani Sri Gunga Singh of Bikanir has been made a K.C.I.E., His Highness Colonel Sir Protap Singh of Jodhpur and his Highness the Maharajah Sindhia of Gwalior, Honorary Aides-de-Camp to the King-Emperor.

We have already referred to the military career opened for the younger sons of native princes and political chiefs, and it is stated that the first cadet corps camp will be formed this winter in Calcutta, while Agra or Delhi or some other place will be selected for a training camp for the garrison classes,

the cadets returning to their own states in the hot weather. There is no doubt that the scheme will afford a needed stimulus to the existing chiefs' colleges. The Maharaj Râo of Kotâh will shortly be attached to the Deolalie Irregular Force for a course of military training.

Jhallawar, which recently had three coinages extant has adopted the British coinage. It were to be wished that all the States, notably the Nizam's, adopted the same in the interests of trade.

The inconveniences caused in every way are incalculable. The coinage at least may be made of uniform value with the British, the stamps indicating the names and rulers of the States. In this connection we note the introduction of a new coinage in Travancore, which is very little of an improvement on the old. It comprises a two Chakkam piece and a one Chukkram piece of silver and eight and four cash pieces of copper. The coins have a "chank" on one side and the letters "R. V.," with the coin's name in English and Malayalam, on the other side.

The "model" Durbhunga Raj is in trouble with its ryots, and we are afraid not much can be said for it.

Travancore is a happy Hindu country, and from its last Administration Report by the Resident, Mr. Mackenzie, we learn that it is prosperous in every direction. We regret we have not room here for a few extracts which we should much like to give. We may recur to the subject. But of all native chiefs and princes—a Prince without a territory, but owing extraordinary religious allegiance among a class of fanatical Mahommedans—at present mostly engaged in trade in India, who should receive an Honor is His Highness the Aga Khan, and who should give it but the German Emperor! He has conferred on the Chief of "the Assassin" tribe of Crusade times the Crown Order of the first class. His Highness lately was in Germany, but we trust that, as a *British subject*—does he not reckon himself one?—he first obtained permission of the *Indian Government*. If he did not, where is he in this matter? He is a most enlightened Prince. We have, in previous quarters, drawn attention to the want of a well-defined phraseology regarding the Titles of Native Chiefs and Princes. At present men like the Nawabs of Bahawalpur and Rampur are confused with "Nawabs" in Patna, Meerut, Dacca, and Calcutta mere non-political and zemindars, of whom there are several scores. We cannot say where Cooch Behar stands in this connection as a "Maharajah," and were rather surprised to find a number of its rising generation advertised as "Princes" and "Princesses" in a P. and O. boat lately. A French journal became quite merry over it or something similar, and referred to an

imaginary "Prince" passenger who has "native troops in Calcutta, going to congratulate King Edward in the name of the Indian Army," and to confer with "Colonial Minister Chamberlain on the question of colonial reorganisation!" The due separation of political and non-political titles, and the appropriate phraseology to be applied, are really important matters now that India is rising in the scale of nations and of political progress. A "Nawab" in Dacca or Calcutta is not to be confounded with *the* Nawab of Murshidabad or *the* Nawab of Bahawulpur, nor *the* Maharajah of Gwalior with *a* Maharajah in Nattore. We trust to be able to say more on a future occasion on this very important subject and to suggest what distinction should be made in the phraseology. It is Government here, which is the chief offender, and after that the newspapers. Since we wrote last, we have to note the decease of Her Highness the reigning Nawab Shah Jehan Begum of Bhopal, her daughter, Nawab Sultan Jehan succeeding her. The latter is married, and her husband has been recognised as the Nawab-Consort. The real rule, however, is in the hands of a Calcutta native named Moulvi Abdul Jubber, though under new circumstances it may not long remain so. In regard to this decease Sir Edwin Arnold, now suffering under a heavy infliction with his eyes, has written a lot of his usual nonsense with his usual perfervid poetical imagination. We have no space here to do more than to barely refer to it.

There has also deceased the Elaya Rajah and the Senior Rani of Travancore, also the Maharaj Rana of Dholepur, followed immediately after by the decease of his Rani. Some suppose she committed suicide. The family was related to the Patialas, where no sooner was the late Maharajah's body taken out for cremation than his wives were sent off, notwithstanding their remonstrances, to the citadel, whence they can only emerge on a bier; and this it is said had an influence on the Rani of Dholepur not to survive her husband. We can hardly advise in such a matter, except to say that the Government Resident should be present, or consulted, or informed. There may then be no suicides, or half a dozen Queens sent to a prison for life for no crime. The late Rana of Dholepur was entirely given up to "sport," and contrasted in every way with his noble, gentle, useful and enlightened (native-enlightened) father whom he succeeded. Dholepur is a small State, but let us trust the new young Rana, now only eighteen years of age, will be better guided as to his duties by the Viceroy.

In connection with such deaths, it may seem out of place to refer to the annual ceremony of keeping the anniversary of the death of Michael Modhu Sudhan Datta, the greatest of

Indian poets since the Hindu heroic age. He was a Christian, and our old and intimate personal friend, and as we purpose to write some notes on him in connection with Buckland's *Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal*, where his life is briefly sketched out, we omit to say more at present than that if he was not a "prince" in the ordinary acceptation of the word, he was one in genius.

A large number of native gentry and literary bodies in Calcutta united on the occasion at the Circular Road Cemetery where his mortal remains were interred, made speeches, read poems, and decorated the grave. The Muhindra Maharajah Sir Jotindro Mohun Tagore, the leading nobleman of Calcutta, was a particular friend of the deceased poet, and it does credit alike to Sir Jotindro's head and heart that he still remembers him and mourns him. Finally, Rajah Bun Behari Kapur, the father of His Highness the Maharajah of Burdwan, the leading nobleman of Bengal, has been interesting himself in the matter of the proper place of the Kshetryia caste or class in the Government Census Classification, and has presided over many meetings for the purpose from the N.-W. Provinces downwards. As stated previously, we may have more to say on this subject on a future occasion.

We cannot, however, conclude this section without referring to Mian Bhure Singh of Chumba, whose decoration with a C.I.E. we noted in our last number, stating the reason to have been his affording such excellent sport to the Viceroy last year. We have since been informed on good authority that the Mian received his decoration upon the recommendation of the Punjab Government as for years he has been the practical administrator of Chumba on behalf of his elder brother the Rajah. In regard to the "sport," the Viceroy, "as it happened, had none," which is to be regretted, just as he afterwards also was disappointed of his intended *battue* against the Indian lions of Guzerat. A warm admirer of the Viceroy also asks us pathetically in regard to another portion of what we wrote of Lord Curzon spending a twelfth of the year in sport :—"Is Lord Curzon to be the only Viceroy never to spend three weeks on a shoot?" We say decidedly "yes ; neither to spend so much time in mere long journies." It is our regard for him, and the demands of the country and its good, as outlined in his famous "twelve or fifteen" Articles of his Creed—that lead us to say so. He is comparatively young, and can "spend and be spent," following the high Apostolic practice, and that of other Viceroys, for India. We and some of our *collaborateurs* are nearly double his age, and we work ourselves to death without a single "shoot" to enliven us, or holiday occurring save the blessed and God-given *rest* of the Sabbath—two months—a sixth of

the whole year's—of a day's rest recurring every week. Surely what is good enough for us who are physically best described as with "one foot in the grave," and good enough for humbler workers, ought to be good enough for the Chief Ruler of the land, whose example herein is of the greatest influence. No, Lord Curzon must have no "shoots" or long jungle "marches." Has the writer of this pathetic expostulation any idea how the junior members of the Civil Service throughout the country are worked to death, worse than very slaves? If he had, he would not have written to us as he has done for the Viceroy. The good Commander-in-Chief shares in the lot of the meanest soldier in the camp.

EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC.—While Mr. Carnegie is conveying millions to the Scotch Universities, our late Viceroy, Lord Elgin, K.G., being the Chairman of the Trustees, among whom are Mr. Morley and Lord Kelvin; and the University of Edinburgh, the Principal of which is our old friend Sir William Muir, is honoring Mr. C. A. Cooper, the Editor of the *Scotsman* by the grant of the LL.D. degree; we here in India seem to be almost in the throes of important educational changes. Considering how the whole system is a perverted one—one only fitted to turn out second-rate clerks instead of thoroughly educating the country—we refer to the secondary and so-called Higher Education—it would take too much of our space here for us to set forth even the barest outline of the needed form. At the same time, from other points of view of special features and not affecting the root of the matter, we have Dr. Welldon and others proclaiming at home what they think proper, the Hon'ble Rev. Dr. Miller putting forth here various views of his own regarding "Educational Problems," resolutions in the Calcutta University regarding B.A. and other examinations, Sir A. Mc Donnell in Allahabad trying to make things there worse instead of better by proposing to shorten the period for "B.A." (!), and *inter alia* Professor Ramsay setting forth "The Functions of a University," and Professor Geddes writing a long rhodomontade—with, however, a solid germ of the truth—in which, among other things, we are informed that he is a believer in the extremest and most absurd form of evolution—one contradicted by science itself! We have no space at present to examine all these, but reserve them for our next. We are also promised a paper on the subject by a competent authority, which we may receive in time for insertion in our next.

An Educational Conference among a number of "experts" is just about to be held in Simla, it is believed to deal with the question of extending Primary Education. The Conference, however, may express views on other educational

matters, and hence too the propriety of reserving our own remarks at present. Among minor matters here, an Agricultural College is soon to be established at Cawnpore, so that Indian Natives will not have to go all the way to Oirencester at home. The Cotton College has been formally opened in Gauhati for Assam. Hostels or boarding-houses for students have been opened in Allahabad, following the example set by the S. P. G. in Calcutta—(Calcutta itself crying out to *Government* for such—why cannot they establish their own hostels?). The Trustees of the Doveton Institutions in Calcutta have obtained power to raise Rs. 70,000 to pay off a mortgagee and to meet other expenses. It seems that the Administrator-General of Bengal retains certain property in his hands to the detriment of the Institutions. The whole of the Doveton case is peculiar, and on account of its importance should be met by Government—which so largely supports other Hindu and Mahomedan Colleges—in a liberal spirit; and the Trustees themselves might ask Government to do so. We are but imperfectly informed of the ins and outs, but consider the above suggestion would suit any view regarding it. At all events, we shall be glad to see it out of monetary difficulties and set on the same stable foundations as the Martinière. Finally, in the Poona College of Science, which has done so much good work for Western India, in consequence of the large increase in the number of students in the engineering branch since the year 1898-99, it became necessary to limit the admissions in 1901 to 40, and to select those to be admitted by a competitive examination. Neither the accommodation in the College nor the teaching staff is calculated to admit of an indefinite extension of the numbers attending, and the restriction, was absolutely necessary to provide for the efficient working of the institution, which is maintained primarily for the supply of candidates for Government service in the Public Works Department. It is open to private enterprise to provide instruction in engineering for those who desire it and whom it is impossible to accommodate in the Government College.

IN LITERARY matters, and taking journalistic literature first, we note that of the better class of native journals the *Hindu* of Madras is going to be placed on a sound financial basis—it having, alas! no “contract” system to enrich it—by its connexion into a Limited Company. “Improvements,” too, are contemplated. We wish it every success. We have referred to the “contract” system—this was the usual way in old times of subsidising newspapers in the interests of Government, both Local and Imperial. To give only one instance out of any number that we remember, one

of our old friends was paid Rs. 300 a month for writing up once a quarter a few lines of the "annals" for the Supreme Government. Remains of the old system, variously covered and disguised, may perhaps yet be found of a few we know. We except from our observations the *Indian Daily News* which is owned by the richest proprietary of any in India, and has long been taking a pronounced lead in journalism in India with its early important Home information; and also the very popular *Statesman*, which has the largest circulation in the Empire. But we would recommend the excellent *Indian Daily Telegraph* for a subsidy. A Tamil Church paper is about to be started by Church authorities. The paper is to be edited by a Committee of four clergymen, one of whom shall be Editor-in-Chief. We once had the Editorship of a Church paper—not in India—in which we had a Committee of eight clergymen, including the Dean and the Archdeacon, to assist us, found ourselves virtually the sole and one Dictator and Referee whenever any difficult matter cropped up; at other times and on all ordinary matters the "Committee" did the most part of the work. The case of the native paper alluded to in our last as having as alleged defamed a European has not ended with the apology that was tendered. And as other *Bengalee* papers repeated the asserted libel, there are several actions now pending. The complainant is a Mr. Hoff. The Hoff's were once respectable people in Calcutta in days when there was not a single Bengali journal in existence. We believe Mr. Hoff is right in proceeding to law. The alleged libel was of a kind that might have prejudiced another case he had in Court at the time, which he fortunately won. Our old friend, Sir Charles Lawson, writing in his Madras journal, says that once on a time there were seven newspapers in Madras, namely, the *Madras Herald*, the *Madras Gazette and Examiner*, the *Madras Courier*, the *Conservative*, the *Madras Circulator*, the *Spectator*, and the *United Service Gazette*; as well as the bi-monthly *Thursday Budget* and the monthly *Madras Roman Catholic Expositor*. We can also recall a good many in Calcutta and generally in Upper India—there were three at one time in Lucknow alone!

We may fitly conclude this rambling note of old days by the following extracts from letters just received by us from old friends of the *Calcutta Review* who were both of them very prominent in Upper India, and both of whom made a name for themselves during the Mutiny and are, we believe, authors of some of the "Rulers of India" series and other noted works:—The first says:—"It (the *Calcutta Review*) is associated in men's minds with very great times, when Hardinge was beating the Sikhs, and Sleeman taming

the Thugs [we used to see some of his captures—they were a queer-looking lot—with very Kali-like countenances]; and Lawrence, Kaye, etc., were among the contributors." The other writes:—"I am now '*well* stricken in years' . . . past my time, and unable to supply suitable articles for the *Calcutta Review*. I have always thought, and see no reason for altering my opinion, that the *Calcutta Review* contains more original information than any other of its kind known to me. Had I been younger, I might have tried. For many years I have taken a great interest in it—even from days when it numbered such amateurs as supporters as Sir Henry Elliott and Henry Torrens." We need hardly say that we can yet boast of not a few leading men both here and at Home being among our most prominent supporters and contributors. Our younger men in the service, however, are not so bold in coming forward as they should be though we have a few. Our present Viceroy is happily "one of the old sort," and looks for merit wherever he can find it, even if discoverable in the pages of this *Review*. In concluding about "ourselves," we may just also quote a few lines received from Home from the author of the excellent summary of Herbert Spencer's Synthetic Philosophy our last:—"I have no complaint whatever to make of the *notes* which you have appended to the article. On the contrary, my only regret is that you did not find it possible to develop your views at greater length. No one pretends that Spencer has said the last word on the questions at issue between religion and science."

A nobleman of Japan has brought Professor Max Müller's Library for the Tokio University—what a chance lost for India! And while no steps are being taken to get up some sort of Memorial for him either here or at home, a very large and influential Committee are moving for one to Miss Charlotte Yonge whose decease and good work we referred to in our last. The subject for the Gold Medal of the United Service Institution for next year is, "the training and equipment of Cavalry and Mounted Infantry in India and their respective rôles in War." The Metcalfe Hall has now been completely turned over to Government for the Imperial Library, the Agricultural Society giving up the lower floor for Rs. 25,000 in cash, and a perpetual annuity of Rs. 6,000 unfettered by any conditions—an enormous price to pay for another of the present Viceroy's fads. A question having been raised about the Hundred Best Books on India, while we have noticed the veriest trash mentioned some of the most essential, to which one would first turn for information on any important subject, are omitted. The general knowledge of India is evidently on a par with the knowledge of the books relating to India.

Colonel Quentin, Secretary to the Board of Examiners, Calcutta, is bringing out an English translation, with notes, of that ancient "black classic" the *Bâgh-ô-Bâhâr*. A History of India during the eighteenth century in Persian, translated into English by a Frenchman, and published in 1789, dedicated to Warren Hastings, is shortly to be reprinted and brought out by a Calcutta publisher under the patronage of Government. The Rev. P. Holler, B. D., a Member of the German Oriental Society, and a Missionary attached to the German Mission in the Godavery District, has written a Student's Manual of Indian Vedic-Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali Literature, containing lists of commentaries, text-editions, translations and expositions of the books, a chronicle of Indian authors and useful appendices. In a short preface the author says that his aim in writing this work has been to give in a nut-shell as much information about Indian Sanskrit Literature as possible, and to arrange the material according to chronology. The book gives a brief but excellent description of every branch of this ancient system of literature and is replete with facts and suggestions, which, if elaborated and expanded, will supply matter for many volumes. Over a thousand Indian Sanskrit works have been described or systematically enumerated, not counting the several recensions or commentaries. No work of real importance has escaped the author's observation. An undoubtedly good work has been disfigured by bad printing and typographical and idiomatic errors.

Dr. Stein, whose explorations in Central Asia we formerly noticed, has evidently finished his work for the present, and has gone home by the Central Asian Railway. Some colossal Buddhas have been excavated. Surgeon-Colonel Waddell's explorations in and near Patna are about to be published; and Dr. Stein writing about them says, that his own former researches there confirm the opinion advanced by Dr. Waddell as to the remains of the old Capital being preserved deep down in the alluvial south of the old river bed known as Gunsar. But there is a lot of Art and Archæology not only in Behar, but in other little suspected parts of India now in deep tiger jungle, as well as in South India, Asia Minor, and Cyprus. We may have some notices of some of these in our pages in future numbers, two very interesting papers, as connected with the Alphabets being already in our hands, one of which, however, it will be impossible for us to produce early, as it involves much special alphabetical diagram work on lithographing stone, costing too an enormous expense which, in our opinion, is better incurred by some patron of Sanskrit Literature than by a *Review* such as ours. Out of the twelve known tribes of Andamanese, the numbers remaining are estimated at a total

of only 844 men, 717 women, 192 boys, 129 girls, or 1,882 souls, 1,257 of whom belong to the fierce Jarawa and Ouge tribes who will have no dealings with either Europeans or friendly aborigines. Twenty years ago the lowest estimate was 3,000; so that these interesting remains of a pre-historic Oceanic, and perhaps inland race, will probably come to an end during this century. With reference to the Ethnographic Survey of India mentioned in our last, the London *Spectator* takes to the queer speculating of measuring the *minds* of the various races! The *Spectator* is always funny. Several shocks of earthquake have recently been felt at Shillong, Darjeeling and even distant Simla. There has, however, been one of the usual violent eruptions in Java, which is connected in the circle one extremity of which ends in the Head of the Bay of Bengal. The volcanic region of this portion of India would furnish a more practical and useful field for scientific examination than measuring the bodies of the tribes of India male and female.

Surgeon-Major Alcock, Superintendent of the Indian Museum, and author of a variety of zoological memoirs and papers has been selected for the honor of F. R. S., and Dr. George Watt, Reporter on Economic Products, has been awarded the Hanbury Gold Medal for Research. He is the third Englishman who has been recipient of this medal. We have a deal more to say about Anti-venine, Geology and Mineralogy, Indigo, Sugar (especially in connection with Mr. Minchin's efforts), the Kasauli Institute, the Malaria Commission, and even Linguistic matters, which we are compelled to hold over for the present. In fact, were we to do justice at length, and at once to only our Scientific and Literary matter in hand, we should have to give up this whole number of the *Review* to them alone.

THE BISHOPS AND RELIGION, &c.

[Here we come, we regret, on troublesome, matter.]

The good Metropolitan has thrown off his fever at home, and seems to have been quite busy with tackling the Secretary of State to allow him to be called an "Archbishop," writing to the *Times* on Indian educational matters, and delivering addresses. In regard to his wish to be called an "Archbishop" we should think the proper authority should be the Archbishop of Canterbury—the chief ecclesiastical authority, for the matter is wholly ecclesiastical. His views on Indian educational reform, as stated before, we hold over. In regard to his address at Magdalen College, Oxford, an imperfect summary reached India, and forthwith,—a certain paper as usual leading the way in attacks on the Bishop—the Indian press both misunderstood him, and also distorted his words. Forthwith, however, Sir A. McDonnell—alone of all the Governors and Administrators of India!—saw his opportunity of making

some mark (it has proved to be one against himself), and proclaimed himself better, wiser and abler than Dr. Welldon by publicly declaiming against him! We consider the conduct of the press, as well his conduct, to be, to say the least, extremely wanting in good sense and modesty. As for one paper comparing the Bishop to an "awkward squad," it is what one would expect to find only in Reynolds' papers. The *Indian Journal* we refer to has now made itself notorious for the most inexcusable attacks on the Bishop—attacks which were begun even before he landed in India—and we have no hesitation in saying that while the Bishop remains where he stood before, a giant in intellect, good and liberal-minded, simple in character, kind-hearted, and a devout and devoted Christian Bishop, the paper attacking him has considerably sunk in public estimation and influence. Even the Native Pastor of the Brahmo body of Hindus has displayed more kindly feelings, and a truer appreciation of the Bishop and his words, shaming so-called Christians and "leaders" of Anglo-Indian public opinion. Let us hope we shall have no more of these public displays of what appears very like personal attacks. The Bishop wrote at once to the *Times*, and, of course, completely cleared himself, and that with mildness and dignity consistent with his position, contrasting herein with the McDonnell bombast.

According to the *Indian Daily News*, which now leads in Home information as well as other respects, the Bishop has signified his intention to return to India by the first steamer after the middle of October, and we are sure both the Viceroy and India will be glad to welcome him back again. The good Bishop of Bombay is also at home, but his line does not lie in public and semi-political speeches, and we could only wish that the entire Clergy of India followed out what he said in his last charge in Bombay regarding daily services and which we noticed at the time. The Bishop of Madras's misapprehension as to the Metropolitan recommending an immediate introduction of the Bible in Government schools—an attack here, too, on Dr. Welldon was initiated by the same journal previously referred to—has been already referred to by us. Instead of occupying himself in excellently elaborated lectures—semi-political—and which are confuted as soon as delivered by Hindu "Chairmen," were the Bishop to occupy himself in enquiring into the serious and numerous disabilities suffered by Native Christians in parts of his large diocese—disabilities which Lord Curzon refused to consider or passed by with a light and happy heart—he, the Bishop of Madras, would certainly add to his influence, preserve his dignity, and be doing much good. It will hardly be imagined, or credited at home, that natives in various portions of the southern

diocese are deprived of their civil rights on becoming Christians! It is hardly worse in dark fanatical Mahommedan Persia, where a Christian is simply an outlaw. The Bishop of Madras, even as we predicted in our last, will not have a Christian man marry his deceased wife's sister. The Bishop is sound in ecclesiastical argument, but *weak in fact*, and there is no Pope here to grant "dispensations" and reconcile logic with fact. Surely we ought to have some common sense in this "very urgent" matter, and see how Dissenting Churches reconcile the two. The Bishop of London is moving to have a "College of Clergy" in Madras. He says:—"Just as there is an Oxford Mission to Calcutta, a Cambridge Mission to Delhi, and a Dublin Mission to Chota-Nagpur, so there will now be, I hope, a London Mission to Madras." His plan of "considering their work in Madras as done in the Diocese of London" is not a good one. Rules for monuments in cemeteries—Mr. Cotton, I.C.S. of Madras, is doing good work in connection with old monuments in the Southern Presidency—are published for all India except the Madras Presidency. The first step is to send an application, on Form A, which contains a variety of questions, with a "dimensionized drawing of the monument drawn to scale and detailed estimate" to the Chaplain in charge of the cemetery. The Chaplain is then to forward the application to the Executive Engineer, who will fill in column 7—technical details—examine and counter-sign the drawing and return everything to the Chaplain. The application is then to be forwarded to the Archdeacon, with whom rests the final decision on the matter. What endless trouble!

We may now turn to some broader questions. Our remarks in our last issue regarding the perversion of Evangelising Missions into educational agencies has been held to apply also to the Scotch Missions in India. Some color was lent to this view by the attacks made by Mr. Varley, the Evangelist, at home in Scotland. Our words, however, had no application to the great Scotch Colleges in India. These are, from inception, educational missions, and there is no misunderstanding about them or their work. We refer only to purely Evangelising Missions which have turned themselves aside to educating a parcel of non-descript Hindu clerks instead of proclaiming the Love of the Saviour to a fallen world. The Hon'ble Rev. Dr. Miller in turn attacked Mr. Varley, and it stands a "pretty quarrel" between the two. Excluding the Scotch Colleges, let us say that if St. Peter or St. Paul had been an educationist, there would have been no Christianity at the present day (not even the Scotch Colleges!).

There has been a large meeting in Calcutta of the Lord's

Day Union in connection with the observance of the Sunday. It will be remembered that we draw attention to this matter in a previous number when referring to Bishop Welldon's instructions to the Clergy regarding it. The Rev. Mr. Bowman presided, and the annual report stated that everywhere there was activity to carry through this great ordinance for humanity—not less than mark of Christianity, all over India. The Rev. Mr. North gave an excellent address, dwelling particularly on its happy influence on home-life, and also, "if men were put to a prolonged strain, their powers for work were lessened." Let us add, that enlightened Hindus themselves in Calcutta and the other larger cities, are glad to have the Sunday's rest; that we are honoured by the heathen for observing the Day; and that the Government of India in the P. W. D. are everywhere the almost sole transgressors of the Divine Law. Unless where absolutely necessary, no work should be permitted, and even "contracts"—the ordinary excuse of irresponsible engineer officers—might easily be regulated. Many previous Viceroys have, in this matter, either spoken, or shown a good example, and we trust our present excellent Viceroy will do both. It will be a great boon to India, without any reference to "Christianity" in it. Among the office-bearers of the Union for the current year we find the names of Bishop Clifford of Lucknow as President; and Bishops Thoburn and Warne, Rev. Drs. Husband (C.I.E.), Ewing, Humphreys, Lucas, Mansel, Roberts, Scudder, Robinson, and a host of other influential men all over India as vice-presidents. They might well unite in a Memorial to the Viceroy—headed by Dr. Welldon on his return—to stop the unnecessary work in the P. W. D., avoiding all debateable questions relating to travelling, etc.

We ought not to conclude this portion of our notes without a reference to an interesting controversy lately carried on in the correspondence columns of a journal about the cost and results of Missionary work in India. Our opinion is that neither of them can (or ought to) be estimated mathematically accurately; and our one advice is to close all the colleges and schools—save such as may be necessary for the Christian converts—and take to preaching the pure and simple Love of God in Christ and mixing more freely among the natives both high and low. Without these nothing will be done. Many high and leading Hindu gentlemen owe much—especially their command of English—to the Bible, and it is pleasant to find in this connection that the late deceased and eminent Mr. Justice Ranade of Bombay was a diligent student of the Sacred Book, and that Mr. Justice Chandavakur is now the same—both head and shoulders over their compeers in Bombay, an un-

usually enlightened Presidency, as stated by the *Rost Gofstar*, a leading non-Christian Native journal.

In a review of Missionary work in Travancore and Cochin by the local Bishop we learn that the agents number 567. The baptized number 35,910; and "total adherents" 41,887. There are Zenana Missions, and Primary as well as High Schools and a College. There are also three Malayalin Magazines. The income locally raised is Rs. 20,715. And yet the Christians in these States are denied ordinary civil rights. There are, of course, difficulties in the way peculiar to Travancore, but the matter should be thoroughly sifted by a joint-Committee of Missionaries and of State Brahmins, and some sort of *vid media* found—one of which is, the Brahmin-converts should be excluded from any relaxing law, thus not interfering with their rights. We have much to say about Hindu Revivalism which we reserve for the present.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Mr. Pennell has carried his case before the Secretary of State, and there is little doubt that the foolish and ill-balanced man will be retired. To expect the High Court to acknowledge its grave injustice done to him, or even to apologize to Sir John Woodburn for having led him wrong—as we recommended in our last—would be to believe the millenium was in existence. With reference to our previous remarks on the Boer War, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Bryce, M.P.—the one man at home who personally knows South Africa, on which he has written an excellent volume—writes to us from the House of Commons:—"It is quite true that the policy which brought about the South African War has been a mistaken one, and the war itself has been an unmixed calamity for South Africa"—we may add, also for England's homes and also England's power and influence in China and the East, and also for all the different races in South Africa. It is a pity there is no Burke with his eloquence to impeach Mr. Chamberlain in the House*—Mr. David Yule has delivered a very able and thoughtful speech at the late annual meeting of the Calcutta Bank which should be studied by Government, Banking men, and merchants. During the last decade, the annual total of emigrants from India has risen from 152,196 to 386,430, and of immigrants from 162,665 to 210,226. That means that for such a populated empire, emigration is practically non-existent. There will be more hope of India when instead of a miserable 150,000, the number of emigrants stands at a few millions annually. There is much of Central Africa vacant, and the northern half of Australia, where white men cannot labour in

* We have received also a letter from Mr. T. M. Maclean, which we hope to print in our next.

the open, to draft them to. The reduction of the Indian tariff for English telegrams is in sight, and will be from 4s., the present rate, to 2s. 6d. a word. Mr. Havell, of the School of Arts, Calcutta, shows that the Fly-shuttle in hand-loom weaving can immensely help native weavers. We confess to being ignorant of the Fly-shuttle referred to, but we know that something of the kind, which used literally to "fly along," was in use in olden times in the Dacca of Dr. Taylor's valuable *Topography*; and a Jail Superintendent of Madras comes to say that the fly-shuttle is superior only in the hands of an active worker, while the common shuttle well-worked almost approaches the Fly-shuttle. At the same time, there are many mechanical appliances and contrivances which would immensely increase the industrial wealth and produce of India which Government ought to introduce. Experiments to grow Egyptian cotton in the Central Provinces are stated to be proving more successful than in the Bombay Experimental Farms. Mr. Minchin's efforts on behalf of sugar, and the matter of the indigo question we hold over. Kashmir is going to supply wines and spirits to India. We remember how an effort, some thirty years ago, to place *Jamun* fruit wines and spirits on the Indian market, by the Rev. Mr. Varnier, an Italian (Protestant) clergyman failed, though the produce was declared excellent by doctors and was also cheap. A great industry might yet be created from this Jamun fruit, which is so plentiful all over the country, if the product is kept pure. Locusts have appeared all over India, doing, however, little damage. The Railway Administration Report shows a net profit to the State, after meeting working expenses and interest charges, of Rs. 67 lakhs in the twelve months, compared with a loss of Rs. 12 lakhs in 1899 and of Rs. 78 lakhs in 1898. This is coincident with a net increase of 3,619 miles of open line in these three years. The Railway Conference met at Simla, and only argued about lines to meet the increasing Bengal Coal Traffic. Not one of the many substantial grievances suffered by a hundred millions of passengers was taken up. We have to reserve again the list furnished to us for want of space. "Soldiers' Homes" are the order of the day in India, and a nameless donor has placed Rs. 10,000 for one in Peshawar at the disposal of the Bishop of Lahore. One was tried in Jubbulpore by Dr. Cullen, and Rs. 10,000 was spent on it, and it proved a failure. The indefatigable Rev. A. H. B. Brittain, a Chaplain, is now trying to raise Rs. 50,000 for two "Homes" in Secunderabad, and scouring all India for the money. We are afraid that under him, even with the Bishop of Madras's countenance, the whole thing will be a failure. The right way of going about it is not to have too much of

"bell, book and candle" to frighten the very life or devil out of poor Tommy Atkins. The one at Cawnpore, however,—due to the liberality of Dr. Condon,—has been pretty nigh successful,—but it is under American Methodist guidance. The Bengal Anglo-Indian Association has appealed (!) to Mr. Andrew Carnegie for Rs. 2,60,000 for an education, a newspaper, and a Delegation to London Fund—two lakhs, half a lakh, and 10,000 respectively. The sum, some £20,000, may be a trifle to Mr. Carnegie who only deals in millions; but no decent paper can be started on half a lakh. And why the Delegation? Is there not our kind and sympathetic Viceroy here? We think also that the present press of Calcutta is amply sufficient for all true needs, and no further merely class newspaper is necessary, or will ever succeed. The Educational part is all right; but with a little self-help, Government would doubtless assist here with a grant-in-aid.—Barmaids under forty years of age have been prohibited in Hungary (in Europe) in Burmah, and now in Calcutta, and not before it was time. India deteriorates dreadfully in such matters from the home standard, and it is useless for one or two papers to cast obloquy on Sir John Woodburn for such a truly-needed and benevolent measure. Sir John Woodburn will always stand high above his detractors. Even in Australia the prohibition of employing young women about public bars has been legislated for and carried.—The Indian Congress is in a bad way, and proposes actually to sit in London next year—we suppose as a means of "raising the wind," or liquidating the heavy balance of Rs. 3,75,000. Where has all this money gone to? Plague, as usual, now increases, and now diminishes. Meanwhile, it is getting a hold all over the world. What the end will be who will say? In regard to it, Dr. Deane, the Calcutta Health Officer, makes most extraordinary assertions. A certain class of Bengal Zemindars have broke away from the old-and-time-honored British Indian Association and formed an Association for themselves. We are afraid they will make nothing by the move. At all events they wont discredit the old and time-honored Association, which is a power in the country and which has so often stood in the breach. The very idea of separation ought to be disgraceful. It is certainly ungrateful. A number of other subjects we hold over.

We include in our Obituary the following :—

Right Hon. W. B. Beach ("Father" of the House of Commons); Admiral Sir Anthony Hoskins; Ex-Chancellor Prince Hohenlobe; Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham; Prince Henry, of Orleans; Baron Nordenskiöld (the Arctic Explorer); Signor Crispi; Sir Walter Besant; Robert Buchanan; Rev Dr. E. B. Underhill (whom we knew in India half-a-century

ago); Bishop Parker, (Epis. Methodist, North India); Dr. E. J. Lazarus, M.D. (the founder of many valuable Indian patent medicines, and whom we knew sixty years ago when he first came out to Bengal); Professor Tait (of Edinburgh); Arnot Reid (Editor and Proprietor of the *Straits Times*, a dear personal friend); Archbishop Goethals, of Calcutta.

 *Special articles to appear in our next number :—*

The Story of the Alphabets.

On our Bengal Lieutenant-Governors by C. E. B.

Hindu Festivals in the Maharashtra.

In the Magaliesburg.

Bishop Berkeley's Philosophy.

The Senoussis or the Mahommedan Revival in Africa.

Botanical Kew and British Museum.

The Great Nobel Competition.

The Holy City.

The Chamberlain Dictatorship.

Also others under consideration.

THE EDITOR.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Indian Mines Act, 1901, with Introduction and Notes, by W. Graham, Barrister-at-Law, of Lincoln's Inn, Member of the Indian Mining Association. Price one rupee. The Indian Daily News Press. Calcutta, 1901.

MR. Graham is a leading and well-known Member of the Bar in Calcutta, and has done well in bringing this handy little volume before the public. It brings together in a connected form the history of the new mining legislation, and offers such information upon the subject as has been gathered from the English law. Mr. Graham points out that the new rules to be formulated under the Act are of more importance than the Act itself, and urges the importance of avoiding the harassment of a growing industry. He also expresses the opinion that "it will probably be the best thing for the Indian coal industry if the new legislation leads to a larger use of mechanical extraction and a large diminution in the number of miners employed." From this point of view he thinks the mildness of the Act and the elimination of the clauses relating to women and children are to be regretted rather than applauded, because, though inimical to immediate prosperity, the discarded provisions would ultimately have placed the industry on a more spacious and enduring foundation. In this he is doubtless right. The work is well got up at the *Indian Daily News* press, and is sure to command an extensive sale among merchants as well as others interesting in all mining operations throughout India.

Hindustani Idioms, with Vocabulary and Explanatory Notes. By Colonel A. N. Phillips. London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner and Co.

THIS book contains over 650 phrases and sentences, illustrating the idiomatic peculiarities (and there are many) in the Hindustani language. The arrangement is admirable. Each page consists of three columns, containing respectively the English phrase, the Hindustani translation, and the explanatory notes. The Hindustani here given is, of course, the pure form, and not any of the frightful dialects that pass muster for Hindustani in many parts of the country. But this will not be a hindrance to any ordinary Anglo-Indian who can use the book intelligently. For although it is professedly compiled

for use of candidates for the higher standard, it will be of great service also to those who only use the language for the every-day purposes of business or domestic life. The notes, moreover, are admirably clear and concise, adding greatly to the value, in fact constituting a large part of the value of the work. The Vocabulary is full, and accurate, far more copious than is found in other works of this kind with which we are familiar. Colonel Phillips has evidently bestowed great pains on the compilation of these idioms, and will no doubt be heartily thanked by many a weary student of the language in his transition from the very elementary to a more complete acquaintance with Hindustani. Colonel Arthur Noel Phillips spent a life time in India, and was well-known as a Cantonment Magistrate in many parts. The price of the work is only five shillings.

The History of the Ganjam Malliahs in the Madras Presidency,
 Edited by H. D. Taylor, Esq., I.C.S., Collector and Agent
 to the Governor. Ganjam.—Government Press, Madras.
 1901.

THIS ponderous work, brought out to the orders of the Madras Government, though "Edited" by Mr. Taylor, has been mostly done, as we are informed in the Preface, by Mr. F. A. Coleridge, I.C.S., during a most trying experience of nearly two years in the Malliah country, during which his health failed and he had to take leave home to recover. The work, however, is not only valuable to the Revenue Officer, but to others who wish to form an idea of most interesting peoples hid away in the jungles and mountains to the west of Ganjam where it joins on to the Central Provinces in the wild and desolate tracts of the Great Ahiri Forest. There are numerous tribes included in the Malliah or Hill tracts area under notice, and not one of them has been omitted. In 3,250 square miles there are 40,000 Sourahs, 140,000 Khonds, 25,000 Uriyas, 25,000 Panos, and 12,000 Gonds and others. Khonds, Malliahs, Meriah Sacrifices, Rebellions, Tribal fights, Muttas, Irrigation, "Rajahs," Traditions, Brahmins, Uriyas, Schools, Cultivation, Vaccination, Abkari, etc., etc., all figure by turns in its pages, and we are only surprised that a single young officer—of seven years service—could have gone through it all or should have done so much. Mr. Coleridge, Acting Special Assistant Agent, certainly deserves some marked recognition at the hands of the Government whom he has served so well and at the considerable risk of his life. He is nearly related to the late Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, and probably is already marked out for well-deserved promotion. In conclusion, we need hardly say that Mr. Taylor's part of the work in editing the volume,

with additions for the whole district, has been carefully and thoroughly well performed.

The Spoilt Child : A Tale of Hindu Domestic Life, by Peary Chand Mitter (Tek Chand Thakur). Translated by G. D. Oswell, M.A., Court of Wards, Bengal. Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta.

THIS old Bengali favourite Tale, the only work of real genius as a novel depicting actual life, is here presented to us in an English dress by the industry of Mr. Oswell, who, considering the great difficulties he laboured under of rendering the Bengali idioms, and catching the spirit of the work, has done his work remarkably well for an Englishman. As regards the Tale itself, and its author, both are well known in Bengal. The work was the first Bengali novel published, and at the time we noticed it fully. (See *Calcutta Review*, Vols. XXXI and XXXII.) Almost a generation has passed, and the Tale still holds its place in the Bengali literary market, and now it appears in also an English dress. The hero of the tale is a good-for-nothing spoilt darling of the family, and his character is drawn very bad—perhaps overdrawn. The father is a weak and yielding old man, such as may probably have been found in the days the tale treats of. Ultimately, after ruining himself, the mad youth reforms after an interview with a Benares sage and saint. The plot is simple, but many things—such as Zemindari work, Court trials, etc.,—are introduced in its course. The author is not above popular prejudices, for he makes a *Mahomedan* the “villain” of the piece, and depicts Indigo Planters as anything but gentlemen. This appears very funny to us, for the Hindus certainly beat the Moslems in cunning ; and we, who have associated with Indigo Planters from even beyond the times of Peary Chand Mitter, knew them of old to be both of the best Home Families and extremely kind and benevolent to their thousands of poor dependent Hindu folk. As a matter of fact we know of Planters who were robbed of their all by surrounding Hindu Zemindars. We may, however, let this pass. There is no doubt that Peary effected a revolution in Bengali reading, for the Native Tales of those days were even obscene ! It must have considerably influenced the rising generation of “Young Bengal” for good.

We may just add, in conclusion, that Peary has also been a contributor to the pages of the *Calcutta Review*. The Bengali gentlemen of those days had not passed through the “B.A.” and “M.A.” grind, but their literary culture, helped on by such men as “D. L. R.” (Captain David Lester Richardson), Deiozio, and George Lewis, was true and extensive. Men,

for instance, like the famous "Dutt family," as well as Michael Modhoo Soodhun (of quite another family of Dutts), strange these were all Christian converts—for literary culture we do not expect again to see in Bengal.

Essays on Islām. By the Rev. E. Sell, B.D., M.R.A.S., S.P. C.K. S.P.C.K. Depôt, Madras : Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., London.

THESE essays deal with some aspects of Islām unfamiliar to the general reader, but none the less important. They show strange developments of the stern and simple religion founded by Muhammad and make clear how the eastern mind needed something more human, something closer to itself than the God of the Qurán, who has been well described as 'sterile in his loneliness.' The four first essays on the Mystics of Islām, the Babis, the Religious Orders and the Druses, are more or less connected with this feeling which has found expression in the cult of Ali. That and the Shiah doctrine of the Imámat are the root principles on which these various divergences from the orthodox faith of the Sunnis are based.

The Mystics of Islām are the Súfis and a description, as clear as the subject will allow of, is here given of the esoteric teaching of this mystical sect. It is to be sought for mainly in Persian poetry, especially in such books as the Masnavi of Jelál-ud-dín Rúmi and the Gulshan-i-Ráz. The Persian quotations, given in the footnotes, are well selected and to the point. The English translations might, perhaps, be improved. The whole subject, however, is one very difficult to make clear to any, except oriental scholars; but the student of mysticism will find this essay a valuable contribution to the comparative study of the subject.

The essay on the Babis is mainly historical, though a good summary of Babi dogmas is given. The best authorities have been consulted and the statements may be accepted as accurate. Bábfism is a most curious offshoot of the fundamental dogmas of the Shiahs, but this system deduced from them, now forms a sect outside any form of Islām. The Babis have suffered for their beliefs as few people in modern days have done, and persecution has only deepened their convictions and increased their numbers. It is decidedly the most interesting religious movement of the nineteenth century. What its influence will be on Persia remains to be seen. Should the Babis ever attain to political influence, greater freedom and more religious toleration will be the suitable result.

The essay on the Religious Orders deals with the great Islámic revival in North Africa and in the Eastern, the Central

and the Western Súdán. The activity of the Derwish Orders may lead to political complications of a grave nature. We do not know of any account in English which deals with the rise, nature and influence of the Derwishes so fully as this essay does. The subject of the spread of Islám in Africa through their agency is, however, too large a one to deal with in this review, and we propose to have a special article on it in our next number, easily traceable, but still there, between their worship of Hakim and the development of the doctrine of the Imámat, as it was found amongst the Ismailians. The whole subject is one of great interest as an erratic movement of religious thought, as a religion which grew out of the caprices of a madman.

The status of the Zimmis, or non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim state, is shown by a collection of Fatvas, or legal opinions. The conclusion of the whole matter is thus put by the author "though the law is, probably, nowhere now carried out with such vigour, the state of the Zimmis is in all Muslim lands one of political and social subordination. When Muslim countries were isolated, this did not cause much inconvenience, except to the Zimmis themselves; but now that some, at least, of the Mahommedan countries have entered into the circle of civilised States, the result is that the subject populations are restive under the disabilities imposed on them."

The essay on Islám in China gives a concise account of the past and present conditions of the Muslims there. It is probably news to most persons that there are twenty million Mahommedans in the Chinese Empire.

The essay on the Recensions of the Qurán is not a scholarly account of the way in which the present text of the Qurán was formed and how to ensure its success previous recensions were destroyed. Mr. Sell gives the Arabic text and a translation of a lost Súra which some Shiah declare the Khalif 'Usmán omitted in his revised edition, the one now in use. The late Mr. Garcin de Tassy was inclined to think it genuine; other critics do not. Mr. Sell states the case and then gives his own views thus:—

"On the whole, the weight of evidence seems to be against the Shiah claim. Ali and his followers were a powerful body during the Khalifato of Usmán; they must have known whatever the Prophet had said about Ali, and it is not easy to believe that they would have allowed such passages to be suppressed."

The origin of the religion of the Druses is, in the fourth article, traced back to the Khalif Hakim. The Shiah community early became divided and sub-divided in many sects. Of these the most important is that of the Ismailians who claimed

that with them alone was the true Imám, or spiritual Pontiff, the successor by divine right of the Khalif Ali. This sect and an allied one, the Batmis, are famous for the esoteric views they held and for the activity with which they propagated them. The fundamental principle was that "revelation came through prophets, but interpretation came only through the Imáms. They were the depositaries of all knowledge, and only from them or their emissaries, could men find the right path or the explanation of the many enigmas of life." The way in which the Ismailian Missionaries worked, the secret instruction given to the initiated, the extraordinary power of the leaders, are all clearly set forth. It is only by understanding all this that we can see how such a monster of cruelty, as Hakim was, ever obtained the influence over men that he did. He came to be regarded as the medium of the last and final manifestation of the Deity. The Druses now worship Hakim and, though they have gone very far away from Islám, yet there is a connection.

The last essay on the Hanifs is a critical examination of an interesting point in the history of Muhammad, *viz.*, whether he was influenced by some men who, in his early days, were already protesting against idolatry, or whether his declaration that he came to restore the religion of Abraham was the result of his stay in Madina and altogether an idea of later growth. The point is of some importance, as the latter view illustrates the historical development of the Qurán. The argument cannot be summarised, but it is well worth study.

It is not possible in a short review to do justice to the wealth of information supplied in these essays. We can only conclude by saying that this work supplies a real need, is invaluable to the student of comparative religion and maintains the reputation of its author as an authority on the subject of Islám, to which, as seen in his other works, the Faith of Islám, and the Historical Development of the Qurán, he has given many years of study.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The works of George Berkeley, D.D., Bishop of Cloyne, including Posthumous works, with Prefaces, Annotations, Appendices, and an account of his Life. By Alexander Campbell Fraser, Hon. D. C. L., Oxford, Hon. LL.D. Glasgow and Edinburgh; Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh; in Four Volumes. Price, twenty-four Shillings. Clarendon Press, Oxford; and Frowd, London, 1901.

[This very valuable edition of a great work receives a special and extended notice in an Article in our next number.]

Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors; being a Narrative of the Principal Events and Public measures during their Periods of Office, from 1854 to 1898: by C. E. Buckland, C. I. E., of the Indian Civil Service; in Two Volumes, with 14 illustrations. S. Lahiri and Co., Calcutta. 1901.

[This excellent and useful historical work will receive several special extended notices.]

Asia and Europe: Studies presenting the conclusions formed by the Author in a long life devoted to the subject of the relations between Asia and Europe; by Meredith Townsend. Archibald Constable & Co., London. 1901.

[Here is our old Serampore friend of fifty years ago with a most acceptable volume which we hope to review at length.]

The Prevention of Epidemic Zymotic Diseases in India and the Tropics; by C. Godfrey Gumpel. Price 1s Watts & Co., Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, 1901.

[Reserved for closer examination.]

The Standardization of Calmette's Anti-Venomous Serum, with pure Cobra Venom, Deterioration of this Serum through keeping in India; by Geo. Lamb, M.B., Captain, I.M.S., and William Hanna, M.A., M. B., R.U.I., D.P.H., Cantab. Research Laboratory, Bombay, 1901.

[The only work of its kind—a reprint from the *Lancet*.]

Khattari Conference Resolutions, and Rajah Bun Behari Kapur's address.

[This is a contribution to a very interesting subject.]

The Madras Museum Bulletin. Vol III. No. 3. Anthropology. Nayers of Malabar, with 11 Plates; by F. Fawcett. Price 1 Re. 8 As, Government Press, Madras, 1901.

[This is an account of an interesting tribe of Malabar, on which subject probably several papers may be found scattered through the *Calcutta Review*, one on the "Serpent-Worship" practised appearing in this very number.]

Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient. Revue Philologique. F. H. Schneider, Imprimeur—Editour, Hanoi.

The Indian Review. No 7, for July, Madras. 1901.

The Indian Magazine for August. Archibald Constable & Co., London, 1901.

Luzac's Oriental Lists, for May, June, &c., London. 1901.

[Full of useful information to Orientalists.]

The Monist, for July. Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, 1901.

Report of the Lunatic Asylums in the N.-W. P. and Oudh, for 1900.

Report of the Jails in the Punjab, for 1900.

Report of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for 1900.

Report of Police Administration, Punjab. 1900.

Report of Punjab Court of Wards, for 1900.

Memorial of Bombay Native Inhabitants to the Governor of Bombay, with Appendices.

Report on Dispensaries, etc., in the Punjab, for 1900.

Report of the Lahore Anglo-Vedic College, for 1900-'01.

[We learn that the College has 400 pupils—with a balance in hand of *four lakhs*, and yet they are crying out "give, give" for a building! Their motto is "Sacrifice is the navel of the world"—which sort?]

Sudha—a monthly Review in Bengali, head office, Murshidabad.

[This has just been started.]

Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India. No. 12, for the month of March 1901, and for the twelve months, 1st April 1900 to 31st March 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1898-99 and 1899-1900. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.

Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India. Nos. 1 to 4, for the month of July 1901, and for the four months, 1st April to 31st July 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1899 and 1900. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.

Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries. Nos. 9, 10, 11 and 12, for the twelve months, 1st April 1900 to 31st March 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1898-99 and 1899-1900. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.

Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries. Nos. 1 and 2, for the two months, April and May 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1899 and 1900. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.

Review of the Trade of India in 1900-1901. By J. E. O'Connor, C.I.E., Director-General of Statistics to the Government of India. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.

Annual Report on the Reformatory Schools at Alipore and Hazaribagh, for the year 1900. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Report on Emigration from the Port of Calcutta to the British and Foreign Colonies, 1900. By C Banks, Esq., C.M., D.P.H., Protector of Emigrants, Calcutta. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Annual Report of the Bengal Veterinary College, and of the Civil Veterinary Department, Bengal, for the year 1900-1901. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

- Annual Report on Inland Emigration* for the year 1900. By C. Banks, Esq., M.D., C.M., D.P.H., Superintendent of Emigration, Calcutta. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.
- Report on the Administration of the Police of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, for the year ending 31st December 1900. By R. H. Brereton, Esq., I.C.S., Inspector-General of Police, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh. Allahabad : The Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh. 1901.
- Notes on the Administration of the Registration Department in Bengal*, for 1900-1901. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.
- Progress Report of Forest Administration in the Lower Provinces of Bengal* for the year 1899-1900. By A. F. Wild, Conservator of Forests, Bengal. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1900.
- Report on the Administration of the Police of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, for the year ending 31st December 1900. By R. H. Brereton, Esq., I.C.S., Inspector-General of Police, North-Western Provinces and Oudh. North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1901.
- Thirty-third Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal. Year 1900.* By Major H. J. Dyson, I.M.S., F.R.C.S., Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.
- Administration Report on the Jails of Bengal* for the year 1900. By Lieutenant-Colonel E. Mair, Inspector-General of Jails, Bengal. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.
-

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXIII.

October 1901.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

CALCUTTA :
PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY
THE CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET.
MESSRS. THACKER, SPINK & CO., GOVERNMENT PLACE, N.
AND TO BE HAD OF ALL RESPECTABLE BOOK-SELLERS IN CALCUTTA.
MADRAS: MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & Co.
LONDON: MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co., Ltd.
PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHANCING CROSS ROAD, LONDON, W. O.
All Rights Reserved.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CCXXVI.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
ART, I.—THE STORY OF THE ALPHABET ...	... 227
„ II.—THE SECOND EMPIRE ... ..	... 238
„ III.—THE MUHAMMADAN REVIVAL IN AFRICA ...	... 243
„ IV.—A RETURNED EMPTY ... ..	... 251
„ V.—HINDU FESTIVALS IN THE MAHARASHTRA ...	... 264
„ VI.—ACROSS THE PELOPONNESUS ... ..	... 274
„ VII.—ERIN'S SLAIN ... ..	... 283
„ VIII.—BISHOP BERKELEY'S IMMATERIAL PHILOSOPHY	287
„ IX.—IN THE MAGALIESBERG A YEAR AGO ...	... 295
„ X.—THE LIFE AND TIMES OF AKBAR ... ..	... 302
„ XI.—RAM BODH MUNI—A STORY OF THE HIMA- LAYAS ... ..	... 311
„ XII.—THE DICTATORSHIP OF MR. CHAMBERLAIN ...	... 324
„ XIII.—EPIDEMIC ZYMOTIC DISEASES IN INDIA ...	... 333
„ XIV.—MO ROISGEAL DHU ... ..	... 343
„ XV.—DAYBREAK ... ..	... 344
„ XVI.—THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY ... ..	... 346
„ XVII.—STATUTES OF THE NOBEL FOUNDATION ...	... 360
THE QUARTER . ... ..	... 383

CRITICAL NOTICES :—

I.—GENERAL LITERATURE :—

- 1.—The Life of Claude Martin, Major-General in the Army of the Honourable East India Company. By S. C. Hill, B.A., B. S. C., officer in charge of the Records of the Government of India, Calcutta. Thacker, Spink & Co. 1901 ix
- 2.—The Chutney Lyrics.—A collection of comic pieces in verse on Indian subjects. Second edition (reprint). Price, Re. 1. Higginbotham & Co., Madras and Bangalore ... ib.
- 3.—The Journal of Mrs. Fenton, Narrative of her Life in India, the Isle of France (Mauritius) and Tasmania during the years 1826-1830, with a preface by Sir Henry W. Lawrence, Bart. London : Edward Arnold, Publisher to the India Office. 1901 ... x
- 4.—1. Common Salt ; its Use and Necessity for the Maintenance of Health and the Prevention of Disease. By C. Godfrey Gumpel. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., Paternoster Square. 1898. Price, five shillings ... xii
- 5.—2. On the Natural Immunity against Cholera, and the Prevention of this and other Allied Diseases by simple Physiological means. By C. Godfrey Gumpel. London and Edinburgh : Williams and Norgate ... ib.
- 6.—3. The Prevention of Epidemic Zymotic Diseases in India and the Tropics Generally. By C. Godfrey Gumpel. London : Watts & Co., 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, E. C. 1901 ... ib.
- 7.—4. The Plague in India, an Impeachment and an Appeal. By C. Godfrey Gumpel. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Calcutta and Bombay : Thacker, Spink and Co. 1899 ... ib.
- 8.—1. The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad. Part I. A. D. 1412 to 1520. With 112 Photographic and Lithographic Plates, by Jas. Burgess, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E., &c., &c., &c., late Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. London : William Greggs & Sons ; Bernard Quaritch ; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. ; Luzac & Co. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. Bombay : Thacker & Co. 1900. Price, 31 shillings 6 pence ... xiv
- 9.—2. The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathura, by Vincent A. Smith, I.C.S., Fellow of the Allahabad University. Allahabad : Government Press. 1901. Price, Rs. 14-8 (£ 1, 2s.) ... ib.
- 10.—3. Home Letter on the Calcutta University Question. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. 1901 ... xvi

Acknowledgments

... .. xx

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 226—OCTOBER 1901.

ART. I.—THE STORY OF THE ALPHABET.*

THIS little book of 217 duodecimo pages has appeared at the end of the Nineteenth Century most opportunely. What a contrast a book on the same subject published at the end of the Eighteenth Century would have presented ! Every child is supposed to “know his Alphabet, or his A. B. C.,” and popular opinion would credit Noah with such a knowledge ; but it must be admitted by careful students, that Moses did not know his Alphabet,† or even Solomon,† and whatever books are credited to them must have been handed down orally, or in a pre-alphabetic form of script,† “Pictorial, or Ideographic, or Syllabic,” not in separate abstract symbols or letters for each vowel or consonant-sound, which constitute an Alphabet.

Mr. Clodd is well known from his previous works, and his present volume is charming, whether to young students, or old hands. Words in Hieroglyphic Ideograms, such as the Egyptian, are eye-pictures, and have no relation to sound in their structure. Words in Alphabetic Symbols are Ear-pictures, and are built up with reference to the sound, which each symbol is fashioned to represent. The invention of Writing in any form alone made it possible to pass from Barbarism to Civilization. The final supersession of all other forms of writing by the Alphabet marks an Epoch in the History of Mankind. It is notorious, that the ordinary Numerals used throughout Europe speak to the eye only, and each Nation describes them in his own Language, as the figures 1, 2, 3, etc., represent an arithmetical idea, and are not symbols for a letter. In China to this day the form of writing of the Chinese Wen-Li is for ‘oculation’ only, and not for pronunciation, and the reader of a book in that form

* The Story of the Alphabet. By Edward Clodd. (London : Newnes, 1900.)

† [An emphatic “No” to all these assertions, and we are prepared to prove it.—Ed., C. R.]

of Script pronounces aloud the idea gathered from the Pictorial Character in his own national speech.

Our author traces the art of communicating ideas by Pictorial signs to the Stone Age. Rude etchings of men brandishing spears at wild horses, or other wild animals, are in evidence on rocks. In some cases curious graphic signs are found suggestive of Primitive Pictographs, and the "Pictograph is the Parent of the Alphabet." Specimens have been found in Australia, and among the Bushmen in South Africa, and America. In these lie the germs, whence Alphabets have sprung.*

The Sound-Signs of our Alphabet are about 2,500 years† old, but at present our attention is called to the primitive forms, of which all Alphabets are the lineal descendants, and certain well-marked stages are obvious: (a) the Mnemonic, or 'memory-aiding' stage when some tangible object is used as a message or a record; (b) the Pictorial, speaking to the eye, suggesting the thing; (c) the Ideographic, suggesting the name; (d) the Phonetic suggesting the sound.

Let me give illustrations.

The Mnemonic Stage is represented by knotted cords, or shell or ornamented belts. This survives in the knot which we to this day tie in our handkerchief to help our memory, and the long-line of the sailor. The author goes into great detail on this subject.

The Pictorial Stage is described by our author at great length and with numerous illustrations. The necessities of Human Life compelled recourse to this method of communication: for instance, we have a letter offering a Treaty of Peace, a Census Roll of an Indian Band, a Biography of an Indian Chief.

The Ideographic Stage indicates an advanced stage in Human Knowledge, and presupposes secrecy. Such pictorial signs do not so much depict, as suggest objects, and presuppose a knowledge of an event or fact, which the symbol recalls. For instance, Religious Symbols would be meaningless to people unfamiliar with the history: the Cross and Crescent mean nothing to the Red Indian. Our author describes the survivals of the Ideographics of the Aztecs and the Maya, both still uninterpreted. The famous Hieroglyphic Ideographs of Egypt will be noticed in their own place.

*[We have been in Bushmen's Caves on the Drakensberg, and seen (and treated) the Rock-Paintings of New Zealand. These were *not* the "germs" of our Alphabet.—ED. C.R.]

†[We should say about 3,000 at the very least if not from the time of Moses, who gave the two tables of the Law, and embodied the *Cabbala* in the *Alphabet of Pentateuch*.—ED., C.R.]

The Phonetic Stage. The Mexican Script gives a curious illustration of the change from the Pictographic to the Phonetic State. The name of one of the Kings was Itacoatl or 'Knife-Snake.' In one Manuscript this name is represented by a serpent (*coatl*) and stone knife (*itzli*) on its component parts on the Pictorial Stage system; in a later MS. we find the first syllable of the King's name represented by a weapon armed with blade on the old system, but the latter part, *coatl*, though it means 'snake,' is represented by an earthen pot, *co-mill*, and above it the sign of water, *ti*, and the word is read according to the sound, not the meaning. This is real phonetic writing, and is of pure Mexican origin. However, before the Mexican written character had further developed itself, it was suppressed by the European Alphabet.

Chapter IV describes briefly three survivals of ancient forms of writing, one or two of which perhaps another Century may place away in the same category as the written character of the Maya and Aztek. I allude to the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean. The first is wholly Monosyllabic; the second is a syllabary, but is rapidly disappearing before the Roman Alphabet. The people of the Korea use the Chinese Character for their official Script, but the lower classes have a phonetic Alphabet, the origin of which is uncertain. It must be recollected, that these three forms of written Character are actually in use at the close of the Nineteenth Century.

Chapter V contains a description of the Cuneiform Script, which has been dead 2,000 years and more, and buried out of the knowledge of the Human Race until the middle of the present Century. It was the vehicle of the Literature of the great Babylonian and Assyrian Nations, who have left monuments in baked clay going back many thousand years. These two powerful nations of the Semitic race inherited this form of Script from elder Nations of a totally different race, who by the chance of fortune have left no undisputed traces of themselves in the written Characters of younger Nations. Some daring Scholars have postulated a connection between the Nations of Mesopotamia and China. In these days of wonderful discoveries it would not be safe to reject such theories but it is wiser to wait. Another Scholar urges the origin of the Phenician Alphabet in the Cuneiform Script. We shall notice this further on. The art of writing Cuneiform can be carried back 8,000 years. [? ED.]

Chapter VI epitomizes the history of the Egyptian Inscriptions, in their three varieties: (1) Hieroglyphic, (2) Hieratic, (3) Demotic. More need not be stated on a subject so familiar. The author thus describes the progress:

Pictogram—Ideogram—Phonogram;

or in other words :

Signs representative of ' Words ; ' ' Idea ; ' ' Sound.'
The art of writing Hieroglyphics can be carried back 6,700 years. [? ED.]

Chapter VII gives the account of the Rosetta Stone, the obelisk at Philæ, and the Stele of Canopus, all three of which led to the wonderful revelation of the Literature of Egypt to the Scholars of last Century.

Chapter VIII narrates the first appearance of the Phenician Alphabet, considered up to this period to have been the parent of all the alphabets now existing in the World, and describes in detail the argument in favour of the derivation of this Alphabet from the Hieratic Ideograms of Egypt. The last word has not been spoken on this subject. The date, to which the Phenician Alphabet can with certainty be taken back, and the source from which it was derived, if not a pure invention of the Phenicians, is open to discussion. Its existence can be traced back to the Moabite Stone, about the Ninth Century B.C. This seems to exclude Moses* from the possibility of having made use of an Alphabet, though it is quite possible that he wrote Egyptian Hieroglyphics, or Babylonian Cuneiform, leaving it in doubt when the transfer of his writings from one form of script to another took place. Then, again, there are those, who claim a Semitic origin for the Phenician Alphabet, and not an Egyptian, and would substitute an Assyrian seedplot instead of an Egyptian. There are other possibilities. The Hittite Script is still unrevealed, and in the next chapter we shall read of other possibilities.

Chapter IX reveals them, and they form the real interest of this instructive little volume. But the progress of events is rapid, and even this book published in 1900, is not quite up to the latest Epoch, for at a meeting held last Summer in the rooms of the Society of Archæology to hear Mr. Arthur Evans' latest account of his discoveries in Crete, the writer of this Review placed in his hands Mr. Clodd's little book, and he remarked that the discoveries of the last season, which were that day to be described were not included in the published volume. We must look into the Future, and be ready to appropriate new facts, as they are reported to us, and lend ourselves to a further evolution of Ideas. Nothing is so mischievous, as the habit of advancing to a certain distance in a newly discovered field of science, and then to stop short,

*[Not necessarily. We place the Origin of our Alphabet, (which is, identical with the Hebrew, the Phenician, and the Sanscrit—as we have abundantly proved)—about the time of Moses, in fact to Moses himself, whence the Phenicians elaborated theirs, and whence again the College of Brahmin Pundits elaborated their perfect Sanscrit.—Ed., C.R.]

shut your eyes, and cry out : " I go no further." The wonderful discoveries of the Past encourage us to examine with rigour, and accept provisionally with caution, new advances. Champollion was no doubt coughed down at first, and Galileo was sent to prison.

" E pur si muove."

There was a *tertium quid*, which escaped the notice of the Egyptologues, and Assyriologues, when from the grandeur of their citadels they looked down upon the puny invention by the Phenicians, as recorded by Herodotus, of an ' Alpha, Beta,' an Alph Beth, an Alphabet, a little squadron of twenty-five symbols, destined to be the vehicles of the Literature of the Greeks and Romans, and all the Nations of Europe and America, and of the Literature of the great Nations of Asia, the Indians, the Persians, the Arabs, the Osmanli Turki, and the Ural Altaic Races. The Egyptologue cried out, " the Alphabet was from us ;" the Assyriologue made similar assertions ; but in these last days a new vista is opening to us, and Chapter IX denotes it.

The great Civilization of Greece from the time of Pericles onward represents a ' Second birth.' If we use a wider term to express what has hitherto been called the Greek Field, and substitute the term ' Ægean,' we can carry back the period of that Civilization nearly as far as the Egyptian. The late discoveries in Crete reveal the fact of an indigenous* Culture in that Island, and of intercourse with Greece, Egypt, and Syria, at a date anterior* to that of the Phenician commercial expansion. In 1894 Mr. Arthur Evans commenced his explorations in the Eastern portion of Crete, and found stones inscribed, not only with hieroglyphics and pictorial, but also with linear or quasi-alphabetic characters. We suspend any definite judgment, but hold our breath in expectation of further revelations. In some cases the same symbols recur frequently : for instance, in one the human eye recurs four times, the broad arrow seven times, and another symbol eleven times.

Had these objects been painted merely for decoration the engraver would scarcely have been thus trammelled. The conclusion seems to be, that they were grouped for purposes of communication. The symbols are of two kinds, Pictorial and Linear. There are eighty-two of the former, and thirty-eight of the latter. The Pictorial specimens are found only in Crete ; examples of the linear Character have been found at Mykénæ, Nauplea, and other prehistoric sites in Greece and Egypt, and some have marked affinity with Cypriote, Hittite, and Semitic. The Hittites were at one period a Nation of great power, able to wage war on terms of equality with

* Query.—ED., C.R.

Egypt, and known by them under the name of 'Khita,' and it is to be regretted that the Anglicized term 'Hitt-ite' has obtained currency. The written Character of their Inscriptions is well known, but no interpretation has as yet been successful. They were highly advanced in certain departments of Art, as evidenced by the memorials of their handywork, which have survived.

Returning to the subject of the discoveries at Crete, our author is of opinion, that the history of 'Man' in the Eastern Mediterranean, or the Ægean sea, has, under the new light, thrown upon it by the discoveries of Schlieman at Troy and Mykénœ, on the West Coast of Asia, and in Crete, to be rewritten. The theory* is hazarded, that there existed a pre-Phenician system of writing in Greece, which, if eventually proved, would shake to its foundations all our existing ideas as to the origin of that renowned Alphabet.

I. The existence has been discovered in Crete of a form of writing both Hieroglyphic or Pictorial, and Linear approaching to Alphabetic. The date of the former can be taken back to the third Millennium before the Christian Era : the date of the latter, which is Syllabic, or in some degree Alphabetic, is credited with an existence in the fifth Millennium and a circulation all over the Mediterranean. At the meeting of the British Association of 1899 Professor Petrie remarked : "We stand now in an entirely new position as to the sources of the Alphabet, and we see them to be about thrice as old* as they have been supposed to be."

II. The results of exploration in Asia Minor, Egypt, Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, and other Islands of the Mediterranean, as well as the Peloponnesus, bear witness to the existence of a pre-Phenician Civilization, of which Mykénœ was the centre, to which a date must be assigned of the third Millennium B.C.*

III. The theory of the Phenician origin of the Alphabet through the Hieratic is consequently shattered to pieces.

The evidence of the priority can be summarily stated. Civilization in the Ægean Islands and on the Greek Mainland dates from beyond 3,000 years B.C.* The Phenicians have left no literature : they migrated originally from the Persian Gulf. In 1600 B.C. Phenicia was a dependency of Egypt. The decay of the Mykénœan Civilization was one of the results of the Dorian invasion in the Twelfth Century ; the Phenicians overran the Ægean, and ruled it until the Greeks recovered their power, and expelled them from their waters, and ultimately Alexander of Macedon destroyed Tyre. Between their rise and fall their commercial pre-eminence

*[A "theory" without any foundation.—ED., C.R.]

enabled them to impose an Alphabet on the Greeks, but if the new idea is accepted, that it was not derived from the Hieratic form of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, whence came it? This is the question now raised at the close of the Nineteenth Century: how shall it be replied to?*

Some thought once that it will never be settled whether the Phenician Characters are modifications of the Egyptian or the Hittite, or the Cypriote, or mere abbreviations of a picture-writing peculiar to the Phenicians. But when that opinion was expressed, the discovery of the Cretan Pictographs and Linear signs had not been accomplished, and this discovery has not settled the question. The Phenicians came under various influences, and their adaptive Character lost the impress of their surroundings. As Semites they could not have been entirely unacquainted with Cuneiform. Their settlement in Egypt made them familiar with Hieroglyphics. When they entered the Ægean environment, they found an ancient Script used for communication in the Mediterranean. It is not unreasonable to hazard the idea, that the rudiments of the Phenician Writing may have come in part at least from the Ægean side, the inhabitants of which were undoubtedly far ahead in civilization of their neighbours on the Syrian Coast.†

The deliberate opinion of the new School, of which the author of this book is the exponent, is, that the Phenician Alphabet was compounded from various sources, the selection and modification of which were ruled by commercial considerations. As men of business they had scant leisure, and their object was brevity, and they aimed as near shorthand as possible. They purged their Script of surplus signs, determinatives, and such like, and launched into the World an Alphabet which, though very far from a scientific vehicle of all possible sounds, and very deficient in modern times owing to the absence of periodical reforms to suit new requirements, still had the honour of being accepted by long generations of men and has secured an essential permanence denied to any other Human Invention whatsoever.

The reader who only dips into this very deep subject for the first time must not suppose, that all the Alphabets in use at the present Epoch are identical in form or structure: nothing of the kind. Any Public officer in India familiar

*[This Origin of Alphabetical writing, and of the Phenician, is the very subject solved in the other of the two papers (this one by Dr. Cust being one) which we referred to in our last Quarter's Notes, and which we suggested some rich patron of Sanscrit Literature should print, on the score of expense. The cost might be from Rs. 500 to 1,000.—ED., C.R.]

†[All baseless assumptions.—ED., C.R.]

with the use of the Nágari of the Hindu and the Shikastah of the Arabic, as they lie side by side on his office table, having been presented for his signature, might suppose that they were totally different, but the germinal idea and structural principle which underlie them are the same. The first division of sounds is into Consonants and Vowels, and the former are divided into segments with reference to the organ of the mouth, which controls the emission of the sound : Nasal, Guttural, Palatal, Labial, and Dental.

And the descendants of the so-called Phenician Alphabet reign supreme, and of the four hundred Translations of the Scriptures scattered over the World there is not one in a Hieroglyphic, or a Cuneiform Character.

The Translations of the Extreme Orient, in China, Japan, and Korea, are for the present partly in their old Ideograms, and partly in the Roman Alphabet : it is not wise to advance too rapidly in such matters. Had these Nations possessed a form of Script worthy of existence, as is the case in India, it should deserve all respect, but under the circumstances a gradual change seems inevitable. On the other side of the Globe, in the extreme North and South of America, two Missionaries committed the daring absurdity of inventing new forms of Script, thus cutting off their dark flocks from any means of intercourse with their white neighbours. In the North the Translator went back a couple of thousand years, and introduced among the Kree, and other Red Indian tribes, a syllabic code of symbols ; in the South the daring innovation was tolerated by the Committee of the Bible-Society, which printed the translation of a 'one-man' alphabet, specially prepared for the Yahgan tribe. The sooner it dies out the better.

Chapter X of our author's interesting little volume is devoted to Greek papyri. It deals, in fact, with the material, on which the Alphabetic symbols were recorded, and which have come down to our times either by the medium of Palæography, or decipherment of documents, or Epigraphy, the decipherment of Inscriptions on Stone, or Metal, or Baked Clay. What a debt of gratitude we owe to our predecessors of the Human Race for the unconscious service, which they have rendered us, in storing away perishable documents in tombs so dry, that they have been preserved from the ordinary decay of vegetable matter, in Inscriptions on metal documents as fresh as when the proud Monarch looked at them before the time of Abraham, of baked clay bricks impressed with writing which was written long before the date which Archbishop Usher assigns to Adam. The oldest surviving Hebrew or Sanskrit document does not surpass in antiquity

the Norman Conquest of England,* the oldest Greek document dates back only to the time of the Emperor Constantine, and the oldest specimen of Greek Character cannot be carried back beyond the names on the Rock at Aln Simbal, carved by the Greek soldiers, who had deserted the service of Ptolemy a century or so before the Christian era.

This makes the discovery of Greek papyri so very acceptable, as they go back to the Third Century before the Christian era. They consist of fragments of the works of celebrated Greek authors, and still more valuable copies of works known by name only, as no other copy had survived; add to these a collection of Logia, or Sayings of Jesus Christ, some of which are familiar, and some wholly new, and a feeling of expectation is created, amounting to certainty that a great harvest has still to be reaped. Some interesting remarks follow on the variety of modern Alphabets in daily use. This opens an entirely new field, which we pass by.

Chapter XI describes briefly the eccentric and exceptional forms of written Character known as Runes and Ogams.

The Runes are Alphabets, a degraded form of the Greek Alphabet, possibly introduced into Scandinavia by the Goths, but their origin is still uncertain. Their shape indicates that they were intended for incision on wood, stone, or some rigid material, and very few Manuscripts have been found. Inscriptions are found in England, Scotland, the valley of the Danube, in America, but not in Ireland; in the Isle of Man, but not in Wales. Some of its characters were woven in the compound Script, which was the vehicle of Ulfilas' memorable Translation of the Gospel, which can still be seen in the University of Upsala.

Specimens of the Ogam Alphabet are found only in the British Isles; they are held by some to be derived from the Runic, by others from the Roman Alphabet; the letters are formed by straight or slanting strokes drawn above, or beneath, or right through horizontal or perpendicular strokes.

One great merit of this little volume of 230 pages of duodecimo size is, that it opens out fairly the question of the origin of the Phenician Alphabet, supposed to have been finally set at rest by the theory of M. de Rougé, who traced it to the Hieratic.

The foregoing lines were written in September, 1900, at the seaside, but, on my return to London in the Autumn of the same year, I attended the Annual Meeting of the School of Athens, and the Hellenic Society, heard the addresses

* [You evidently have forgotten the great Hebrew Bible in the Vatican, brought by Titus to Rome after the Siege and Capture of Jerusalem.—
ED., C. R.]

of Mr. Evans and Mr. Hogarth on those occasions, and printed matter in one or two periodicals fell under my notice, from which I made extracts to indicate how far the discovery of the origin of so-called Alphabet has advanced at the close of the Nineteenth Century. Unluckily no arguments have as yet appeared on the opposite side, and I am one of those, who do like to see a question well argued out. The same thing happened about thirty-five years ago, when the theory of De Rougé as to the Hieratic origin of the Phenician Alphabet was propounded. I never heard anyone oppose it, except old Dr. Birch of the British Museum,* who shook his head, and a party, who asserted without proof or argument a Semitic origin: no one ever dreamed of Crete and the Ægean Islands and shores as being its birthplace.†

A Cretan Exploration Fund has been established, and has put forth an appeal based on a statement of last season's work. The Directors and Explorers in the Field are Mr. Arthur Evans and Mr. David Hogarth. The enterprise is recognized by the High Commissioner in Egypt, and a number of important sites have been allotted to the British Excavators at Kephala on the site of Knossus, which contained the remains of a prehistoric Palace, and the great Cave of Zeus at Mount Dicte. The results of the excavations up to the close of 1900 have exceeded the most sanguine expectations. There is no doubt that we have found the House of Minos, and the Mysterious Labyrinth, the habitation of the Minotaur. More will be discovered in 1901, when the expedition renew its labours.

In the *Contemporary Review* of December, 1900, Mr. Hogarth, one of the Directors, described the finds made in the excavations of 1899 and 1900. One Inscribed Tablet at Præsor requires separate notice; it is written in an unknown Language in the Archaic Greek Script: this is the single possible key to the mass of Inscriptions on Clay. Mr. Evans discovered the first example of a class of objects, which are likely to be Epoch-making, viz., a small wedge of hardened clay inscribed with half a dozen symbols of the linear Script above alluded to, which up to this time are undeciphered: these are hopefully welcomed as promising to be the long-looked-for medium of written communication, the prehistoric Ægean. These priceless documents appeared in twenties and tens, and in some chambers by hundreds.

In the Archæological Report of 1900, and in the *Contemporary Review* for December, 1900, Mr. Evans and Mr. Hogarth give fuller description of these Tablets: they are in two Scripts,

*[Dr. Birch, our old friend, and Member of the Society of Biblical Archæology, knew better.—Ed., C.R.]

†[Neither are they.—Ed., C.R.]

and Professor Sayce, in the *Expository Times* of January, 1900, does not hesitate to record his opinion that De Rouge's theory of the origin of the Alphabet from the Hieratic Egyptian must be definitely abandoned, and that it is from the Cretan Script that the Phenician Alphabet was derived. [A very *non sequitur*.—ED., C.R.]

In the *Monthly Review* of March, 1901, is an important paper by Mr. Arthur Evans, and we recommend it to the perusal of all. We add the following thoughts :—

When we left College and School in the Forties or Fifties, all idea of the origin of Greek Culture was non-existent :* the Homeric Poems were the *ultima Thule* of our horizon. Schlieman pierced the darkness, and revealed Troy, Mykénœs, and a new world, with a remoter date of 1600 B.C.

But no mention or thought of Crete had occurred, which was in very deed the centre of Ægean Culture. Minos was a veritable analogue of Moses, the first lawgiver of Greece, a worshipper of Zeus, whose figure was thought to be that of a Bull, hence the Minotaur, and whose symbol was a double axe, or Labris, hence Labyrinthos. There is reason to believe that the palace of Minos, found at Knossus in Crete, was the very Labyrinthos, to which a date of 2000 years B.C. can be assigned. It represented the work of a previous race, was utterly destroyed by the later invaders, and the beautiful legend of Theseus, the Minotaur, and the Labyrinth sprang into existence. I am still in hopes that we shall hear something more certain of the Philistines, who settled on the seashore of Palestine, and who are sometimes supposed to have come from Crete.†

ROBERT N. CUST.

(Aged 80.)‡

* [Not so, when we left College in the Fifties ; the origin of Greek Culture was known to us then as having come from the South—from Egypt, by way, of course, of Crete—ED., C.R.]

† [Our friend plays havoc with dates in the above article, and makes vast assumption.—ED., C.R.]

‡ [The united ages of our old friend, of ourselves, and of another writer in this number of the *Calcutta Review* run up to 220 years ! Dr. Cust has contributed to its pages since 1846 and this is, we believe, his 53rd contribution. It will be seen from it, that he is pretty lively still.—ED., C. R.]

ART. II.—THE SECOND EMPIRE.

MESSRS. HUTCHINSON have issued a supplemental volume of the memoir of the Emperor Napoleon III by M. de St. Imbert; but one of the most interesting of the series will be found in the earlier section entitled "Louis Napoleon and Mlle. de Montijo." As an object of commerce, the book is not of much value; translated by an American impartially alien to both the French and English tongues; it has no date on the title-page, no Preface notes or even a decent Index: yet as a portrait of one of the most notable adventurers of an adventurous age, the work is of incontestable importance. More than most human beings, Louis Napoleon's character presented complexity and contradiction: amiable yet unscrupulous, brooding without real reflection, the victim of dreams with a latent capacity for action, timid and sentimental yet prone to obstinate resolution, a Prince both dignified and generous who went through life an incorrigible conspirator, he combined the French attributes of his mother with a mysterious element that perhaps was Italian. Such a man, devoid of humour and with little sense of the ridiculous, was fated to make great enterprises which always failed, until he got into the hands of brave and able rascals who formed themselves into a syndicate to use his name and his ambition for purposes of their own. Whatever apparent success or temporary glory attended the second Empire was due to Fleury and St. Arnaud and Pelissier, to Morny and Walewski and the minor members of the gang; as was abundantly shown by the very inferior doings which ensued when these men were gone and their services lost to the Emperor. Ludicrous as were the burlesque heroisms of Strasburg and Boulogne, they were not more unsuccessful than the sham Liberalism that came when affairs fell into the hands of Lebouf, Gramont, and Ollivier. The present volume deals for the most part with the early life of the Emperor, ending with his taking to wife the illustrious Scoto-Spanish lady now an exile in England.

One of the strongest of all the contradictions in the nature of this exceptional man was the apparent coldness which marked its hidden fire. When he was tried for his unsuccessful attempt at Boulogne, in 1840, it was observed, by one of the Judges, that the defence was more effective when read than when heard in Court; the reason being the carelessness of the delivery: this want of expression was an "unexpected contrast to the impatient temerity" of the deeds with which the

prisoner stood charged. Like a volcano covered with snow, says our author, the Prince's heart flamed under an impassive manner—many persons yet living can call to mind the small grey eye and the waxen mask. Of many romantic passions thus concealed from the world it is now notorious that one of the earliest and purest was his desire to marry Mathilde, the daughter of his uncle Jerome, a witty and beautiful Princess whose subsequent marriage to Anatole Demidoff was so unhappy. After the proposals of Prince Louis had been negatived for family reasons his vacant affection was transferred to an English lady of the name of Howard who is said to have been his faithful friend to the end of her life ; but something more regular became a matter of necessity when the exiled adventurer attained the object of his long dreams and tenacious endeavours.

A pedigree of the Empress is given in the opening of the book, but it is not until eight-tenths of the volume are finished that Mlle. de Montijo—in spite of the title—makes her appearance in person ; and it was not until the second year of his reign and the forty-fourth or forty-fifth of his life that the now successful adventurer resolved on marriage. The lady on whom his choice fell was of mixed extraction : her father, M. Guzman de Porto-Carrero, was a Spaniard who had served in the first Napoleon's army against his own country ; her mother was the daughter of an American Consul of Scottish origin by a Flemish mother. Indoctrinated in Bonapartist ideas, the young Eugenie was residing at Paris with her mother at the time of the *coup d'état* in December 1851 ; on which occasion she sent to the President an offer of support in case of failure. She was then in her twenty-fifth year, and "one of the most exquisite creatures in Europe" according to the description of a female contemporary : her charms of mind and person had already attracted the admiration of the Prince. At the end of the year 1852 the Empire was voted by a hypnotised population, and the opening of the winter-season was marked by splendid social functions at Fontainebleau, Compiègne, and the Tuileries. At all these gay parties, in the hunt by day and at the dance by night, the foremost figure was that of Eugenie de Montijo, Countess of Téba ; and on the 22nd January the new sovereign announced to his new assemblies his intention to make the lovely stranger his consort. For seventy years, said the Emperor, various royal Princesses had shared the throne of France to end in calamity and see the ruin of their families ; for his own part he prepared to make a marriage of inclination.

The change, alas, brought no better fate. The sad recollections of Burke's impassioned mood are renewed for the linger-

ing veterans who remember fifty-three. The heroine of those days is not yet dead ; but her throne is ashes and of the Palace of her bright morn nothing is left but a few ruined columns. Cold, indeed—as the eloquent Irishman said of Marie Antoinette—must his heart be who could contemplate without emotion “that elevation and that fall.” What share the Empress may have had in the calamities of herself and of the dynasty may be a question open to much discussion. Some sovereigns have suffered disaster from the advice or the action of their wives: in various ways this was the case of Charles I. Louis XIV, and, probably, Henri IV of France. In like manner the Empress Eugenie has been accused by critics more positive than sentimental of giving bad advice to her lord on more than one occasion ; but no one at the time thought of such a contingency, unless it was a few envious ladies and some malcontents who believed—or professed to believe—in omens. General Fleury's *Recollections* contain the record of a sinister event of which he was an eye-witness. As the state-carriage left the Tuileries bearing the happy couple to Notre Dame for the religious portion of their wedding, the crown that surmounted the roof of the vehicle fell off, and the procession was arrested while a workman was brought to restore it to its place. An old bystander recalled the fact that it was in the same carriage that the great Napoleon and Marie-Louise had gone on the like errand, and that their departure had been accompanied by the very identical incident.

But in truth the Empire required no omens, it bore the germs of ruin in its very essence. Founded on perjury, cemented with innocent blood, it made a fair-weather show, but was bound to collapse at the first rude shock. The Mexican business, when French troops were withdrawn at the bidding of the Yankees, was almost a final blow ; but a short interval was allowed for repentance. The half-hearted Liberalism that followed was no more than a preparation of disaster ; and if the war with Prussia had not come in 1870, the Empire would have perished almost as soon as it did from intrinsic dry-rot. In its earlier and more prosperous period there was a chance that the Royalists would accept it as an alternative to Democracy ; in 1867 men of position were already beginning to treat it with ridicule ; the Bishop who had been one of its chief supporters was now obliged to confess that in his Cathedral the quire sang alone when they intoned the phrase—“ Domine ! Salvam fac Imperatorem.”

Yet the Empire, at least up to 1860, did not fall very short of its duties towards the country. The administration rolled smoothly on the lines laid down by the first Napoleon ; and

the relations with Great Britain were of that amicable nature which is best for two kindred nations only separated by twenty miles of sea. The fortunes of England and France have been so very different that one is always in danger of forgetting how much they have in common: being alike of Celtiberian origin, alike influenced by Roman domination and Teuton conquest. But it is true that these elements have not been uniformly blended; and the infusion of Teutonic blood has been far stronger in one case than in the other. Moreover the social and political evolution of the two nations has followed a very divergent path, so that in one we find equality prevailing, but liberty in the other; those two items of the Revolution programme being mutually incompatible. Lastly, we may notice a final distinction in the literary habits of the respective countries; France being the land of the most ordered and logical prose, while Britain, especially its Teuton section, has produced poets such as no other modern country has ever boasted. Of the likeness, in character and interest, that underlies these contrasts the Emperor had been fully informed during his long residence in London; and the consequence was that he cultivated the alliance with England, even against currents of feeling in his own country, and gained much temporary advantage to his position by so doing.

An intimate friend of his Majesty was accustomed to relate the story of the origin of the Crimean War in a manner very different from that of Kinglake, and much more favourable to the reputation of Louis Napoleon for ability. Lord Palmerston, according to him, was sent over, by the Queen, to consult with the Emperor as to the course to be pursued upon the supposed menace of the Russian Government in the beginning of the year 1854; and the Emperor desired to carry out his own plans but to have the sanction and support of the British Government. The guest was received with that perfect amiability which was the Emperor's best quality; and day after day passed in rides and drives and friendly dinners. Palmerston was taken over the projected improvements in the fortifications and streets of Paris, and shown all the new roads and groves in the Bois de Boulogne; but everywhere Fleury was with them and no opportunity was offered for the private and confidential discussions which formed the object of the visit. The last day came, and the envoy had to ask his Majesty to issue orders for the special train that was to convey him to Boulogne in time for the tidal boat: the request was preferred while the two men were seated at breakfast with the Empress. "Must you really go?" asked the Emperor; "the time has flown since you have been with us." "Yes," said the Englishman gravely; "and I have not yet

been able to do what I come for." "Ah! the Russian question" murmured the Emperor: "come into my study." And there, in half an hour the man of mystery, with half-shut eyes, laid before his bewildered visitor the course that he proposed to take, with the momentous results of which all are now too well aware.

The political relations of Russia towards France and England have indeed changed since those distant days; and the alliance of France has been transferred from the last named to the former. But King Edward and Lord Salisbury cannot have forgotten that it was once possible to be on good terms with France; and that the fact was due to the good sense and calm courage of the nephew of England's mighty foe. .

H. G. KEENE.

ART. III.—THE MUHAMMADAN REVIVAL IN AFRICA.*

LAST year the following statement was made in the *Spectator*:—"The present necessity is only to warn Europe that five hundred miles south of the Mediterranean a mighty cloud is gathering, which may, any day, burst over North Africa, and force Europe either to abandon its possessions and its hopes in that vast region, or to maintain them by the sword" The cause which has brought so serious a state of affairs is the rapid growth and extension of the Great Darwish Orders. We are largely indebted to French writers for information about them, and this is only natural, for the movement constitutes a grave political danger in Algeria. The chapter on the Religious Orders of Islam in Mr. Sell's *Essays on Islam* gives the English reader a clear and succinct account of the formation, regulations and objects of these Orders, and show how great the modern revival of this phase of Muslim activity has been.

In the Quran the Christians are charged with having invented the monastic life. "We gave them the Gospel, and we put into the hearts of those who follow him (Jesus) kindness and compassion; but as to the monastic life, they invented it themselves" *Súratu'l Hadîd*, verse 27. The commentator Husain says this verse refers to the monks who, after the departure of Christ, formed communities and adds that God did not command this way of life. In a Tradition it is recorded that Usman bin Mazun asked Muhammad to allow him to retire from active life in order to live the life of a recluse. Muhammad replied: "The retirement which becomes my people is to sit in the corner of the mosque and wait for prayer." The whole system of religious communities, bound by vows to one spiritual head seems, then, to be contrary to the mind of Muhammad, and the existence of such secret societies appears to be uncongenial to the spirit of Islam. Nevertheless, almost immediately after the prophet's death, some men were called to a kind of common life by the Khalif Abu Bakr, known as the Siddiq—the righteous. Indeed, some of

* *Essays on Islam*, by the Rev. E. Sell, B. D., S. P. C. K., Madras : Hamilton, Adams, & Co, London.

L'Islam dans L'Afrique Occidentale par a Le Chatelier, Paris.

Marabouts et Khonan, par Louis Renn, Paris.

La Confrérie Musulmane par H Duveyrier, Paris.

Le Maroc par R. J. Fricch, Paris.

Le Maroc par a De Ganniers, Paris.

L'Islam au XIX^e Siecle par a Le Chatelier, Paris.

the largest Darwish Orders now claim to have descended from the Siddiqiyah community said to have been founded by the first Khalif. Anyhow, the movement has grown, for there are or have been no less than eighty-eight different Religious Orders. Some are small and unimportant ; but some are large and powerful and their influence has grown very rapidly during the last century. There is an element of mystery about them and this, during all the past ages, has attracted men of a certain class to them. Then the absolute surrender of the individual will which is required from the novice, the definite guidance in the daily religious and social life given by the Shaikh, the spiritual Director, the strong feeling of brotherhood engendered, and the fanatical spirit cultivated—all these things have drawn men of various temperaments together. The more immediate cause, however, of the modern revival of the Darwish Orders, is to be found in the changed and changing political condition of the older Muhammadan countries. Islam as a political power has of late years suffered many reverses. "Algiers is gone, Morocco is in danger, the English dominate India and Egypt. Russia has encroached largely on the Turkish Empire, has also absorbed the Central Asian Khanates, and threatens Persia. Muslim rule in Central Africa is in danger, for on all sides the Christian Powers are encroaching, and some of the best tribes, not yet won to Islam, are within their respective spheres of influence. The development of commerce and the wider influence of modern civilisation and learning, its art and science, are also disturbing elements in the Muslim world. Its contemptuous isolation, its absolute sway, are becoming things of the past. It has provoked a reaction. The religious spirit has been stirred up on its most fanatical side, and the Religious Orders have, in consequence, grown in extent and influence." *

The Darwishes look with the utmost dismay upon any compromise with western civilisation, any departure from the theocratic system of Islam, any loosening of the bands of tradition. They realize a great danger in the modern spirit of enquiry which naturally follows on a closer intercourse with men of other lands and other creeds. The great Islamic revival in Africa is not directed solely against Christianity, but is absolutely opposed to all western civilisation and seeks to hinder its extension or to limit its growth. Not only has a new spirit been infused into the older Orders, but new ones have been founded and then an active propaganda has been established which constitutes a danger to the civilised world.†

* Sell's Essays on Islam, p. 101.

† "Sans rien préjuger pour l'avenir, ou ne saurait nier qu'il y ait là pour les intérêts actuels du monde civilisé, un danger grave" Chatelier's *L'Islam au XIX^e Siècle*, p. 187.

It is time that the orthodox Mullahs and the Ulama, the official interpreters of the sacred law, look with disfavour on the development and growing influence of the Darwish Orders, but the movement is too strong and too wide-spread for them to restrain or suppress it. Its chief field of operations is in North and North-West Africa, in the Western, Central and Eastern Sudans. The Shaikh, or head of an Order, is an absolute despot. The initiation of a novice takes sometime and is not complete until he has entirely given up his own will and is content to render absolute and unquestioning obedience to that of his Master. Thus "thou shalt be in the hands of thy Shaikh as a corpse in the hands of those who prepared for burial. God speaks to thee through him. Thou art his slave and can'st do nothing without his order." Individuality is crushed out. The Shaikh is the one absolute will, whose order is final. Now, a body of men thus bound to act in absolute dependence on the will of a strong and fanatical man whose whole aim in life is to oppose all progress, all change, to prohibit intercourse with Christians, to keep aloof from all modern civilisation—a body of men at the absolute disposal of such a man constitutes a force not to be despised or lightly thought of. Hitherto, except in the Eastern Sudan, we have not been brought into much contact with the Darwishes, but a perusal of the works of French authors shows how the matter forces itself upon their attention with reference to Algeria and the regions beyond. Passing by the names of many Orders, and dealing only with some of those which exercise influence in Africa, we come to the Great Shaziliah Order, founded in 1258 A.D. It flourishes still in Algiers. In its early days it was devoted to mysticism and its leaders took little or no interest in political affairs. It has given rise to many other Orders which devote less time to mystical studies and more to practical matters. The more recent Orders, offshoots of the older ones, and especially of the Shaziliah, are found chiefly in Timbuktu, Morocco and Algeria. Islam found a home in Timbuktu centuries ago, for the great traveller Ibn Batutah in the fourteenth century found many Muslims there, but a religious deadness has settled down upon them, and one of the results of the Muhammadan revival has been to stir them up to greater activity. The Bakkayah Order, the centre of which is in Timbuktu, has helped to bring about this change; and what has been done there has been also accomplished in other parts. One of the largest of the older Orders, the Qadiriyyah, founded in 1165 A.D., was and still is strong in Algiers. Stirred up at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the Wahhabi revival, it started on a new career of missionary activity and soon spread rapidly in the Western Sudan and the neighbouring

regions. For the first half of the century most of the schools were under the care of Darwishes of this Order, who carried on propaganda in a regular and continuous way, and, on the whole, in a pacific mood. They have relied on the personal influence of the missionary and on education and not on the power of the sword.*

The Tijaniyah is a Modern Order and a warlike one. It has equally with the Qadiriya been one of the chief agencies in the spread of Islam. Its founder was a student in the University of Fez, and the chief Zawiyah, or Monastery, of the Order is in that city. The most warlike of its leaders was Haji Umr, a man of great vigour and intensely fanatical. About the beginning of the nineteenth century, a leader, Danfodio, arose among the Fulahs, a pastoral people who had embraced Islam. This man stirred up their zeal and led them against the Hausas, and from them and other tribes made many converts at the point of the sword. Sokoto became the capital of a new Muhammadan power, and no less than four influential Muhammadan kingdoms in the Sudan and Senegambia exist now as the result of Danfodio's warlike zeal in the cause of religion. But the fanatical spirit did not last, and so about the year 1883 Haji Umr went to Bornu and the Hausa country to reproach the Muslims with their apathy and roused in them the old fanatical spirit which had led the Fulahs on to such victories.

He extended his operations from Senegal to Timbuktu, and even as far as the Hinterland of Sierra Leone.† He founded a powerful Muhammadan State between the Upper Senegal and the Niger. By violent means, for the most part, he banished paganism, made converts to Islam, infused his own energy into the Muslim communities, and did more than any man of his time to spread Muhammadanism. He was killed in 1865 and left his large domains to his sons. Though there have been family dissensions, and though the kingdom left by Haji Umr is now split up into smaller states, yet even they constitute a very great power on the side of Islam. The establishment of French influence in the Senegal and the Niger regions will, however, limit the warlike spirit and activity of the Tijaniyah Order and its political importance must decline. Thus the Qadiriya Order by its more peaceful methods, and the Tijaniyah by its more warlike ones have together been the chief agents in the wonderful advance of Islam in the Western

* The latest writer on this subject says " Par l'instruction qu'ils donnent à leurs disciples, par les colonies qu'ils fondent de tout côté, les adeptes de l'Islam mystique multiplient dans le Soudan païen leurs centres d'action." (Chatelier's *L'Islam dans L'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 254.

† For an account of his many wars, see Chatelier's *L'Islam dans L'Afrique Occidentale*, pp. 176—188.

and in the Central Sudan during the last century. * Mr. Sell summarises the advance made thus :— " Now the whole Hinterland from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, as far south as six degrees north latitude, and the country on the eastern side of Africa down to the Portuguese territories is more or less under Muhammadan influence. Islam has passed also from the Sudan into the equatorial regions. It extends from two centres. From the west it has gone along the Atlantic Coast to Senegal, Timbuktu and the Hausa country. From the eastern side the modern movement began when Si Ahmad bin Idris, the Shaikh of the Qadiriya Order, sent out missionaries in the early part of the nineteenth century. They won over the Nubians who joined this Order in large numbers, and then missionary work began amongst the pagans of Kordufan. These two currents, the one on the east, the other on the west, are advancing rapidly into all the pagan regions." † This is not a permanent gain to civilisation. It does for the time raise the pagan tribes, it puts away some evils, but it lays down as essential truth the divine right of slavery, polygamy and facility of divorce. It engenders a spirit of contemptuous indifference to other religions and encourages a fanatical spirit. Above all, it bars the way to the entrance of a more modern and higher civilisation. The influence is thus, on the whole, for evil : the teaching of the Darwishes is avowedly against progress as understood in civilised countries.‡

We may now pass on to consider the most modern, the greatest and the most dangerous of the Religious Orders at work in Africa. The Sanusiya Order is noted for the rapidity of its growth, its stern discipline, and its widespread influence. It was founded in the year 1843 Chatelier says : " The predominant fact in the evolution of Islam at the present time is the formation of the New Order of the Sanusiya." § Shaikh Sanusi, the name by which the founder of this Order is best known, was a native of Algiers, a student in the University of Fez and afterwards in the Al Azhar College at Cairo. Finally he found his way to Mecca and there placed himself under the instruction and spiritual direction of the Shaikh of the Qadiriya Darwishes. In due time he founded an Order of his own and assumed the headship of it. The rapid extension of it has been marvellous. It has Zawiyahs in Arabia, Egypt, the

* See Chatelier's *L'Islam dans L'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 318. This author also characterises these two Orders thus :—The Tijaniyah he calls "ardent aux guerres saintes" and the Qadiriya he calls "pacifique et debonnaire," p. 345.

† Essays on Islam, p. 126

‡ Gannier's *L.e Maroc* p. 87 Frisch's *L.e Maroc*, p. 47.

§ Chatelier's *Les Confrères Musulmanes*, p. 12.

Sudan, Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli, Senegambia, and even in the Eastern Archipelago. The number of its members has been variously estimated at from three millions to eight millions. It is probably five or six. Shaikh Sanusi wrote many theological works. He was a man of great energy and of a firm will and so he exercised a very strict discipline over his followers. This rapid success soon aroused the hostility of the Mullahs and of the Ulama. This led him in 1885 to withdraw altogether from them and to establish his chief Zawiyah in the oasis of Jaghbub in the Libyan desert and situated midway between Egypt and Tripoli. "The isolation of the desert life at Jaghbub, and the consequent freedom from the opposition of the Ulama and orthodox Mullahs gave Shaikh Sanusi that peace and tranquility which increased his spiritual influence over his followers." He was also quite free from all political troubles and soon indeed became himself the chief power. A recent traveller says: "Tripoli, nominally Turkish, but practically under the rule of the Sanusiyah confraternity, is dangerous ground, into which France with her experience of this powerful and highly-organized Mahommedan sect, on the border land of Sahara and Algeria itself, may well hesitate to enter."*

Finally Jaghbub became too well-known, and in 1894 a move was made to the Kufra oasis, to the north-west of Lake Chad. It is in the midst of a large desert and is almost unapproachable. The head of the Order now resides near the Zawiyah of Al Istat, in this oasis. The Sanusis hate all Muslims who in any way submit to the political supremacy of Christian Powers and denounce the rulers of Turkey and of Egypt for allowing any such interference in their rule. All good Muslims are exhorted to leave such countries and to come to the isolated life of a Darwish Zawiyah. The Shaikh sets the example by living in the most isolated place he can find. This does not mean that he lives in ignorance of the outside world. His agents spread far and wide tell him of all matters of importance. His organisation is complete. The Theological School of the Order contains hundreds of students who go forth as propagandists in all directions and achieve remarkable success. Shaikh Sanusi died in 1859 at Jaghbub and was buried there. Pilgrimages to his Tomb are very common. He was a very remarkable man. "Without shedding blood or calling in the aid of any temporal ruler, by the energy and force of his character, he raised up in the Ottoman Empire and its adjacent lands a theocratic system which is almost, if not quite, independent of any political power. His great object was to restore the original Islam and to revive the religious and moral laws of the Prophet. This being the attitude of his mind, he naturally opposed all modern

* Silva White's *The Expansion of Egypt*, p. 123

innovations in Turkish rule and life and wished to raise up an impassable barrier against western civilisation and the influence of the Christian Powers in Muslim lands."* At the Annual Conference the Shaikh consults with the heads of the various monasteries and with them makes plans for the future. In this way there is a method in all their procedure and careful plans are made for the extension of their influence. They are able to find out the most promising fields of labour and to develop their work in them, for success is not found in all places and at all times. Thus in Tunis they are not a powerful body. In Morocco they have three Zawiyahs. In the various oases and amongst the Berber tribes of the Atlas Mountains they have many. In the country of Tibeste and of Borku in the region of Lake Chad they are making great progress. They are strong in Tripoli and the Order is there a great social and political power.

One peculiar feature of the Sanusiyyah Order is the success with which it absorbs other religious confraternities.† The Shaikh of the Sanusis extends his influence over persons not connected with his own Order. In fact, a man can, though in another Order, by submitting to certain restrictions, come into some sort of connection with the Sanusis. This amalgamation is constantly going on, and wherever the Sanusis settle, they generally take the lead and eventually rule. The Shaikh has set before himself as one great object to be achieved, the federation of all the various Orders in a great pan-Islamic movement. These men view with dismay the growing occupation of Muslim lands by Christian Powers, they look upon the Turks as weak and time serving. In fact the motto of the Sanusiyyah Order is "The Turks and the Christians are in the same category : we will destroy them both at the same time." More than half the Muslim population in Algeria is connected with these Darwish Orders and there are over three hundred monasteries there. Of all these the Sanusiyyah Order is the greatest enemy of the French.‡ By ceaseless intrigue, by skilful management, by devotion to one great idea it has attained to its present powerful position. "Algeria is honey-combed with Sanusi intriguers. . . . So vast a combination is necessarily fraught with danger to the peace of Africa : so

* Sell's *Essays on Islam*, p. 131.

† "Tous ces ordres ou confréries, divisées autrefois, semblent au contraire aujourd'hui obéir à une impulsion unique dont on ignore encore l'origine" Frisch's *Le Maroc*, p. 186.

‡ "La confrérie de Sidi Muhammad ben Ali as Senoussi est l'ennemie irréconciliable et réelement dangereuse de la domination Française dans le nord de l'Afrique aussi bien en Algérie, qu'en Tunisie et au Sénégal" Duveyrier's *La Confrérie Musulmane*, p. 14.

intolerant and powerful a sect is, ostensibly, capable of shaking Islam to its foundations, when the hour of action arrives.”*

M. Le Chatelier, writing in the year 1899 of the problem which lies before the French in the Sudan, lays the greatest stress on the need of substituting French for Arabic in the administration of the country, and as far as possible in commercial transactions. He sees that no direct attack can be made on the progress of Islam, and that, on the other hand, no special favours can, with safety, be shown towards it. He rather looks forward to the day “when Arabic, ceasing to be the language official and commercial, Islam will be no more dangerous.” To this end he considers the French should resolutely turn all their efforts. It may be doubted whether the expected results would follow, but it is interesting to know the views of one of the best authorities in the subject. We may conclude with his conclusion : “ Dix ans d’une politique locale ainsi conçue, tendant comme but immédiat, indépendamment de toute idéologie, par des procédés pratiques, efficaces, à la substitution du français à l’arabe, comme langue internationale, dans l’Afrique occidentale française, modifieraient singulièrement les destinées qui s’y préparent ; celles de l’Islam au XIX^e Siècle.” †

S.

* Silva White's *From Sphinx to Orade*, pp. 124-5.

† L'Islam dans L'Afrique Occidentale, p. 366.

ART. IV.—A RETURNED EMPTY.

(Continued from July 1901, No. 225.)

CHAPTER XI.

1893.

THE indulgent reader is now within sight of an end to these trivial fond records. In the earlier part of 1893, the writer was fully occupied ; first with the affairs of the Mercantile Institute, and ultimately with the completion of his "History of India" and revising a new edition of Beale's "Oriental Biographic Dictionary." The Institute proved to be a house founded on the sand. We opened in January, as announced ; and Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff honoured us by coming down and giving an excellent send-off. But alas, the share-list never filled, the boarders never came, the Company was dissolved, of the sanguine Manager no more is known with any certainty. It was an excellent scheme, and he was a man of undoubted energy and capacity. Let us hope that he has found pastures new.

Later in the year the family migrated to Brussels, and my connection with the Civil Service Commissioners ceased soon after. This break seems to offer a hint to arrest garrulity which perhaps has already been indulged too long.* With regard to the special instance of the Institute, however, there is this to be pleaded if too much should seem to have been said. Retired or retiring, the Indian officer is in constant need of warning against giving his name and his small means to the promotion of schemes propounded by people of whom he knows little or nothing. If ever there was an undertaking that promised to be of substantial benefit to the country, this—on a modest scale—was one. Had there been capital sufficient to run the Institute at a loss for a year or two, it is most probable that the Chamber of Commerce in London, and similar bodies elsewhere, could in no long time have taken it up ; and the foundations might have been laid for a substantial stand against the rivalry of foreign nations more enlightened than ourselves. But I must not end with prosing : only let this be allowed. In the canker of long-continued prosperity and peace a people learns to be arrogant and to live on its prestige. The like condition befel the Romans under Augustus and it needed the sharp lessons on the Rhine and the Euphrates to remind that mighty nation of its mortality and enable it to resume the great position that it held in the world from

* [We wish it were longer.—ED., C.R.]

Vespasian's accession to the death of Septimius Severus : the greatest century-and-a-half that the world has ever seen.

In Home-politics, it will be remembered, the year was one of controversy and surprise. At the general Election Gladstone obtained a small majority ; which, consisting entirely of Irish Nationalists, obliged him to renew his attempts at giving the sister Island a measure of autonomy. His Home-Rule Bill was carried in the House of Commons, but failed to pass the Lords—as must, one would suppose, have been foreseen. The veteran Experimenter being now in his eighty-fourth year, people began to anticipate an early termination to the tremendous anxieties which his irrepressible initiative and indomitable energy had imposed on the public. In France affairs had somewhat emerged from the chaos into which they had been thrown by the strange combination of a brainless adventurer with reactionary support ; but the Panama scandal continued to trouble the Chamber and to disturb Parisian Society.

January, Wednesday, 18th.—A gathering at the Institute ; read preliminary report, and Sir M. Grant Duff made an excellent speech : as also did Mr. Ryce-Byrne Inspector of Schools. Many reporters were present, and we are to open on Monday with 52 pupils, exactly one-half being boarders, for whom every preparation has been made.

Monday, 20th.—Having brought my “History of India” down to Hardinge, am becoming impatient for a decision as to those referring to Auckland's Afghan war, which ought to have been consulted first. But Mr. D. writes that they are not yet available for publication, which must be seen to. It is evident that they must be more than half a century old ; and even for state-papers there should be some Law of Limitation.

Friday, 27th.—Dinner at Florence Restaurant (Omar Khayyam Club). Mr. J. H. McCarthy in the chair. Sate between Mr. Edmund Gosse, and Mr. Barry Pain, both agreeable neighbours. Some good speaking ; Gosse from an æsthetic point of view, humoursome addresses from Messrs.* Austin and Low “* Had to make a speech myself ; but as I took up the poet as a Persian while my hearers appeared only to know him as the basis of Fitzgerald's “Quatrains,” I fell rather flat. Quarritch, the famous Bookseller, recounted the genesis of the latter, which interested everyone.†

Saturday, 28th.—A lovely day—spent the afternoon at Mrs. A. Hunt's on Campden Hill, and met her clever daughter ‡,

* AUSTIN, L. F., an American by birth, author and journalist : and Low, Sidney J., Lecturer on History, King's College, London.

† QUARRITCH, B. A well-known bibliophile in Piccadilly : *d.* 1899.

‡ HUNT, Voilet, author of “The human Interest,” and other Tales.

also Dr Moncure Conway.* The latter spoke in a very interesting way of Emerson and Lowell; which latter he considered a light of American letters, but not an original thinker though possessed of a fine style. He was disposed to compare him with Joseph Addison, who never told us anything new, but disclosed our own thoughts to us better than we could do for ourselves. Had heard Emerson say that he thought the Romish Church the best—for the stage. I recommended him to join the Omar Khayyam Club.

Sunday, 29th.—A visit from M. H. V. He is intelligent, but has the usual continental's difficulty in regard to our anomalous Constitution. The Queen, according to him, ought to dissolve Parliament rather than give her assent to the Home-Rule Bill. I did not enter on any discussion as to Her Majesty's duties, contenting myself with pointing out that the crown could do nothing of its own motion. What? he cried, not turn out the ministry? I had to admit that, in theory, the crown had that power, though it was last exerted nearly two generations ago and did not prosper then.

February, Thursday, 2nd.—A wet day: walked to Streatham and found that only one pupil had arrived at the Institute. Advised to the best of my ability.

Saturday, 4th.—Met Lord C. at Athenæum: he asked how old I thought T. was. I said "sixty-six; the prime of life." "Oh no," he replied, "eighty-three is now the prime: I am quite looking forward to it to take a new start." "Yes," said I, "by that time you will be a Home-Ruler."

Sunday, 5th.—Worked at papers for Foreign Office Exam.

Monday, 13th.—At India Office: efforts are being made to get me the Afghan papers.

Wednesday, 22nd.—At the Athenæum talked with Sir R. P. about Lord Lawrence as a Viceroy, and was glad to find him confirming the opinion recorded of him in the 21st Chapter of my little "History." He was great, rather as administrator than as statesman: a District Officer raised to the nth.

March, Thursday, 2nd.—At last I have obtained the information I wanted about the Afghan war of 1839-41; owing in a great measure to the unflagging kindness of Sir S. B.

Saturday, 4th.—Worked at India Office, making extracts from State-papers about Auckland, Ellenborough, etc,—for access to which, besides friends in the Office,—I am indebted to the courtesy of Lord Rosebery.†

Wednesday, 8th.—More work at I. O., on fresh matter. Lectu-

* CONWAY, M., Minister of South Place Ethical Society: b. in Virginia author.

† The Earl of Rosebery, K.T., K.G., etc., Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1892-94.

ed at Norwood in the evening, to a crowded room; subject "An Indian Village."

April, Tuesday, 4th.—Went to lunch with the Grant Duffs at York House, Twickenham: a pleasant talk with Sir M., strolling over the lawn, with the shining Thames by the side.

Thursday, 13th.—A musical gathering of Mmes. V.'s pupils; Lady Tweeddale in the chair, assisted by Barnby. Her Ladyship spoke with grace and ability in giving prizes.

Saturday, 15th.—With some of the family to the Palace to hear the tremendous *Faust* of Berlioz. Orchestra very good, chorus unsteady, Henschel gave his music with care and spirit, B. Davies rather stale, and Miss Macintyre. * It is a great work.

Tuesday, 18th.—Met Sir W. O. who was breathing threatenings and slaughter on the subject of Home-Rule for Ireland, assuring us that there would be civil war in Ulster, for which 50,000 men would come over from Glasgow and he would lead them. The combination of Orange-man and Anglo-Indian Hero! Weather like early summer.

Friday, 28th.—Went with E. to Teddington and through Bushey Park where the horse-chesnuts were in their early bloom. Wandered about the precincts of Hampton-Court, and left cards for the D.'s who were out.

Saturday, 29th.—Finished "Beuchamp's Career," which struck one as the deepest note that had been sounded in tragic fiction since "The Bride of Lammermoor." It is not, of course, free from the author's peculiarities. The style is enough to handicap him heavily: either the eccentric turns are intentional or they are not: in the one case they are weak, in the other uncivil. If a writer has thought out what he has to say he ought to know how to say it: if not he is coming before the public in *deshabille* which is not respectful. We do not want to see him either in his night-gown or in an impenetrable disguise. The disciples will call this a Philistine view; and may plead with some justice that the Master has compelled us to listen to him, and with more permanent attention than we pay to more conventional entertainers.

May, Tuesday, 2nd.—Read some of Colonel Ingersoll's bitter Yankee pleasantries at the expense of orthodoxy. † A land of plain language and Puritanism is able to bring forth queer results. Persons now living may see Protestantism largely turned to Freethought—of which it contains the principle.—[? ED.] What remains is *Conduct*.

Wednesday, 3rd.—Visited J. W. S. at Slough. In the after-

* BARNBY, Sir Joseph: *d.* 1896. HENSCHEL G., composer and conductor *b.* at Breslau.

† Son of a congregational Minister of N. Y. State, *b.* 1833, *d.* 1899.

noon we walked by the playing fields, to Eton and Windsor. Called on Holmes at the Castle. He received us very kindly, showing us the beautiful Library of which he is custodian; rooms and galleries of Tudor times, all wainscoated with tall folios in sumptuous bindings and with precious things in glazed cases on the tables: one book alone valued at £10,000. All this framed in a series of windows looking on a lovely landscape.

Thursday, 4th.—To London: forenoon at Athenæum; afternoon at Mrs. Toynbee's: dinner with my old Surgeon-General, who is always good and true. Great and unseasonable heat.

Monday, 8th.—Joined the Anglo-Russian Society on the invitation of Mr. Cazalet. Bearing in mind the remark of General-Boutourlin (at Ralston's dinner) one cannot fail to sympathise with a movement tending to obliterate misunderstandings between the two great Asian Powers.

Tuesday, 9th.—Read Froude on Disraeli; clever but not quite convincing. The brilliant author can see little but faults. This is a sort of inverted sympathy that some of us have, a quickness to see the weaknesses of others rather than their merits. I find two fine suggestions in the book; one, that in all our undertakings we ought to think only—or mainly at least—of the prosperity of the work itself, and to subordinate all care for our own fame and profit: the other that the brilliant Adventurer made a mistake in applying himself too exclusively to party-politics, to the neglect of social problems. As a politician, however, he did one enormous service; by so far blending the popular cause with the policy of the brake as to resuscitate a considerable body of conservatism and retard a Revolution. But his odd combination of histrionism with neglect of detail impeded his influence and hindered him from doing as much as he otherwise might.

Wednesday, 10th.—A quiet day at home, reading the *Revue des deux mondes*. A really fine essay, by Jusserand, on our poet, Chaucer. Though there is a gulf between us and our French neighbours it is possible that international studies of this kind may gradually help to fill it: in the meantime it is too deep, though not so wide as to quite hide us from each other. Even at that early day the English mind had its peculiarities, and to these the writer had done justice: the cheerful seriousness, sympathetic observation, and pathetic humour. What a fine couplet is that which comes last of all in the best editions—

“Forth, Pilgrim, forth! Forth, beast, of thy stall!
Look up on high; and thank the Lord of all.”

He seems to have begun with a playful compassion, to end in a sense of duty that becomes austere.

Sunday, 14th.—Tippie not at his best; but the peroration of

his discourse was grand ; when he showed how the most unselfish friends of Humanity had sometimes to take their own parts and seems unsocial.

Tuesday, 16th.—Read more about Chaucer, the poet of May : but his May was ten days later than ours.

June, Friday, 2nd.—A strange error by Jusserand—usually so accurate in matters of our Literature. He translates the title “Summers’ last Will and Testament” *Desnières volentes de l’été* (*Le Roman anglais*). The “Will” meant is, of course, that of W. Summers, the King’s Fool. M. J.’s version reminds one of the old joke about the French rendering of the “green man and still”—*l’homme vertel tranquille*.—

Monday, 5th.—Went to Hotel Metropole to meet Mme. de T.’s friend, Stephansky, whom I took to the National Gallery (where he was much pleased). He is a well-bred specimen of the Russian gentleman.

Friday, 10th.—Read a statement in a delightful volume of Essays by Mr. Andrew Lang to the effect that before Rudyard Kipling there had been no Anglo-Indian contributions to Literature but by Meadows Taylor, Sir H. Cunningham, and Sir A. Lyall. Surely, unless this was only a new instance of the indifference and ignorance that affect the whole subject, this is a strange belief. Has the able writer never heard of Heber, Sleeman, Kaye, Hunter, Sherer, Temple—to name but a few? It would be a want of knowledge—or of urbanity—to say that—with the exception of Dr. John Brown and R. L. Stevenson—Scotland had produced no humourist in the reign of Queen Victoria. Even taking “Literature” in the modern sense of fiction and light articles, Mr. Forrest and Mrs. Steel count for something ; while “His Honor and a Lady”—by an American whose married name is believed to be Coates—is a novel of great merit and interest.

Thursday, 15th.—To the Royal Academy Exhibition and passed through the rooms, noting Catalogue for report to an Indian paper. In general the work struck one as ambitious, what might be called “literary” rather than artistic—as is too much our British way. Indeed, some of the best pictures are by naturalised foreigners—Alma Tadema, and Herkomer. But our *portraits* are above the general level, though even here Herkomer is almost the best.

Sunday, 18th.—The seventy-eighth anniversary of the Great Sunday of Waterloo—or Mont S. Jean as the losers more correctly say. It was a severe stroke of Nemesis on Egotism, pointing a moral of eternal import. No man, even were he a Napoleon, can stand against “all the world,” though Hero-worship applaud the attempt. The greatest man only does great work as part of a whole-family, nation, church, or

whatsoever it be. Napoleon ignored this: Count Flahaut used to relate that, as they rode in the moonlight over the fields between Genappe and Charleroi, he ventured to ask, "Has not your Majesty been astonished to-day?" And, according to him, the answer was—"No! The French have always been the same, ever since Crecy." Considering how they had fought for him—every third man of them being left upon the field—it was not for him to say so. But he was not the victim of any fault but his own; always isolated. There is a homely word on this matter in an old Sanskrit poem—

Fallen from their proper place how can
Prosper tooth, nail, nerve, or man?

Saturday, 24th.—A rainy day. Undertook to edit "Childe Harold" for Messrs. Bell. It is, of course, unequal; abounding in virile reflection and declamation. Yet often careless in execution, and sometimes sinking into amateurish slip-slop. Two of the best passages contain instances of absolute insincerity. In describing the great Cathedral of S. Peter at Rome Byron praises the building for what is really its chief defect: in the famous address to the ocean he begins by looking down on it from the Alban Mount, yet speaks at last of laying a hand upon its mane: which would indeed be making a long arm.

Friday, 30th.—Very hot day. Lunch at Athenæum, and thence to Westminster Palace Hotel to attend a Meeting of the International Arbitration Society, Mr. Stansfeld, M. P., in the chair.* My old friend Hodgson Pratt read the annual report, and the Chairman congratulated the Association on the recent vote in the Commons regarding a proposed arbitration-treaty with the United States. The Marquess of Bristol in moving that the report be adopted looked forward to a movement among the great Powers of Christendom in the direction indicated by the English-speaking nations of America and Europe. Being called upon I seconded the motion, guarding against a belief that defensive war could ever be abolished. Conan Doyle moved a resolution expressing profound satisfaction at the action of the House of Commons, in which he was seconded by an American citizen, Mr. Horace Smith of Philadelphia; and Moncure Conway added a rider for the neutralisation of trade in time of war, on lines originally laid down by Paine and Franklin.

Sunday, 2nd.—Heat very great. A fine discourse by Tipple on the institution and true significance of the Eucharist. Perhaps a little heretical and over the heads of most of us—as a lady remarked with whom I walked home. But the

* Stansfeld, Rt. Hon. Jas., once a leading Liberal politician: since deceased.

language was most eloquent, with flashes of a noble poetry. He showed us the Master, sensitive of danger and doom, desiring to leave to his friends at their last meeting a memorial of himself; using his power of symbolism and making vehicles out of familiar objects and ideas.

Monday, 5th.—Another baking day: Oxford and Cambridge match at Lord's Cricket-ground—where there is always a fresher air than elsewhere in London.

In the evening Rugby dinner at the Metropole. A few old shadows, like myself; a good spread and fairly good speaking; Sir Horace Davey, Q. C., in the chair.* Speeches from the Bishop of London† and Mr. Selous, the African *Shikari*. Sate next to my old friend, General N. with Sir A. Blomfield on the other side.‡

Thursday 6th.—Heat greater than ever. Shops mostly closed, for the Duke of York's marriage. Worked at French Papers for the Sandhurst Exam.; answers not quite up to Indian C. S. level. One candidate writes that "Directoire was Napoleon's first wife." Family went at night to see fireworks in the Palace-grounds. Qu. Whether the pleasure caused by such displays is full value for the money: nothing visible being left but empty cases and rocket-sticks!

[The next two days were still hotter; no one could with any pleasure go out of doors from noon till near sunset. On the 8th, however, a change came in the afternoon, and before night the rain and thunder reminded one of the monsoon of India.]

Tuesday, 11th.—Pleasant day. We went to Imperial Institute to see the York wedding presents. A great crush.

Thursday, 13th.—Finished papers of Sandhurst candidates. A coincidence occurred, my marks exactly tallying with average of last examination held by another person.

Saturday, 22nd.—Have enjoyed Grant Duff's book on Renan, whose sayings are distinguished by subtlety and grace. In his address at "L'Œuvre le Grand," in January, 1884, he said, "He who complains of life is almost always one who has sought the impossible:" the whole is full of wise and kind exhortations against Pessimism. The conclusion is—"Believe in good; good is as real as evil and produces something—unlike evil which is barren."

Saturday, 29th.—Called on the charming Lady E. in Cromwell Road. Here we were joined by Sir—who was

* Now Lord Davey of Fernhurst

† Rt. Rev. F. Temple, once Head Master of Rugby, now (1900) Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of the Church of England.

‡ Blomfield, a well known architect, died while these pages were in hand.

working under my instructions near Agra when we last met and now he is a member of the British Government and I a returned Empty. [Never count so-called failure a loss. ED.]

Sunday, 30th.—Tipple brilliant, but extremely bold; on a text that must have exercised many and many a mind—"Inasmuch as ye did it to the least of my little ones ye did it to me"—Yet they did not even know Him!

Monday, 31st.—To King Street on examination-work: a day of warm shower.

In the evening read Morley's "Burke." It is very clever, and quite impartial: the author does not always accord but never fails to appreciate: pointing out that the reactionary spirit of B.'s later days is accounted for, and even partly justified, by the extravagance of the revolution-doctrines. However inevitable and essential to human progress was the break with the feudal past in France, it was better for us that our change should be more gradual; it is therefore to the eternal credit of Burke that he anticipated the modern doctrine of evolution in withstanding cataclysm. Perhaps Mr. M. might have more clearly brought ought the deterioration of temper which came over the great political philosopher in his declining years, till friendly observers thought the balance of his mind overthrown. No sane man ought to have used some of the language in Burke's speeches against Hastings. Lord Teignmouth recorded the opinion that B. was mad; and even although that may be a crude form of the opinion, it indicates an impression produced upon an earnest mind.

August, Sunday, 6th.—A crowded day. Took D. to S. Paul's in the forenoon; church very full; two of the congregation turned out during service. Left at the end of prayers and went to sermon at S. Bride's; by the Vicar, who gave a humane and sympathetic discourse on doing right whilst we had a chance left. Afternoon service at the Charter House: a pathetic right afforded by the old Codds, with patient venerable faces—some of soldierly bearing—seated in the chapel like a lot of school-boys, and then trooping eagerly to tea in their warm Hall. Their faces looked both harmless and happy; and one of them said that "It was the best life in London."

Tuesday, 8th.—Engaged to edit Burke's "Regicide Peace."

[A week of very hot weather followed; during which no outside event took place, but the time was filled with work at home.]

Friday, 18th—Corrected last proof for publishers.* In the evening a cold dinner with the Recluse of Queen's Mansions (Surg.-Gen. O'Callaghan).

* *History of India*, for the use of Students, 2 vols., 1893.

• *Monday, 28th.*—Looked into a book once very familiar to one's younger mind: Coleridge's "Biographia Literaria." With lights that have subsequently arisen one takes a less enthusiastic estimate than one did in the roaring Forties. 'Tis a chaotic encounter of paradox and platitude; very solemn twaddle alternating with very subtle thought: a Libyan waste dotted with colossal images. One notes a sort of prevision, here and there, as of the dawn of our modern day, *e.g.*—

"Philosophy should at once explain and collect the fragments of truth scattered through systems apparently the most incongruous." Many subsequent thinkers have tried this method; Cousin, in France, almost professedly. And Herbert Spencer, though far more original than Cousin, has undoubted symptoms of a desire to harmonise the principles of predecessors and embody them in his own system. Pascal, in a well-known fragment, endeavoured to establish a synthesis, or combination, between Stoicism and Epicureanism, or—as he put it—between Epictetus and Montaigne; of the success of that endeavour let his readers judge for themselves. But certainly very useful results have come from the reconciliation of Plato and Aristotle, and other apparent dissidents, in the modern Synthetic.

Tuesday, 29th.—A friend looked in and suggested a book;—"Specimens of Elizabethan English." I objected to the name; because I think the particular style extended from More to Milton. Something of the kind has already been attempted in Basil Montagu's "Selections" which range from Latimer to South.* By the way, what a very singular history was that of B. M. The son of the ill-fated Miss Ray, shot by a discarded lover—the Rev. Jas. Hackman—he became a Queen's Counsel in the early years of Queen Victoria; a writer on Bankruptcy, the biographer of Bacon, and grandfather of the poetess Adelaide Procter.†

Thursday, 31st.—S. and self to India Office where we were shown over the pictures by Mr. W. F. who—with his M.S. catalogue in his hand—told us all that is known about them.

September, Tuesday, 5th.—Sent a short paper, on Russia and England in the East, to the Secretary of the A. R. L. Society. If the Russian Government will act in good faith there is room for us both in Asia. We are dismantling and packing for a move, and my house is left unto me desolate.

Saturday, 9th.—Weather cooler after a heavy storm of yesterday. Went to Athenæum and found the smoke and

* *Sections, etc.*, by Basil Montagu, Esq., M.A., 5th ed., 1839.

† Basil, Montagu, Q. C., *b.* 1779, *d.* 1851. Son of the Lord Sandwich of JUNIUS and his mistress, Miss Ray. His *Bacon* had the honour to be reviewed by Macaulay.

billiard rooms full of the warriors from over the way, whence they have been temporarily evicted by the painters. Dined with O'C. at Queen's Mansions, meeting General T., a retired officer of distinction (R. E., and V. C.) He said one thing which seemed very true and very sharp: "An Indian career had this great advantage, that it enabled a well-educated young man to be sure of leading the *life of a gentleman*: and from that point of view it did not really much matter whether you had or had not what is commonly known as success. In the meantime it was much that for so many years you had escaped the meanness and misery of a middle-class English existence."

Wednesday, 13th.—A sick household. Worked a little at the Notes to Childe Harold. The wonder is that Byron should admit such doggerel without losing public admiration: *e.g.*—

"And who is so brave as a young Suliote
With his snowy camise and his shaggy capote?"

What would be thought of Sir L. M. if he said:—

"Who was ever so smart as a farmer of Wales
In his brass-buttoned coat with its long swallow-tails?"

Yet one notes, in the last two cantos especially, a habit of reflection and a power of expression that stamp the Master.

The weather is quite lovely, with soft S.-W. breeze. All windows open, men in straw hats, soldiers in white uniform, trees in thick leaf, and the shortening evenings compensated by bright calm twilight.

Sunday, 17th.—Walked to Streatham and found the Institute in a bad way. Gave such help and advice as seemed possible.

Tuesday, 19th.—Cleared out of our Norwood House; and went alone to N. Wales, having dispersed the family.

Thursday, 21st.—The weather much colder: one is glad of exercise. Fire-Brigade fête at M.

Saturday, 23rd.—N.-W. gale, with flying clouds and showers—what the French call *rafales*.

Saturday, 30th.—In lodgings at Norwood: weather warm with showery gusts. Sickness at home and abroad. Finished the "Regicide Peace;" and called to take leave of several neighbours.

(*October*), *Tuesday, 3rd.*—A busy day: lunch at Athenæum with Mr. Holmes: thence to Imperial Institute to meeting of the Anglo-Russian Society, where I read my paper,* to an indulgent audience. In the evening dined with O'C. a miracle of curiosity and candour.

Wednesday, 4th.—Head-quarters departed for Belgiums,

* See under date 5th September.

with 26 boxes and a canary. Dined with H. B. and went to a meeting of the Society where we had a good paper, by Conan Doyle, read to a crowded room.

[The next few days were occupied with work on papers of the "Indian Civil" Examination. The family got safe as far as Bruges, and thence to Brussels where they found temporary accommodation in the northern part of the city. The weather broke, after an unusual spell of heat; and when it settled again there was a permanent fall of the thermometer. As soon as I had finished the work of the examination sent in my Report I departed by Dover and Ostend.]

Wednesday, 18th.—Reached Brussels at 6. p. m.

Thursday, 19th.—Tried to get my *Etat Civil* at the Hotel de Ville; but, after answering many ridiculous enquiries extending over family history for about a century, found the work must be done over again at the Commercial Office. Left a card at the *British Envoy's* with introduction from the Foreign Office in London.

And so ends the experience and record of life at Home. The life at Brussels begins a new order of things about which nothing need be said here.

But this much one may perhaps be allowed to note. Life in Belgium is very unlike life in London or even in the Channel Islands. The country is neither wholly Teutonic nor wholly French, containing a couple of races who have different languages and mental habits; yet all agreed in putting Art above everything—even morality—the Municipalities offer prizes for window gardens and shop fronts; so that you see the Aldermen walking about with note-books, gravely recording their opinion of the various displays. At your club you have an Exhibition of Pictures open, or may be a lecture or a concert in the chief-rooms; and in summer when the opera is closed, the musicians from the Orchestra come up and play in an enclosure under the windows called "Wauxhall." The labouring-classes are over-worked, half-starved, and consequently bitterly hostile; crime is frequent and violent; the middle-class burgesses are self-indulgent and ill-mannered; the aristocracy proud, exclusive, and extravagant. On every side appear symptoms of squalid misery, coarse sensuality, and luxurious ostentation. The buildings, however, are solid and full of grandiose beauty. The contrasts of well-being and want are very apparent; and egoism is everywhere in evidence. Yet one must not generalise without reserve. Undoubtedly there is in Belgium a *Savant* class, consisting of men who—like the late Emile de Laveleye and Count Goblet d'Alviella—combine the usefulness of literary labours with the happiness of family life. Many names of wise and worthy

citizens will occur to the memory of those who know the country best : such men enjoy the beautiful scenes of rural repose in which their little land abounds.

Some ideal of this kind haunted the gentle soul of Virgil when he, in no perfunctory spirit, justified the preference that he felt for a country life, over existence in a city of political intrigue, and luxury, and vice. As may be seen in this unskilful paraphrase of II *Georg.* 493 *et seqq.*

I count him fortunate—and him alone—
 Who will not seek the service of the state,
 The suffrage of the mob, or of the great ;
 Frustrated craving never bids him moan
 To whom the pleasures of the fields are known,
 Without the pangs of rivalry and hate ;
 Nor is he scared by presages of Fate,
 Or foreign politician's hostile tone :

He envies not the rich nor courts the poor,*
 Nurses no craze nor hankers for a bribe,
 Nor haunts the Lobby, nor delights to read
 The speculations of the daily scribe ;†
 Contented if the garden at his door
 Afford the food his just occasions need.‡

* *Nec doluit miserans inopem* could not be a sentiment of commendation now. We not only pity the poor man, we pamper him.

† *Populi tabularia* may well be applied to our journalism.

‡ [We are sure we only echo the sentiments of every one who has read these papers in saying that these but too brief notes of a varied, useful and cultured life of a distinguished Anglo-Indian, and Author, have afforded the greatest pleasure and highest satisfaction, and even much food for thoughts and much instruction ; and that while we regret their having come to a close, we trust that subsequent years' jottings may begin a *New Series*. These notes, if continued, would make a volume, for subsequent ages as interesting and descriptive of our times, men and manners, as *Pepys'*, be an equal favourite, and outlast all our present "men-in-the-street" authors, tale writers, vulgar versifiers, sciolists, and pretented and pretentious scientists and philosophers.—ED., C.R.]

ART. V.—HINDU FESTIVALS IN THE MAHARASHTRA.

THE Marathi almanac commences with the Chaitra Sukla Paksha, *i.e.*, the bright moon of the month of Chaitra. The first day of the year 1818 of the Shakabda, commenced on the 15th of March 1896. From the first day of the year, *i.e.*, the Chaitra Sudipratipada, commences the nine days of the worship of Rama, the ninth day is the anniversary of the birth of Rama. In the year 1818 it happened the 23rd of March 1896. This is the first festival in the year. In the year 1897 (1819 Shakabda) this festival happened on the 12th of April. The Civil Courts in the Central Provinces remained closed on that day. *

The next festival of the year 1818 took place on the third day of the bright moon, of the month of Vaisakh corresponding with the 16th of April 1896. It is called Akshaya Tritiya or Tiz. In this festival ancestors are worshipped, earthen pots filled with water given away to Brahmins and *Chichuni* a sort of sweetmeat made of tamarind and sugar is eaten. The same festival was observed in Bengal on the same date. In the year 1897, this festival took place on the 4th of May. The Civil Courts were closed on that day in the Central Provinces. The next festival took place according to an almanac printed at Poona on the 25th of June 1896, *i.e.*, the 15th or the day of the full moon of the month of Jyaistha. It is called Vat Savitri. The Marathi year is a lunar year and every month commences with the bright side of the moon and ends with the dark fortnight. In this festival people make presents of cooked food, sugar grain, &c., to their friends. The following is an account of this festival which appeared at the time in the *Times of India*.

"Princess Savitri. To the galaxy of great and good women India has contributed the most. One such we commemorate to-day when we worship the Indian fig-tree. She was the daughter of Aswapati, king of Madra. She was a most beautiful girl. When she became marriageable, she asked her father to allow her to find out a husband for herself. She took a large following with her and started on the exploring expedition. It was rather forward, one might think, but then in the Ancient Indian days we put the English girls of to-day quite

* During the months of Chaitra and Vaisakh females whose husbands are alive worship Gauri, and on a convenient day invite their female friends to a party. This is called Gourni. It is not a festival (utwar) but a custom (rusm).

in the shade. But we were French too in our manners. For, though we married by self-choice, like the French, we took great care that the pair did not indulge in any liberties. We rather prized the peach with its bloom in tact. But to our story she went from city to city and from town to town. But nowhere did she find one who could satisfy her "elective affinity." Goethe was not born just then, and of course she was ignorant of the phrase, but she knew the fact—which is after all the essence of the matter. Now far away from the madding crowd, in a monastery in a wood, there lived a blind dethroned king whom during her journeyings princess Savitri had the good fortune to meet. He had a son named Satyavan who appeared a very interesting youth to Savitri. Like the Hindu girl she was, she did not let him know anything, only made him a mental husband—that is how we put it and returned home. It so happened that saint Nárada, who was a great Yogi, was on familiar terms with the family. He warned the girl that it wanted one year to Satyavan's death, and unless she changed her mind, she would have to face widowhood within a year after her marriage. She did not change her mind. He was virtually her husband she said, for she had mentally given herself away to him. She married him. One day in the forest, where, of course, Savitri had come and lived with her husband, he, the husband, went to cut some wood for fuel. Savitri accompanied him. He climbed upon a banian tree and chopped down a large branch of it with his axe, but when chopping the next, the axe, while he raised it to strike the blow, hit his forehead, and fainting he fell on the ground. It killed him.

"Poor Savitri did not know what to do. She took the dead body in her lap and gave vent to her grief. Pleased with her constancy, god Yama—the chief of the death-angels—had himself come to fetch her husband. In the most moving tones the gentle wife supplicated him, which made Yama grant four boons—that if he touched her father-in-law's eyes with her hand, his sight would return; that his kingdom would be restored to him; that she would have as many sons as she chose; and that she would die before her husband. With that god Yama disappeared. Savitri touched her husband's forehead with her hand when he breathed and sat up. The ladies of the heaven were struck with this miracle, and as a homage to the loving wife, worshipped the banian tree under which she sat. And in commemoration of that event, the Hindu ladies, in order to prolong their term of wifehood, in other words to make their husbands long lived, worship the Indian fig-tree on the full-moon day of Jyaistha—the day of prince Satyavan's revival.

"The rest of the story is easily told. The king was restored to his sight; the minister who had usurped the throne repented and the king was restored to his kingdom. When he died Satyavan succeeded to the throne; and they lived happily ever after.

In Hindu homes, Seeta and Savitri, Damayanti and Draupadi are household goddesses. It was the boast of our Ancient India that she gave the gentlest and chastest ladies to the world. If we still have gentle and loving Hindu wives, it is because we still bring up our girls in the traditions of those queenly Hindu dames.*

In the year 1818 (sak) there were two months of Jyaistha, 1st the intercalary and then the ordinary month, and therefore the above-mentioned festival took place so late as the 25th of June in 1896.†

The next four months are peculiarly the season of Hindu festivals: they are called the chaturmāsya, the four months. Commencing with the month of Asharh, there is the festival called the Akhāri or the Asharhī purnima which took place in 1896 on the 24th of July. The spiritual preceptor is worshipped on this day. Poranpuries, a sort of cakes, fried in ghee, and all sorts of dainties are prepared and eaten on this day.‡

The next festival called Dwipa Puja (worship of lamps) took place in 1896 on Saturday, the 8th of August. The doors of houses are also worshipped on this day. Small images of some Hindu gods impressed on their plates of copper or brass are affixed to the doors of houses and are worshipped. It takes place on the fifteenth day of the dark moon of the month of Ashar or the Asharī Amāvashya. In all these festivals the people indulge themselves in the best food they

* There is no such festival in Bengal; some Bengali ladies take upon themselves the task of performing the Vrata called Savitri Chaturdasi Vrata. A Brahmin performs for her (the lady who has undertaken the task) some religious ceremonies reads the story of Savitri in vernacular from some MS.; Brahmins are fed with delicacies, the ripe mangoe—being one of them, as the ceremony takes place in the season of the ripe mangoe. In Bengal a widow even can perform the Vrata in the hope that in the next world (when she shall be again united to her deceased husband), that her husband may live a long life. This Vrata must be performed annually for fourteen years in all. The Savitri vratam for 1896 took place in Bengal, on the 11th of May, i.e., the fourteenth day of the dark moon in the month Vaisakh according to the Bengali almanac.

† The Civil Courts were not closed on account of this festival in the Central Provinces

‡ The Civil Courts are not closed on account of this festival, but the Civil Courts remain closed in the C. P. on account of the Asharī Ekādasi, the eleventh day of the bright moon of the month of Ashar, which happened on the 10th of July 1897. No member of a family including children would take any food mixed with salt on this day.

can afford, and I shall mention only the peculiar or particular dainties appointed for any particular festival.*

The next festival takes place on the fifth day of the bright moon of the month of Srawan. It took place on the 13th of August 1896. It is called the Nagpanchami.† Figures of serpents drawn on the walls of houses for the occasion, as well as figures of serpents made of stone or cut out of stone placed on the sides of roads or in Hindu temples, are worshipped. I have heard that some people go the length of going to the corn-fields in search of holes of serpents and place near these holes, milk in some vessel. If the serpent come out of the hole and drink the milk, they consider themselves fortunate. Every Monday in the month of Srawan is a day of fasting: they (the Hindus of Maharashtra) fast during the day and eat in the evening. This is observed by all Hindus from the Brahmin to the Sudra. This fast is called *nukt*, i.e., eating at night. Some people observe this *nukt* throughout the month of Srawan, in which case it resembles the Mahomedan month of fast the Ramzan. Siva is worshipped throughout this month of Srawan. People observe these fasts for the reason that the gates of heaven remain closed for six months, from Vaisakh to Aswin, and if any one die during these months he has to wait till the gates open. He observes these fasts, that in case he dies within these six months, he may pass this period pleasantly. It is somewhat analogous to the Christian notion of purgatory.

Within ten days of Nagpanchami happens the rakhibandhan, on the day of the full moon of Srawan or the fifteenth day of the bright moon of that month. New sacred threads are worn by Brahmins on this day. Poor Brahmins tie some red thread on the right wrists of the children of a rich or well-to-do neighbour in the expectation of getting something, a few annas. This took place in 1896 on the 23rd of August.‡

* The Civil Courts in the U. P. are not closed on account of this festival.

† A wrestling match in the palace of the Rajah of Nagpur is described in Mr. L. K. L.'s book "In the U. P.," p. 50. The Civil Courts remain closed on account of this festival. In the year 1897 it happened on the 3rd of August.

‡ There is a very important ceremony not observed in Bengal called the Srawani which is performed by Brahmins about this time. The followers of Rik Veda performed it on the 22nd of August 1896, and the followers of Yajur Veda on the 23rd. On the day of the Srawani many Brahmins meet together in the house of one of them. The ceremony commences in the morning. An Upadhya (priest) recites some Vedic mantras. Homa (offering to fire) is performed. The party does as the Upadhya commands. After two hours, they go to bathe: after bathing they assemble again. Again hear mantras for two hours. They drink panchagavya

The Civil Courts are closed on account of this festival. In 1897 it was observed on the 12th of August.

The next festival is the Gokul Astami, which takes place on the eighth day of the dark moon of the month of Srawan. It is also called Janma Astami, being the anniversary of the birth of Krishna, one of the incarnations of Vishnu, one of the Hindu trinity. It is analogous to the Christmas of the Christians. This festival is observed in Bengal. It seems that this festival is observed throughout India. But this festival does not occupy the same place as Christmas does among the Christians as it is next in importance to the Durga Pujah in Bengal and to the Diwali in other provinces of India. This festival occurred on the 30th August 1896. This day is observed as a day of fasting and food is taken on the next day. Images of Krishna and his friends are made of clay and worshipped. Brahmins are fed. On the 30th of August 1896 I saw images made of earth, coloured blue, with the figure of a serpent on their right arms, of the height of about a foot and a half, in a sitting posture, exposed for sale at Wardha, and I was informed that they were figures of Kanú. On the 1st of September, some of these figures of Kanú or Kandha were thrown into a tank. On the 2nd September many of these images were carried with music, along the streets to be thrown into the tank after being worshipped. In the year 1897 the Civil Courts were closed on the 21st of August on account of this festival.

While at Wardha, on the 15th of August 1896, seeing a boy proceeding with a foot-stool on his head containing some flowers accompanied by about a dozen girls towards the tank into which idols are thrown after being worshipped, I went towards the tank to see what was going on there. There I saw two parties of girls, one on each side of a canal close to the tank. One party was abusing the other in filthy language and moving their hands and feet as if they were ready to fight. There were one or two elderly women in each party to prevent them from coming too close to each other, lest they should actually fight. This I may call a mock fight in abusive language. After this was over, the flowers were thrown into the tank and some earth from underneath the water was taken out by some of the females, put into the baskets or foot-stools in which the flowers were brought and carried home. A Mahrathia Brahmin, to whom I mentioned

mixed with ashes of burnt wood and earth, in order to be absolved of all the sins they have committed during the year. Nobody takes his meal until the Srawani is performed. Sometimes two Upadhyas are engaged.

what I saw, observed that this sort of mock fight in words, does not take place at Poona.*

The next festival takes place on Srawanbadi Amavashya. It took place in 1896 on the 7th September. It is called Pitori as well as Polah. Bullocks are not made to work on this day. They are washed, their bodies stamped with circular marks with a brown or red colouring substance, their horns are painted and tufts made of thin fibres of the leaves of the date-palm, which are also coloured, hung from the top of their horns. The bullocks are taken to a place appointed and there made to stand for an hour or two in rows, then they are taken home. † A large number of people gather to see the exhibition. Your *dhobi* or washerman will in the afternoon bring his bullock or bullocks to you, for the sake of getting something, or if your friend or relation has bullocks to draw his tonga, his tonga-driver, would bring his bullocks to you for show as well as for getting some *bukshish*. On the eighth day from this date takes place the children's Polah, when wooden images of bullocks, standing on wheels, are drawn by strings by children to some place appointed, in the afternoon; after nightfall, a lighted torch is affixed to some part of the wooden frame. There is music also at the place appointed for the gathering of these wooden images and great excitement prevails. There is no such festival as Polah in Bengal. Poran Pulis are eaten on this festival. In 1897 the Civil Courts were closed on the 28th August on account of this festival.

Three days after the Polah, the festival called the Kájarrhtij takes place on the third day of the bright moon (sud) of the month of Bhadrapad. In this festival, the ladies of the house go to a river or tank, get some earth from underneath the water, wherewith they make images of Mahadev and Gouri which are worshipped. The ladies observe a fast on this day. A procession of females pass the streets accompanied with music. Páti and Páuper, sorts of cakes are made and distributed to female guests invited, at night, and *haldi* and kunkum applied to their foreheads. It is also called Hartalika. In fact this is a festival for women only and not for men. The females keep up the whole night, singing songs, &c. This happened in 1896 on the 10th September.

* This is called Kumari Khel or the play of the unmarried girls, i.e., the girls of one mohullah or quarter of a town form one party and of another mohullah form another party and abuse each other in the manner above described.

† At Wardha the bullocks were made to stand underneath a rope into which mangoe leaves were inserted, tied to the top of bamboo posts driven into the ground. A fair was held there on the occasion,

The next day commences the Gonesh Chaturthi, which festival lasts for ten days.* It closely resembles the Durga Pujah of Bengal. I saw nice smooth images of Gonesh sold in the shop of the seller of images at Wardha; and I also visited the houses of some people who worshipped the image of Gonesha. The parlour was tastefully decorated with pictures and lanterns. There was also music played by musicians in front of some of these houses which had the image of Gonesh in them. The next day is the *rishi panchami*† which the widows observe as a day of fast, perform penance (prayaschita). Next day they eat a meat consisting of cooked rice called Deosari, a kind of coarse rice, which grows in the bed of tanks and vegetables, *i.e.*, rice and vegetables produced without the labour of bullocks and hear sacred stories (katha). The eighth day of the bright moon‡ is the day for the worship of Maha Laxmi (also called Gouri Pujah) the next day is Gouribisaryan. Two images of Mahalaxmi are made, one of Jyaistha Mahalaxmi and the other of Kanistha Mahalaxmi. Mahalaxmi is worshipped, sixteen kinds of vegetable dishes and sixteen kinds of sweetmeats are offered to this goddess. Brahmins are fed. I was invited to an evening party on the day of the Mahalaxmi pujah, there were some amateur musicians who entertained the guests with their songs, and dancing. There were also harmonium and other musical instruments. We had tea and some *pendahs*, a sort of sweetmeat. It was in the house of Mr. Kowre, a rich pleader of Wardha. The next festival occurs on Bhadrapad Sud Chaturdasi and is called Anant Purnima or Anant Chaturdasi. This took place on the 20th of September in 1896. § Anant made of silk thread is worn on the wrists, and a sweetmeat called gharghe is eaten and also distributed to Brahmins. Anant brata took place in Bengal on the same day, the 20th of September in 1896. On the 10th of September 1896 I saw at Wardha, women going towards the tank into which images of idols are thrown, from morning to evening, some accompanied by music, others not. The music consisted of two or three sanie or brass pipes and a dhol (a little drum). Early on the morning of the 11th, *i.e.*, the second day of the Ganpati pujah, I saw a company of ladies in the tank, some of whom were Mahratha ladies and others Pardeshi ladies

* This festival took place in 1896 on the 10th September. The Civil Courts were closed on the 31st August 1897 on account of this festival.

† Rishi punchami bratam took place on the 12th September in 1896 in Bengal.

‡ Durbastami bratam took place on the 14th of September 1896 in Bengal.

§ The Civil Courts were closed on account of Anant Chaturdasi on the 9th of September in 1897.

(Pardeshi means Hindi-speaking people of the North-Western Provinces who are living in the Maharashtra or the Central Provinces): for I could distinguish them by their dress. The Maharatha ladies had *luchis* (*puries*) and sweetmeats in flat baskets. Some of these eatables were thrown into the water, which boys belonging to low castes were collecting. The purdeshi ladies had slices of cucumber and other eatables in their trays and baskets. On the 12th of September I saw some people returning home with music, as if after throwing the Ganpati into the tank. On the 16th the Munsif's Ganpati was thrown into the tank. I was standing before my house when the procession of the Munsif's Ganpati was passing along the road. I was asked to join the procession which I did. At the tank a Brahmin distributed to me as well as to all the other persons that were there assembled, a little quantity of sugar and scrapings of the kernel of the cocoanut which was eaten then and there. On the 19th and 20th September, I saw several images of Ganpati being carried with music and procession, to be thrown into the tank.*

From the first day of the dark moon of the month of Bhádrapad commences the Pitripaksha or the Mahalaya, and lasts for fifteen days. † From the first day of the bright moon of the month of Aswin, commences the festival called the Nawaratra. It lasts for nine days, on the 10th day called the Bejaya Dashami it ends. During these nine days Balaji, otherwise called Venkatesh, an incarnation of Vishnu or Devi (Parvati), is worshipped according to the custom of each individual family. When Balaji is worshipped the festival ends on the 10th day, and when Devi is worshipped the festival ends on the 9th day. During these nine days a lighted lamp is kept in the house burning day and night. While at Nagpur, I was invited by a rich gentleman of the place on the day of the Bijaya Dasami. On arriving at his place I found a large gathering of Hindu gentlemen. *Pan supari* was distributed, and after being entertained with music for about an hour, the party walked to a garden belonging to the gentleman mentioned above. There they remained for some time, while some offering to fire was made by Brahmins. Each and every one of that party took some leaves of a tree, which leaves are called *sona* (gold) for the occasion and gave them into the hands of his friend or companion, exchanged salutations and

* I may be allowed to remind the reader of the serious riot which took place at Dhulia, in 1895, at the time of the throwing of the Ganpati into the water.

† The Civil Courts were closed on the 27th of September in 1897 on account of Pitrimok Amawas.

embraced each other. (The Nawasatra commenced in 1896 on the 7th of September.*)

The next festival is the Aswin Sud Purnima (which happened on the 20th of October in 1896. On this day images of Shankar and Parbati are made and worshipped, and at night *Akshad* is applied to the forehead. *Akshad* is made of rice and a red powder called kunkum mixed together. Lamps of clay are made. People keep up the whole night. Milk mixed with sugar is exposed to the moon-light till midnight, when after the worship is over, it is distributed to the members of the family and neighbours. The juice of the kernel of the cocoanut is also extracted and similarly distributed. The keeping up of the night is called kojargari.

The next festival is the grand festival of Diwali. It lasts for five days, commencing from the 14th day of the dark moon of the month of Aswin. Lakshmi is worshipped during these five days. New clothes are worn. Abhyanga bath is taken. The son-in-law is invited and entertained. On the second day of the festival, *gokridan* takes place, that is, cows are well-fed and decorated, as in the Polah, the bullocks are. People perfume themselves with attar and scented oil. Fire-works are burnt at night. On the third day sisters put *Akshad* on the foreheads of their brothers. (In 1896 this festival commenced on the 4th of November, and the Civil Courts were closed on the 25th, 26th and 27th October 1897 on account of this festival.)

The festival of the marriage of the tulsi plant with the image of Krishna takes place on the 12th day of the bright moon of the month of Kartick. The tulsi plant is placed under a covering of sugarcane. A Brahmin performs the ceremony. Brahmins are fed and *pan supari* distributed. This festival took place on the 17th November 1896. In 1897 the Civil Courts were ordered to be closed on the 5th of November on account of Kartick Ekadasi, that is the day preceding that appointed for this festival.)

The next festival is called Kartick Sud Purnima. (It happened in 1896 on the 20th November.) In this festival the temples of Vishnu are illuminated at night. It is also called *Pándé Pūnim*. A kshir (milk boiled with sugar) is prepared. It is called *panpit*.

The next festival is the Márgasirsha and purnima (which happened in 1896 on the 20th of December).

The next festival takes place on the fifth day of the dark

* The Civil Courts in the C. P. were also closed on the 5th of October 1897 on account of the Dasera. On the day of the Vijaya Dashami people go beyond the limits of their village towards the south as if on an expedition.

moon of the month of Márgasirsha. It is called Nag Dewe (It is happened in 1896 on the 25th December.) The next day is the Champa Sasthi when the god Khandoba is worshipped and a fair is held in honour of that god.

The next festival is the Poos Sankrant also called the Sankramana. (In 1897 it took place on the 12th of January.) It is the day of the soubhagya brata of females. Females dress themselves tastefully and a sweet thing called *tilli* is prepared and distributed to friends and acquaintances. The *tilli* is made of a sesamum seed with a coating of sugar. I have received it from my Brahmin Maratha friends. Brahmins are fed. Females give presents to their friends of clothes, plates, &c. (The Civil Courts in 1897 remained closed in the Central Provinces on account of this festival on the 12th of January.)

On the 6th of February 1897 happened Wasant or Vasant panchami. The Civil Courts remained closed on that day. On the day of the Wasant Panchami which takes place on the fifth day of the bright moon of the month of Mágh, Vishnu, as well as every household god, is worshipped with the blossoms of the mangoe tree.

On the 1st of March 1897 occurred the festival called the Mahasiváratra. It happens on the fourteenth day of the dark moon of the month of Mágh.

The last festival in the year is the Holi which takes place on the day of the full moon of the month of Fálgoon. It took place (in 1897) on the 18th of March. The Civil Courts were closed on account of this festival on the 19th. In this festival Devi otherwise called Parbati is worshipped. The castor-oil plant is planted in the yard of a house and a heap of cow-dung cakes placed around it. After being worshipped the cow-dung cakes as well as the plant is burnt. People of every quarter or division of a town burn some fuel or cow-dung cakes in some street or market place or other public place close to their quarter. Processions pass the streets by day uttering obscene songs and words. Women do not walk in the streets that day for fear of being ill-treated. People amuse themselves with songs and music for several days both before and after the day appointed for the festival. It somewhat resembles the carnival of the Church of Rome.

The Hindus join in the amusements of the Moharam Festival of the Mahommedans : they spend money in getting up dancing parties who pass the streets along with the *tajyas* on the last day of that festival.

ART. VI.—ACROSS THE PELOPONESUS.

(Continued from April 1901, No. 225.)

II—BASSÆ.

"There is certainly nothing in Greece, beyond the bounds of Attica, more worthy of notice than these remains."

Leake. *Morea* II, pp. 8, 9.

THE sudden opening of the venetian shutters of our bedroom looking on to the balcony rouses us about 6 after excellent (and unmolested) slumbers to the quaint reality of Andritsæna and the glorious fact that Bassæ and the "Stelous" are within a three hours march.

Our morning wash, charmingly Homeric, but regrettably scanty, again takes place in the yard, presided over as before by Mrs. Leonarites with the hot water jug. It is amazing how far a little jug of water can be made to go on this plan. But the water is warm and a towel—a little like a dish-cloth it is true, yet a towel in intention and efficacy, is provided by our host on his own initiative: plainly Andritsæna is on the way to civilization. We glance round our surroundings with interest, and find the little courtyard more curious than ever in the grey morning light; still grey, for it takes the sun some time to climb over the ridge and look into Andritsæna. The yard is paved with rough stones. A round-headed doorway of low pitch leads from the house and a big wooden gate opens on to the staircase that communicates by a side alley with the main street.

We have to bustle for our guide is pledged to come for us at 7, and the sooner we are off the better. Breakfast is a little dilatory, served without much method in our small bed-room, and arriving in relays under escort of most of the family: first the coffee, thick with grounds after the fashion of the country, but by special request *πικρὸν*, i. e., without sugar. Coffee in Greece is ordinarily brewed à la Turque and takes the form of a thick liquid paste nauseatingly sweet. We succeed in getting a little hot milk to drink with it and the result is fairly successful, except that we find the tiny cuds inadequate from the standpoint of the British breakfast-table. Then the bread, then some hard boiled eggs, and lastly cheese. The table equipage, though good of its kind, is limited. We start with exactly two plates and two spoons for all purposes. We diffidently hint a want. After considerable delay and much parley a single spoon makes its appearance, then a plate—then after an equal interval another, and so on till at length we succeed in collecting sufficient for our bare needs. Mrs. Leon-

darites gravitates between our breakfast table and the inner apartment sacred to culinary operations with an axiom countenance and a fractious infant. Master Leonarites, a chubby school-boy in a sort of uniform, it led in by his mother and presents a bunch of delicious-smelling violets. The Leonarites household appears to consist—besides our host—of his wife, a comely matron in a western skirt, the chubby school-boy, the plaintive babe aforesaid, and a rather dirty little girl, probably a nurse-maid. These all tend to hover round us at meal-times, which is apt to be the way in which an amiable solicitude for the welfare of the guest is shown in primitive communities.

As our host's name is specially commended by Murray to the passing traveller, we are a little surprised at the evident unfamiliarity with western wants and habits, all the more so as we fare better later on at less frequented places.

And where and what is Bassæ? You need not blush, candid reader, if you do not know; but if it is ever your good fortune to voyage to Greece, you will be well advised to make every effort to get to Andritsæna and see for yourself. You will find a Greek temple, more perfect than any you have dreamed, of in an absolutely unique situation and amid surrounding that enhance to the utmost the romantic charm of the discovery. Bassæ—(Vassæ, be it noted, in the pronunciation of the modern Greek) though the British Museum possesses the frieze that once adorned its temple, is not familiar to the ordinary student of the classics, like Mycenæ or Corinth, or Delphi or Olympia. No town of classical fame is found there, and Phigaleia, whose inhabitants built the temple (whence the name *Phigaleian* given to the 'marbles' in the British Museum) is obscure even among the second-rate cities of the Peloponnese. Moreover, it is difficult to come at, not to be attained without fatigue and hardship, fully exemplifying the principle *χάλεπα τὰ καλά*. It is most accessible from Olympia and Andritsæna, by the way we came (not without toil and sweat,*) from Kalamata or Sparta it would be even a more arduous undertaking. Yet any enthusiastic Grecian who has admired the beautiful frieze in the British Museum and has happened upon photographs of the temple either in the Phigaleian Room or elsewhere, must surely be stirred with a vehement desire to see Bassæ. Personally we have to thank Mr. E. F. Benson and a striking scene in his fascinating novel '*The Vintage*' for the final stimulus which prompted us to make Bassæ one of

* Wheler, earliest of English travellers in modern Greece (1676), writes concerning a certain hill in Phocis "which although it cost me no small quantity of the sweat of my brows; yet I found it well worth my pains" Wheler. *A journey into Greece* Bh. VI. p. 468.

the starred events in our programme. In fact, the chance of seeing Bassæ had been one of the chief inducements which led us to strike into the unknown from Olympia instead of taking the train to Athens. It was therefore with no small feeling of elation that we found ourselves descending the further side of the ridge, on which nestle the four townships that form Andritsæna, fairly on the road to Bassæ.

We slip through a break in the ridge and begin to descend behind Andritsæna, passing two or three cisterns by the roadside which show that the water-supply of Andritsæna has not been neglected. It is delightfully cool, even chilly between 7 and 8 this April morning, and we actually find ice at one or two places where water trickles across the road. We have hardly cleared the town when we fall in with a soldier in full kit who straightway attaches himself to us. He, too, it appears, is for the "Stelous," and we are divided in opinion whether he has joined himself to us of set purpose, or is merely patrolling the hills on his regular beat. If the former it is further debateable in what sense he has come to 'look after' us; whether to protect the "antiquities" from the rapacious hands of the tourist, or safeguard his precious person in these wild hills. As our escort subsequently leaves us in full possession of the temple and the prospect, it appears probable that the encounter to which we are indebted for his company is merely accidental. He proves useful, however, as he is seemingly more familiar with the ground than our guide and more than once overrules him as to our track.

Bassæ is almost due South of Andritsæna. We are soon out in grand open mountain scenery following the line of a long ridge, scantily wooded, which, as it lies between us and the east, keeps us for a time in shade. We cross a succession of mountain torrents, one coming down a picturesque ravine with a considerable flow of water. The scenery is on an ample scale, and as rugged or more rugged than anything we passed through yesterday. There is not much vegetation; a few stunted trees on the hill-side, mostly Turkey oaks, and a certain amount of scrub undergrowth. Wild flowers, however, are in plenty, especially violets and a sort of bluebell. Before long we are climbing again and feeling the strength of the sun-god for whose shrine we are bound. The path is as rough as ever and it is stiff work. Our party is straggling along in Indian file, the guide and the soldier ahead, when all at once the latter leaves the path and begins hurriedly climbing the steep slope on the left, his rifle conveniently at the ready. We watch his proceedings with interest. It appears, however, he has only caught sight of two small boys unlawfully cutting wood on the hill-side. He captures their

axes and returns with the boys and their donkeys as prisoners of war. One boy has managed to get his finger cut, perhaps in a struggle for the axes. We are inclined to feel sorry for the boys who are very small and very rueful, but as wood seems scarce, doubtless a little strictness is necessary. They are soon let go with a caution.

After a hot climb our path turns abruptly to the left and we skirt an immense ravine whose sides are great open slopes, on which multitudinous sheep and goats are feeding, both above and below. The scenery which has been rough and stern thus far, is softer here and the bells tinkle melodiously. The dogs bay deep and fierce as we go by. On the further side we find a welcome spring of cool water and drink gratefully and are refreshed. After this we climb once more by an even steeper and ruggedger path. We twist round deeper into the mountains which begin to hem us in. We seem to be making for a dip in a long ridge that lies right ahead of us. Somewhat more to the right is a big grey summit. We climb this ridge-wall, go over it, and, descending a little come suddenly in view of ranged columns; and the temple is before us.

The temple of Apollo at Bassæ is, of course, a ruin. Gaunt it stands and open to the winds of heaven, its roof and all its upper structure and pediments, triglyphs, frieze and metopes, and all that stood above the architrave, gone: gone, too, its shrine, its inner walls and compartments, and all that they contained, all that made it distinctively a place of worship, save for the broken fragments that strew its pavements and some scanty remains of the walls of the cella. But for a ruin it is wonderfully complete. Of the thirty-eight external pillars originally surrounding it, thirty-five still stand, and of the blocks of stone that formed the architrave, two and two alongside each other from pillar to pillar, nearly all are in their places. The pillars have suffered most at the southern end, which is exposed, the northern end being sheltered by the slope of the hill. Two other pillars are rather clumsily strengthened with clamps and boards, and one column on the west side is propped up in an unsightly manner with scaffolding. Otherwise the tale of pillars is complete externally, and as we shift our position in making the circuit of the temple, we get perspective views of the rows of columns in inexhaustible variety. Here on the open hill-side in the solitude of great mountains, with a bold sweeping landscape on three sides, and no other company than the lizards and the tinkling sheep-bells far down on the lower steps, one may enjoy moments of deep and intense experience that outweigh whole years of the humdrum of ordinary-existence.

And what a view it is that is offered to the eye from this

place! Looking out upon it from a vantage point a little higher on the ridge, the temple of Apollo is forgotten and we are merged in the mere prospect of mountain, sea and sky, majestically sleeping limestone ridges, line beyond line, with glimpses of snowy mountains through the gaps, and far away to the south and to the west the effulgent blue of the waters that lap the coasts of Greece. We are ourselves on the back of an open ridge and mountain ridges hem us in all round. Behind to the N.-W. the wall over which we have climbed dominated by the grey summit, Mt. Kotilium, closes up and shuts out any further view. More to the E. of N. the heights of Central Arcadia rise massively: through a small dip in the far distance a bit of snow-white Chelmos still peeps up. Eastward we look over long ranges of rocky hills, which separate us from the valley of the Alpheus and the plain of Megalopolis. To the right (westward) there is a rapid descent, and through the gap we see a beautiful little stretch of coast with the sea a very deep blue beyond. But it is the view to the southward, which opened before us as we came over the ridge, that first riveted our eyes, and that draws them back and holds them fixed. Truly a wonderful and entrancing prospect. Straight in front through a big dip in the hills lies a long stretch of comparatively flat country, reaching to the curve of the Gulf of Corone on the very verge of sight: on either side of the gulf the hills rise again and stretch further than our eyes can follow; on the right the hills of the Pylian land right down to C. Gallo, on the left past Kalamata the high-lands of Maina dimly out towards Tænarum. Nearer to the S.-E there is a very big mass of hills with four distinct peaks, called Tetrasi in modern Greek (hiding somewhere Eira, the stronghold of Aristomenes); and through the breaks in this can be seen the long snowy stretch of Taygetus. In the very centre of this magnificent landscape, due south and in the middle distance, one object particularly arrests attention, a bold, square-shouldered, flat-topped hill, standing up steep and conspicuous above the Messenian plain. This is Ithome, long held stubbornly by the Messenians in the war in which they first forfeited their freedom, and again seized by the revolted Helots in 464 B. C. and kept for nine years in defiance of all the efforts of Sparta. Messenia does not usually fill much space in the mind of the student of Grecian history, yet there are few more romantic chapters in history than the stories of the two sieges of Ithome and the heroic exploits of Aristomenes of Eira.* Of even more curious interest, though it almost escapes notice

* Alas that so much of these stories must be given up as *history* and fairly made over to *romance*!

amid events of larger consequence, is the return of the Messenian exiles to their ancient home at the invitation of Epaminondas, their language, manners, traditions quite unchanged by 300 years of exile. The walls of Messene, the city they founded in B. C. 370, still stand in good preservation in the plain under Ithome, with towers and a wonderful gateway. It had been in our hopes to have plunged down into the ravine below Bassæ, crossed Tetrasi to Bogazi, and thence made our way by Messene to the railway and Kalamata, but we were reluctantly brought to the conclusion that this could not be. It was tantalizing to look fairly over the country from this vantage ground and realize that we might not enter it.

The temple at Bassæ, though not a sight which has many associations for the scholar, has very much of interest to the archæologist. The temple itself stands N. and S. instead of E. and W. "For this remarkable deviation from the rule that Greek temples lie east and west, no more recondite reason need be sought than the nature of the ground." (Frazer Pausanias IV, p. 395.) Indeed, even so it was necessary to "widen the ridge artificially by constructing a platform about twenty-two feet broad along its western edge" (II.). The stone of which it is built is the grey lime-stone of these mountains, but is suffused in places with a reddish tinge due to the growth of a 'delicate pink lichen.' The shrine is at the northern, the back chamber at the southern end, the latter occupying about one-third of the walled space. There are broad porticoes north and south each fronted by a couple of inner pillars. The pavement has sunk considerably below the original level, especially in the centre.

From the walls of the cella on either side project cross-walls or buttresses like those of which we find traces in the Heræum at Olympia; but here they are actually standing. These buttresses terminate in the form of Ionic columns. The first pair at the S. end slope inwards at an angle from the wall. Between them stood a single marble column of the *Corinthian* order twenty feet six inches high exactly at the division between the cella and the back chamber. The most remarkable feature of all remains to be mentioned. The cella has an additional doorway on the E. side. "The only plausible explanation of this archæological anomaly is that the existing temple, facing north and south, had replaced an older and smaller temple which, in accordance with Greek custom, faced east and west; and that when the large new temple was in compliance with the exigencies of the site built facing north and south, the religious prejudices of the worshippers required that the image of the God should still

face eastward, and that accordingly the architect was obliged to open a doorway in the eastern wall through which the worshippers might see and approach their deity as before. We must therefore suppose that the image of Apollo stood in this inmost part of the *cella* with its back to the west wall and its face to the eastern doorway" (Frazer IV, p. 899).

Time passes swiftly in the happy survey of these details, in the attempt to reconstruct in thought the parts of the temple and speculations on the meaning of the grooves visible in many blocks, some in position, some displaced. The temple was brought to its present state at the time of the discovery of the frieze by Mr. Cockerell and his party in 1812. When Leake saw it a few years earlier the interior was a jumble of fallen masonry of which he writes: "Indeed until some attempt be made to clear away the remains of the cell, which form an immense confused mass within the peristyle, it will hardly be possible even for an architect to understand thoroughly all the particulars of the buildings." When ultimately the pavement was cleared, the stones and fragments were scattered over the slope of the hill where they may be seen and studied to-day. The original discovery of the temple itself was made accidentally in 1765 by a French architect named Joachim Bocher while on a journey from Pyrgo to Karitena.*

Its identification we owe to Pausanias, who briefly describes the temple of Apollo reared by the Phigaleians on Mt. Kotilium. "Kotilium," he says, "is about forty stades distant from the city: therein is a place called Bassæ and the temple of Apollo the Helper, both the temple and its roof of stone." "Without those few words," Leake remarks* (Morea II. p. 3) "the existence of such a magnificent building in such a wilderness, must ever have remained a subject of wonder, doubt and discussion." Even as it is there is much room for wonder at the beauty of the temple and its odd situation. Leake himself writes: "That which forms, on reflection, the most striking circumstance of all is the nature of the surrounding country, capable of producing little else than pasture for cattle and offering no conveniences for the display of commercial industry either by sea or land. If it excites our astonishment that the inhabitants of such a district should have had the refinement to delight in works of this kind, it is still more wonderful that they should have had the means to

* "His design was to examine an ancient building near Caritena. He was still remote from that place, when he perceived a ruin, two hours from Vervizza, which prevented his going any further. The ruin, called 'The Columns,' stands on an eminence sheltered by lofty mountains." Chandler, vol. II ch. LXXVII, p. 333.

execute them. This can only be accounted for by what Horace says of the early Romans :

*Privatus illis census erat brevis
Commune magnum.*

This is the true secret of national power, which cannot be equally effective in an age of selfish luxury" (Morea II, p. 9).

Naturally also we should like to know when, and under what circumstances, the temple was built. Pausanias asserts that the architect was Ictinus, the builder of the Parthenon. But how the men of insignificant Phigaleia came to employ so famous a master, and what was the occasion of their building a temple which Pausanias pronounces the handsomest of all the temples of the Peloponnese after one at Tegea 'both for the beauty of the stone and for its shapeliness'—these things are for us inscrutable. For Pausanias' account of the matter that it commemorates the deliverance of Phigaleia from plague, and that plague a sequel of the plague of Athens in 430 B. C. is too improbable to be easily accepted. Thucydides expressly tells us the Peloponnesus suffered very little. As to the suggestion that it is a thank-offering for the affliction with which the enemy, Athens, was smitten—that is too abominable to be believed without other proof than mere ingenuity of conjecture. This is, in fact, one of the cases where our best wisdom is to acquiesce in ignorance. The temple itself is a solid fact—and an admirable; that must be enough for us.

That so much more of it survives than of more famous buildings is doubtless due to the reasons Leake suggests: the loneliness of its situation, the difficulty of the country for the purposes of transport, and consequently the absence of temptation to turn the ruin into a quarry. Such damage as has been done is probably due to earthquakes, which have occurred at one time or another all over Greece. Leake says: "The preservation of all parts of the temple shows that the ruins have never been plundered for the sake of building materials. Indeed there is little temptation to transport these immense masses over such mountains as surround them, nor even to break them into smaller stones, by which barbarous process many other Hellenic remains have been destroyed, for there is no inhabited place nearer than Sklirú, a small village, distant about one mile, on a part of the mountain where the ground is a little more level than in most other parts, and where alone there seems any possibility of cultivating corn" (Morea II, p. 8).

We turn away from Bassæ and the south and start back regretfully as the afternoon begins to wane. Many places in these rough hill-sides are sown with corn; there was even a scanty crop springing up among the scattered stones imme-

diately about the temple, thus falsifying Leake's accounts of the barrenness of the hills (v. supra) and testifying to a real advance of the Peloponnese in prosperity since his time. It is wonderful how the Greek highlander avails himself in these better times of every little shelf and crease in the hill-side, and there is hardly any slope too steep for the Greek plough. We satisfy ourselves as to certain circular platforms levelled and paved with stone and set in convenient places on the ridge which we had marked on the way up. They are as we conjectured 'threshing-floors,' and the Greek word which our guide uses in answer to our enquiry is "*άλωνες*." We notice several of these, and this confirms the impression that these rough hills are now cultivated to good purpose.

Some little way down we meet a splendid specimen of the Messenian mountaineer; a handsome strapping fellow, six feet or more tall, with a well-turned leg, admirably set off by the tight fitting white stocking and fustanella. There is an old man with him somewhat shrivelled who serves as a good foil. To see this young Greek step up the hill-side, springy and graceful as a deer, was a sight for gods and men. He was dark, with coal-black hair and eyes, and well-cut features; and he held his head with a fine grace. Along with his good looks and gay clothes he has the fine courtesy of the men of his country, and greets us with the friendliness one soon learns to expect from all who pass on the road in Greece. We sit and talk for a bit in monosyllables and exchange tobacco and cigarettes—or to be quite precise, he and his companion smoke our cigarettes while we fill our pipes with his tobacco.

The march, back, being mainly down, is less laborious than the mornings climb and as the soft evening light draws on becomes more and more beautiful. The dogs renew their wrathful clamour as we pass again,—these are particularly big and fierce—and bay furiously round Socrates, when he leaves us and walks up the slope to get speech of the shepherd. We, for our part, still cherish a respect for them which wears off a good deal in the course of the next three weeks); but Socrates saunters on indifferent, while they growl and snarl at his heels. Perhaps after all the dreaded Greek watch-dog is own cousin to the village dogs of the East, all bark and no bite. At all events the bark of the Greek sheep-dog is remarkably fine.

H. R. J.

ART. VII.—ERIN'S SLAIN.

I

Now, with the dawn of a new reign,
In hope that fate is turning
From dark to bright, 'mid mounds that keep
Our Martyrs' memories green,
The spirits of our slain arise,
For brighter noondays yearning,
A noble band with bearing proud
They stand distinctly seen.

2

No ghastly squalid spectres they
But proper forms and stately,
Dawn's roseate splendours undulate
Around them like a veil,
From heaven the slowly waning stars
Look down on them sedately,
The mists of morn around their brows
In wreaths of victory sail.

3

" Now, when the wife for husband mourns
" On couch by memories haunted,
" Now, when the mother weeps for son
" Far on the lone veldt slain,
" And maid for lover, from the grave
" We rise with hearts undaunted
" Seeking our well-lov'd wee dark rose
" To look on her again.

4

" On others, darling Roseen dhu
" Bestow thy smiles, but never
" Ah never can the dead forget
" What they on earth loved best,

" Our Lady thou, the champions of
" Thy name are we for ever,
" We on thy Tara of the Kings
" Must triumph ere we rest.

5

" As in the miry pathway
" Before his queen and lady
" His silken mantle fair the knight
" Laid down on bended knee,
" Our lives we laid down freely
" In thy service ever ready,
" Thou wilt not live unmindful of
" Those lives laid down for thee.

6

" For truest of the true thou art
" As sure thou art the fairest,
" Though blackened by the wintry blast
" Thou bloomest ever new,
" Our own dark rose our dear dark rose
" The sweetest and the rarest,
" Lives there thy peer on all gods earth,
" Our Lady, Roseen dhu ?

7

" Oh dry those sweet dark grey-blue eyes,
" Let smiles replace thy weeping,
" Soon wilt thou stand 'fore all the world
" In robe of emerald green,
" The feast of thy new union
" With Albion blithely keeping,
" With helm on hair and glaive at side
" In all men's eyes a queen.

8

" Thy holy delicate white hands
" Shall gird with steel thy chosen

" True knights, who fly to do thy best
 " By every sea and shore,
" From where around the icy poles
 " The air burns keen and frozen
" To where the equatorial suns
 " With heat rays smite full sore.

9

" Ready to sink in deepest mine,
 " To scale of hills the highest,
" To wing the unstable air, to dive
 " Deep under ocean blue
" Just for one smile, one smile such as,
 " Dark Rose, thou ne'er deniest
" To thy true sons to lift their hearts
 " Thou peerless Roseen dhu.

10

" Strong Albion's Seventh Edward,
 " Forget not, oh forget not
" How strove that great Plantagenet,
 " First of thine honored name,
" To weld these islands into one
 " Great Empire.—If thou let not
" Thy hand fail to complete the work
 " How great shall be thy fame !

11

" But iron chains will never hold
 " A race of such free spirit
" As Erin rears, the bands of love
 " Not links of galling chain
" Must bind our rose to Albion's rose,
 " Then let it be thy merit
" To join the sisters hand and heart.
 " Under thy prosperous reign.

12

" To join in one great union
 " England, Wales, Scotland, Erin
 " With Britain's oversea, Australia,
 " Canada ;—Then may
 " Our legions face the world in arms
 " Beholding nought to fear in
 " Its banded anarchs starkest might
 " In their most fell array."

13

The vision fades as fades a wreath
 Of light cloud from the heaven,
 But fading leaves in Erin's sons
 Hearts that for hope beat high,
 Up morning's slopes the sun bright steeds
 Through fiery flare are driven,—
 Is it in vain that Erin's sons
 Fare forth to do or die ?

M. R. WELD.

[And lo ! the Knight of industry
 From the sham-jewel making city,
 Its choicest gem, the glinting glass
Screwed in his eye grows dim.
 Quoth he " should the dawn illumine my deeds
 Too fully 'twere a pity,
 But bah ! I'll worm through as before
 So agile I and slim."
 (" Joe " is the vulgar traducer of Ireland.)

ED., C. R.]

ART. VIII.—BISHOP BERKELEY'S IMMATERIAL PHILOSOPHY.*

IT is now nearly forty years since Professor Campbell Fraser first called attention to the philosophical works of Bishop Berkeley. In an article on "The Real World of Berkeley" which he published in *Macmillan's Magazine* in 1862, followed by one contributed two years later to *The North British Review*, he pointed out the importance for contemporary thought of the philosophy of that great but neglected and misunderstood thinker. During the years that have elapsed since then he has continued to be the interpreter of Berkeley and the expounder of his ideas. In 1871 he edited Berkeley's complete works for the Clarendon Press, and it is not too much to say that the publication of that work has led to a truer appreciation of the philosophy of Berkeley than ever obtained before. His volume of "Selections from Berkeley" which appeared a few years later introduced his students, as they passed in hundreds through his class to the fascinations of Berkeleyan idealism, while his little book on "Berkeley" in Blackwood's series of "Philosophic Classics" performed the same office for many readers who were but little likely to attempt the writings of Berkeley unaided. And now in his eighty-second year Professor Fraser—now worthily "Emeritus"—has given us in this handsome work what is likely to be the definitive edition of Bishop Berkeley's works.

There is in this edition but little from Berkeley's pen that was not contained in the edition of 1871; still, as Professor Fraser says, this edition is really a new work. The introductions that are prefixed to each of Berkeley's treatises, and the instructive annotations and elucidations have been for the most part re-written, and some interesting appendices have been added. Further, a short life is prefixed which gives at the same time a more connected view of the Bishop's teaching as a whole than the separate introductions supply. In the introductions and the biography use is made of new material that has become available since the publication of the *Life and Letters* that accompanied the edition of 1871. One

*The works of George Berkeley, D.D., formerly Bishop of Cloyne, including his Posthumous Works, with prefaces, annotations, appendices, and an account of his Life by Alexander Campbell Fraser, Hon. D.C.L., Oxford, Hon. LL.D., Glasgow and Edinburgh; Emeritus, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. In four volumes. Price twenty-four shillings. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press, 1901.

feature of this new edition is the arrangement of the works. The first three volumes contain the Philosophical Works arranged in chronological order beginning with the *Commonplace Book* written in 1705-8 and ending with *Siris* and the writings to which it gave rise. The fourth volume contains Berkeley's Miscellaneous Works also arranged in chronological order. The first volume is furnished with a portrait of the benevolent-looking Bishop and with pictures of his house in Rhode Island and his favourite retreat near the sea, and two or three quaint illustrations that appeared in the original works are reproduced. The division into four volumes makes the work a convenient one to handle, and the Clarendon Press has, as usual, done everything that could be desired to make its appearance worthy of its contents.

It has been the lot of many great thinkers to be misunderstood, but few have been so systematically and persistently misunderstood as Berkeley. The popular idea was, and still is, that he taught that all external objects are as unreal as the fancies of a dream, and that the whole perceived world of external things is a delusion which has its existence only in our own minds. Dr. Johnson, for example, thought he had refuted Berkeley when in his own rough way he kicked a stone out of his path with the remark "That is matter," and an eminent Scottish divine was said to have been cured of Berkeleyanism owing to his head having come violently into collision with a bed-post. Wherein the popular mistake consists will best be seen by a short account of what Berkeley really held.

Berkeley's doctrine is expounded and developed by him in his different treatises. The chief of these taking them in chronological order are *An Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision*, *A Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Conduct*, *Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous*, *Alciphron*; or the *Minute Philosopher*, and *Siris*. In his *Commonplace Book* which he began at the age of twenty in 1705, and which was first published in 1871 the germs of his new ideas are to be found, but it was in his *Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Conduct* published in 1710 that he first gave a systematic account of his philosophy, *The Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision* which had appeared in the previous year, having been preparatory thereto. When Berkeley made known his "new principle" he was set down by some, who probably had never read his works, as insane, and most of those who admitted his sanity attributed the publication of his treatises to no higher motive than the love of paradox. It was, however, from no love of paradox that these treatises were written. Berkeley lived at a time when physical science

was making great advances and he saw, what has often happened since, that there is a danger that men may be so impressed by the powers attributed to matter as to be led into materialism—the belief that matter is the all-sufficient cause of everything in the universe. He was deeply impressed with the conviction that materialism is the root of scepticism and atheism and does away with all moral power in the universe, and he set himself therefore to show that so far from mind being a function of matter the world of sensible phenomena is really dependent upon mind for its existence. He maintained that we have no evidence of the existence of the “matter” which was popularly endowed with such great powers, that its existence was a mere hypothesis, and was moreover an unnecessary hypothesis. In opposition to the views generally held he taught the doctrine of immaterialism, and maintained that spirit and not any inert matter was the underlying cause of phenomena.

The theory of perception is as it were the seed from which Berkeley's doctrine of immaterialism sprung. To understand his immaterialism, therefore we must notice his theory of perception. What then takes place when I perceive an object? When I perceive an apple I am conscious of certain sensations of resistance, colour, smell, etc. All that I am conscious of is sensations or as Berkeley calls them ideas. Sensible objects therefore are bundles or clusters of sensations or as we should call them now-a-days phenomena. As such, they are, Berkeley argued, dependent for their existence on sentient mind. Here it was that he joined issue with other philosophers. They admitted that there are certain qualities of matter such as colour which are dependent for their existence on sentient mind, but maintained that there were certain other qualities such as extension and form which have an actual independent existence apart from mind. There is thus according to these philosophers an inert material substance unperceived and unperceiving which possesses two kinds of qualities one secondary and depending on mind for their existence, the other primary and having an independent existence. This unphenomenal “something we know not what,” as Locke calls it, is the matter the existence of which Berkeley denied, and the non-existence of which he sought to prove by trying to show that the so-called primary qualities may be resolved into the secondary qualities which it is admitted are dependent on sentient mind for their existence. To revert to the illustration of the apple the difference between Berkeley and those whom he opposed may be put thus: If we took away from an apple one “sensation” after another the materialist—to use the word in a Berkeleyan

sense—would say that something would be left. There would be a sub-stratum of matter left, the real apple, the peg so to speak on which all these sensations were hung. Berkeley on the other hand would hold that nothing would be left, as the thought of matter without qualities is inconceivable. Material substance, he held, is “a meaningless abstraction,” and there is insensible things nothing we can realise except the phenomena presented to our senses. Take them away and we know of nothing remaining.

While Berkeley thus held the non-existence of the philosophical abstraction matter, it must not be supposed that he regarded sensible phenomena as really non-existent or as existing without a sufficient cause. They exist but they are dependent, he held, not on matter of which we know nothing but on mind or spirit which we know from our own consciousness does exist. In the consciousness of our voluntary activity we become conscious of the power which we have denied to matter and by our belief in the orderliness of nature we are led to a belief in an external power higher than, though of the same kind as, our own. This power, spirit or mind, is what sustains and causes the phenomena of sense. The phenomena of nature are the significant signs of the supreme spirit and they are intelligible to us because they are the outcome not of dead, inert matter ; but of living, intelligent mind. To quote Professor Fraser : “The material world of Berkeley is just what the senses present : all in it beyond this belongs to the world of mind, which converts the presented phenomena into a language that is expressive of absent sense—phenomena, of other finite spirits, and of the all-pervading Reason that is supreme and absolute. * * *

Our security for the reality of the Berkeleyan external world is thus inevitable assumption that nature is reasonable ; that its phenomena express thought akin to our own ; that it is more or less interpretable by us in progressive physical or natural science ; and that even in the world of the senses we are living and moving and having our being in the supreme all-pervading Reason, theologically called God.

Berkeley's “new principle,” whatever we may think of its truth in its fully-developed form, was thus no paradox put forward to secure notoriety for its propounder, nor was it the mere fancy of a visionary. Its promulgation was in fact a call to reality, a summons to philosophers to investigate the sources of knowledge and to see whether they had ground in reason for their ascription of potency to inert matter or even for their belief in its existence. Misunderstood though he was by many, his life has, as Professor Fraser says, “been one of the principal forces in modern philosophy.” The way

in which it has been so is perhaps not one that Berkeley himself would have wished. His object was mainly religious, to show that the world of sense phenomena is not produced by matter but is the language of God speaking to our spirits. David Hume, however, used Berkeley's "new principle" in a way its author would have considered unwarrantable, and broke up spirit into a succession of isolated feelings, and Hume has been followed in this generally by the English empirical school of philosophy. It was Hume's distortion of Berkeleianism that gave rise by way of opposition to the Scottish "common-sense" philosophy and to the criticism of Kant—the starting point of most modern philosophy. Thus to quote Professor Fraser again, it is "a fact of history that Berkeley has employed the modern philosophical world in a struggle, virtually about his new conception of the universe, which has lasted for nearly two hundred years."

Apart altogether from his philosophy Berkeley is one of the most interesting figures in the first half of the eighteenth century. Born in Kilkenny in 1685, he entered Trinity College, Dublin, at the early age of fifteen, and in 1707 was admitted to a Fellowship there. His *Commonplace Book* begun at the age of twenty, gives ample evidence of the activity of his mind, for, as has been mentioned, it contains the germs of the new ideas he was to give the world. His *Essay on Vision* was published when he was twenty-four and his *Principles of Human Knowledge* a year later. In 1712 Berkeley who had just written his *Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous* resolved to visit London "to make acquaintance with men of merit," and having obtained leave of absence he crossed the Channel early in 1713. In London he soon made the acquaintance of that famous group of thinkers and writers which has gained for the reign of Anne its literary fame as "the Augustan Age of English Literature." He seems to have possessed great personal charm, and he soon numbered among his friends such distinguished men as Pope, Swift, Addison and Steele. Some of those he met then became life-long friends, and Pope writing twenty years afterwards ascribed in one of his poems "to Berkeley—every virtue under heaven."

The next few years were spent for the most part in foreign travel. On his return to England in 1721 he was seized with an idea which dominated his life for the next ten years. The collapse of the South Sea Bubble with its attendant misery made him take a very gloomy view of the condition of Great Britain. He began to fear that society was hopelessly corrupt, and his views found expression in *An Essay Towards Preventing the Ruin of Great Britain*. But Berkeley

was no mere prophet of evil but an eager social reformer, and the idea now took possession of him that the best way of reforming the old world might be by the foundation of a Christian Empire in America—"Time's noblest offspring." It is in his *Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America* that the oft-quoted line occurs "Westward the course of Empire takes its way." Berkeley, who was now Dean of Derby, devised a curious plan for the accomplishment of this great enterprise. He proposed to establish a College in Bermuda, "for the better supplying of churches in our Foreign Plantations and for converting the Savage Americans to Christianity." His idea was that in this College the English youth of America might be educated to become pastors, and that similarly a number of the young North American Indians might be educated to become missionaries to their savage fellow-countrymen. The Bermudas are six hundred miles from the American coast, but Berkeley fixed on them partly because Waller and Marvell had described them as regions of idyllic bliss and partly for the more practical reason that they were in constant communication with different parts of the American continent. He persuaded several able young clergymen to join him in his project, and such was his charm and his persuasive power that he obtained a Charter for his College and the promise of a grant of £20,000 from Parliament. In 1728 Berkeley sailed for Rhode Island which became his home for the next three years. Whether his College would have been a success it is impossible to say, for the promised grant was never paid and Berkeley returned to England in 1731. But though he failed in carrying out his scheme, no one can fail to admire the self-sacrificing enthusiasm of Berkeley which prompted him to give up his career in the Irish Church and made him ready to bury himself for the rest of his life in a little island in the Atlantic. Nor was his self-sacrifice without result, for his life in Rhode Island exerted influence in many beneficial ways. An American author writes—"By ways different from those intended by Berkeley, and in ways more manifold than he could have dreamed, he has since accomplished, and through all coming time, by a thousand ineffaceable influences, he will continue to accomplish, some portion at least of the influences which he had aimed at in the founding of his university. It is the old story over again; the tragedy of a Providence wiser than man's foresight; God giving the victory to His faithful servant even through the bitterness of overruling him and defeating him." Whitehall—the home near Newport which he built for himself—is still piously cared for, and when a memorial to Berkeley was

lately placed in his Cathedral of Cloyne the subscriptions for its erection came largely from America.

Berkeley's literary activity did not cease while he was in America, for it was in Rhode Island that he wrote his longest work *Alciphron; or the Minute Philosopher*. 'A minute philosopher' meant in the language of that time a free-thinker, and *Alciphron* besides being a developed exposition of Berkeley's philosophy is an attack on the scepticism then so prevalent, and a defence of Christianity. It is sometimes forgotten both by the friends and the opponents of Christianity that at the time when Berkeley wrote, unbelief was so widespread and so fashionable that it was possible for Bishop Butler to write in the advertisement of his *Analogy* that it had come "to be taken for granted that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry; but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious." In *Alciphron* Berkeley maintained that Christian thinking is true free-thinking and that Christian faith is wisdom in its highest form. Professor Fraser ranks *Alciphron* with Butler's *Analogy* and the *Pensées* of Pascal as "memorable works of the eighteenth and the preceding century in the religious philosophy of Europe."

Two years after his return from America Berkeley was nominated to the Bishopric of Cloyne in the south of Ireland. There he spent the next eighteen years of his life in the work of his diocese, and there he wrote *Siris*, the work which contains the culmination of his thought. In 1752 he resolved to retire to Oxford to enjoy there in the evening of his days the "life academico-philosophical" which he had hoped to find in his Bermuda College. He left Cloyne that autumn but did not long enjoy his well-earned rest, for he died in Oxford in 1753 and was buried there in the Cathedral of Christ Church.

Berkeley's idealism and his enthusiasm for his Bermuda Mission have given the impression to some that he was a visionary, a dreamer of dreams. His metaphysic, however, certainly does not warrant his being so regarded; and as for his College scheme, though Bermuda may have been a mistaken choice, his idea was a sound one, and since his time the importance of education as a missionary agency has been fully recognised. He was a dreamer in the sense in which all great men are, a man of large and noble ideals, which it might not be possible for him to realise. But he was at the same time a practical man of keen observation who did not allow fancies or wishes to conceal realities from him. This is well seen in his miscellaneous works. The notes of the sermons he delivered in Newport show that his preaching was of the most practical nature, while the journal of

his journey in Italy in 1717 and 1718 reveals him as an acute and intelligent observer. Perhaps most interesting of all, however, is *The Querist*, a publication in which Berkeley put forward more than 800 queries dealing with social, economic and religious questions especially with reference to Ireland. Some of these queries show considerable humour, as when he asks "whether a tax upon dirt would not be one way of encouraging industry?" They are chiefly interesting, however, as showing the problems which struck Berkeley as being of special importance in his time. Some of the problems are still awaiting solution, but some have been dealt with if not solved by modern political economy. It is a testimony to Berkeley's practical mind and keen insight that, as Professor Fraser says, "some of its pregnant suggestions anticipate leading doctrines" of Turgot and Adam Smith.

Enough has been said to show that Berkeley was one of the most remarkable men of the first-half of the eighteenth century, and that he well deserves the tribute that has been paid to him through the zeal and labour of Professor Fraser. His originality as a thinker and his literary style cannot fail to continue to interest men in his works, and when in his writings they recognise his wide-hearted philanthropy, his singleness of mind, and his charm of character, they can be no less attracted by the man than they have been interested in the philosopher.

E. M. MCPHAIL, B. D.

ART. IX.—IN THE MAGALIESBERG A YEAR AGO.

BY A TROOPER OF LUMSDEN'S HORSE.

I.—*On the road to Rustruburg.*

IAN HAMILTON'S division sallied forth from Pretoria on August 1st a year ago, and one of his Brigadiers was Colonel Mahon, and in Colonel Mahon's brigade rode Lumsden's Horse in the best of company, to wit the Imperial Light Horse and M. battery, R. H. A. Traversing the Dasport pass we came along in extended order under the shadow of the Magaliesberg, and soon heard sound of fighting ahead—gun, rifle and pom-pom fire. But we were rearguard. The results, however, were nothing great,—the Boers got away as usual. We are not told whose fault it was. Either Hamilton is too soon or Mahon too late. We go on just the same. Our way lay through a magnificent valley, covered by a low bush and studded with white daisy-like flowers, well-watered, and to all appearances extremely fertile, yet of cultivation there was but little. We passed in the course of the day glorious orange groves, and filled ourselves and everything we had—wallets, haversacks, nosebags, etc., with the splendid fruit. There were oranges of all sorts, hard-skinned, loose-skinned and tangerine. It was very noticeable how much warmer this valley was than elsewhere in the Transvaal. In most places oranges will not grow at all. Some Australians, whom we met later, said they did not think there was such another valley in the world. On we trekked without much excitement though ever on the look out for an attack, this part being infested with Boers.

We learnt our destination was Rustenburg, whither we were going to release Baden-Powell, who was shut up there. Alarms were frequent, and several times we got the order, "For dismounted duty," when we handed our horses over to the number threes. Once, when we could hear sharp firing all around, even climbing to the top of the Magaliesberg; and though not a shot was fired, and nothing more formidable than a baboon was seen, the climb was so precipitous that some fellows thought it one of the 'hottest' engagements they had been in. That night after we had turned in there was an alarm. We awoke and found everyone running wildly about, some to their horses, some to their saddles, some to their kit, and found the cause of it all was the grass was burning furiously and bearing down on our camp.

The grass was long here, and evidently having been allowed to catch on the leeward side of the camp, the fire had circled

round to windward. However, after sometime it was got under by men with blankets, and very picturesque the lines of fire looked as it burnt away and up the hills, reminding us much of similar fires on the grass hills in India. Another day we were on guard on a hill while the convoy was crossing a river, when Boers were reported in a farm-house not far off. We fixed bayonet and stalked it, but when we got there,—it turned out to be a collection of wagons and tents,—we found one man only, and he seemed sick unto death, and several women and children and donkeys, and great store of poultry, which however being protected by women only, we forbore to loot. It was evidently a favourite place of retreat, as there were signs of a number of people having encamped there, and it was admirably concealed among the trees. So marching all day, and often on outlying picket all night, we reached Rustenburg on the 5th. Several of the farm-houses, of which there were all too few, were burnt, being found to contain forage, ammunition, or to form a shelter to the wily Boer. So well concealed was the ammunition that it was frequently only when the flames mounted high that the ammunition came to light or rather to explode. A farmer's position at this time was certainly a difficult one. However peaceful he might feel, he could not remain in his farm-house for an hour after we had moved off, without being instantly commandeered. On the other hand, if we did not find him in his house, the inference was, he was 'in commando,' and anything that we could catch about the place we annexed. Rustenburg passes for a town in the Transvaal, but in normal times its inhabitants number only 700. The most noticeable building is a fine church. We saw lots of sangars about and underground places evidently Baden-Powell's handiwork, when beleaguered. We encamped there that night, and soon learnt that to-morrow was not to be the day of rest we expected. Orders came for parade at 5 A.M., and rumours were rife that the Boers were only six miles away; that Kruger was with them; that Baden-Powell was hanging on to their tails; that five other Generals were all concentrating from round about. So next morning, when we started off at a fast trot before the sun rose, we thought we were in for a really big 'show.' We rode west through Macarto's Nek and on to Eland's River, where we halted and watered our horses, while the helio worked interruptedly and another blinked in answer from some miles further on. Here we happened on Baden-Powell quietly stretching by the stream. Then the other helio flashed that we were not wanted, and much disappointed we turned our heads towards Rustenburg again, Baden-Powell riding along with us, with his Brigade-Major, orderly, galloper, and pennon all

correct. Meanwhile guns had been going in the distance, and we were told they were Carrington's, defending his convoy. Without being certain, we have always had the impression that it was through some blunder made on this day that Major Hore and his gallant little band got cut off for some days by the Boers. Back then we went to Rustenburg, and on from there by the way we had come, and our journey was uneventful, except for occasional sniping, and much bargaining for fowls with Kaffirs. We passed a good many Kaffir villages.

One incident was rather amusing, except to the man to whom it happened. He rode his horse to the edge of an innocent-looking spruit to give him a drink, and the horse to get a better drink took one step forward, and with a splash disappeared, rider and all. The stream, that did not at first appear to be more than a foot deep, seemed bottomless. Both man and horse got out all right, looking very unhappy, for it was a cold raw evening. The rifle was lost.

There was always a great deal of uncertainty as to what would happen in riding one's horse to water in this sort of place,—very often too the muddy approach was a veritable bog.

That night soon after we reached camp the order came that all the Transport was to be ready to go on in two hours, and get across the Crocodile River to-night. This gave rise to shocking language, not only from the Transport men and the men who had lost their horses, and who had already to-day 'walked every inch of the way,' but from everybody, for we had to keep only a very small allowance of blankets,—just what we could carry on our saddles,—and send on the rest, as well as all our cooking utensils. Next morning we followed, without bite or sup, for there was nothing to cook in, and we had not gone far when we were suddenly roused by the sound of sharp rifle fire to our left. The gunners got the order "Prepare for action," and everybody seemed to bustle up and be ready for eventualities. The galvanic effect of a few shots on troops wearily marching along is truly wonderful, as well as on their horses. Everybody is at once on the '*qui vive*.' In this case it proved to be little more than a sniping party and the Boers were soon driven off.

We were now ascending a rough and boulder-strewn hill, and shortly came over Commando Nek—a pass, with a good road through it, between the highest hills of the Magaliesberg, so rocky that even grass seemed unable to grow. Evidently from the litter about, it had for weeks past been used as a camping ground by the Boers, and it certainly seemed an ideal spot to defend. We, too, had often had our camps below it, and here a disaster had already occurred to one of our

outposts, involving the loss of two guns. But even before this war, it had been the scene of many a conflict between advancing white and retreating black, when first the Boers trekked north. It is a spot too famous in history and legend for fierce battles fought between the different native tribes, battles sung of still in their sagas or told in tradition, what time the victorious exterminated the vanquished, and fights were fought to a finish.

II.—*A day's halt.*

We were roused none too early to find to our relief that we were not moving. It was bitterly cold and the ground was hard with frost. This cold was especially noticeable, now that we had left the inexplicably warm valley on the other side of the Magaliesberg range. After passing through Commando Nek yesterday, we had encamped on a wide plain watered by the Crocodile River. A day's rest when 'on the trek' is a boon indeed; but withal there is lots to do.

First of all there are one's rations to think about.

With plenty of time at their disposal and after their very considerable practice, our amateur cooks could make a savoury repast out of very little. If there was a garden about, we grubbed up some vegetables, with which even the 'trek ox' served out in Government Rations made an excellent stew.

The orderly officer having been fetched, and one man per section having arrived with a strange assortment of old tins, saucepans, lids, stable buckets and a nosebag, wherein to receive the good gifts of Government, the doling out begins. For the information of the uninitiated I will enumerate these. One pound of biscuits, *i.e.*, five, thick, square, very hard, brick like, dog-biscuits—sometimes we only got $3\frac{1}{2}$ when things were scarce. They do not sound good, but we have quarrelled over the crumbs when the division is over, we have bought them at a shilling each, and there have been times when we would have given five shillings for one, had it been obtainable. Then there is meat to draw, one pound usually very tough beef per man, and jam ($\frac{1}{4}$ lb. per man), if we were lucky; oats for the horses, and compressed chaff, if they were lucky. Lastly, the groceries, one-third of an ounce of coffee per man, for a time actually we coffee-planters had burnt mealie (Indian-corn) palmed off on us as coffee,—one-sixth of an ounce of tea, three ounces of sugar, but by this time the best arranged tins and pots of the best ration-fatigue man will be filled, and the latter commodity is invariably drawn in his hat. This was a good start to a day's work, bringing the things along and apportioning them to the various messes. One wanted to be a veritable Hercules to run about with the 200-lb. oatbags. We were in the middle of this, and had had a good wrangle with the

quarter-master serjeant,—we, arguing that we still had to-day's rations to draw, be, that we had drawn one day's rations ahead at starting,—when suddenly we espied a great scurry going on about a mile away, crowds of men rushing after what we at last made out to be a small deer. In and out it went among tents, horses, saddles, carts, guns, etc. Frantic efforts were made to catch it, men left whatever they were doing to join in the chase, rolling over in their endeavours. Some jumped at it with their blankets to find they had caught mother earth, others tried to lasso it, and the number and variety of missiles thrown at it baffle description. Everybody anywhere near threw something,—boots, pots, buckets, tins, stones, harness, helmets and bayonets hurtled through the air. But the deer came on and suddenly turned our way. Our efforts to catch it were equally futile. We missed it by feet, and the shouting crowd swept by. A few minutes later it was caught, poor little beast, but our humanity was shortlived, when we found it was caught by one of our mess. He taking things easy, and lying like a log, caught the unsuspecting deer as it leapt over him. The next thing to think about was a wash, and an overhauling of kit, in case we might find some clean things to change into. It certainly was unlucky at this stage to find that the 'narlbant,' who also did 'dhobie,' to whom some ten days before I had given my clothes to wash, with five shillings payment in advance, at Teene, had lost them all. His excuse was that he was too hurried at starting to pack up anything,—we certainly had a playful way of starting off on expedition at an hour's notice. Nor, he complained, had he any mode of conveying these things over the 150 miles or so we had travelled since. This was a severe blow. Henceforth with one suit only there was no longer any possibility of having anything at the wash.

Shouldering what we could find, a towel and priceless piece of soap, avoiding the corporals, who were always wanting just a few men for just a few fatigues, and the serjeants who were playing with a Field State,—an abstruse document that aspired to shew where everyone was, whether here, or away, or sick or wounded or missing, whether with a good horse, or a sick horse or with no horse at all,—shunning the adjutant, who always seemed to be wanting everything, we made our way down to the Crocodile River. We were careful to take our bearings as we went, as it is the easiest thing in the world to lose your way in a big camp, and the hardest to find it again, for every mounted 'lot' looks just the same, and, if you make enquiries as to the whereabouts of your own particular Regiment, you sometimes get the most inconvenient reply, "I've 'eard of 'em." The Crocodile River was very cold and very

refreshing, and how necessary one may gather from the fact that this was the first occasion we had been able to take even our boots off for twelve days. While we were bathing a New Zealander came down with a big horse, which had been wounded in yesterday's sniping. He bathed the bullet wound in his neck and seemed much relieved to find it healing, for they had come over from New Zealand together.

Our ablutions over, we returned to camp, stopping to look at some hundreds of horses having a good time in a field of young oats, and evidently enjoying a rest as much as we did, some however already too tucked up even to graze. We passed the Elswick battery with their splendid guns carrying their six and seven thousand yards as well as any of those of the Boers, and the cowguns, so called from the sixteen yoke of oxen that drew them so, exchanging a word here and there with the Tommies we passed, we came to our lines, and were at once greeted by a round of abuse by the other fellows, who had had a rare old time fitting and receiving horse-shoes and nails and then having them all taken away again. This was in keeping with the best traditions of Lumsden's Horse and, as far as I could gather, of any other horse.

We had now an hour or so to spare, in which to write a line home, or to visit the barber, or clean up the dinner service. This comprised at this time three battered and bent enamelled plates, a mug or two for soup, several old jam and Swiss milk tins, the lids of a few Army Ration tins, and a few odd spoons, knives and forks. The real epicure carried his knife, fork and spoon in his gaiter at all times. There not being much time for cleaning up on the march, a muddy plate covered under the mud with the grease of previous repasts is hastily scraped and doused with water and wiped clean before dinner, and after dinner is thrown down again in the mud to be recovered next morning, and thrown as it is with others in like condition into an old oat-sack, which is dignified by the name of our 'sub chiz' bag. This also holds our reserve stock of provisions, such as a tin or two of jam, mustard, curry powder, etc., acquired during our last visit to a shop, with perhaps a pound or two of sago or rice or mealy flour in paper bags, which sometimes burst, or got left out in the rain. We generally managed to have some sort of a tin with a top to it for our coffee, tea and sugar, and they would have been all right had not the coffee so frequently got into the tea tin, and *vice versa*, and both into the sugar.

On the strength of our luck, we had invited our very good friends and next door neighbours, the Bushmen, (Q. M. I.) to dine with us that night, and soon after sunset they came round to our fire. Very good fellows they were, and a very

genial dinner we had. Their stew was excellent—they of course brought their own, and their coffee too, one of our mess produced some excellent cheroots afterwards, and we sat on into the night, smoking, sipping coffee and telling stories, the hills all around lit up by lines of fire, and the sky illumined by a glorious full moon.

Some of the bushmen's stories against themselves were most amusing. They had as good a name as anybody for horsestealing and cattledifting. One of them naively told us how one day he was walking through another Regiment's lines, when a serjeant spotted him and gave the order "stand to your horses." He said he was so overcome by the 'compliment,' he could hardly acknowledge it. Another day at a midday halt, when the cowguns were brought back from watering, the distracted officer in charge found one of the fattest and best was missing. He only just discovered it in time to save its life, and deprive the Bushmen of a feast. They told us so many tricks for changing a horse's marks, brands, colour, etc., that an owner even should not recognise his own horse, and I looked anxiously towards my old chesnut to see if he was still there. Others joined our widening circle as the morn rose higher. The whole camp seemed in excellent spirits. Sounds of revelry wafted in the still night air reached us from many a camp fire, snatches of song broken anon by outbursts of cheering; elsewhere up rose the strains of the Highlander's pipes. An Imperial Yeoman reeled by having evidently dined well and eminently happy. Rumour is busy that we are to join in the chase after De Wet, who is striking North. We wonder as we roll into our blankets when will be our next day of rest.

TROOPER K.

ART. X.—THE LIFE AND TIMES OF AKBAR.

AKBAR, a true type and worthy representative of the Emperors of Delhi, succeeded his father Humayun in 1556. He was contemporary with Queen Elizabeth having reigned up to the year 1605. To him belongs the credit of founding and consolidating the Moghul Empire in India. By wise policy and consummate skill he put an end to the long-standing conflict between Afghan and Moghul and brought about a reconciliation between Mahommedan and Hindu. The annals of his reign inaugurate a new era in the history of India. Although a mere boy when the succession devolved upon him he had the moral courage to disregard the vicious counsels of Bairam Khan, his guardian and regent. When Himu, a Hindu leader of the Afghans, who were defeated in a battle with the army of Akbar, was brought a wounded prisoner to the Emperor, Bairam exhorted him to kill the Hindu and win the title of Ghazi-ud-din or Champion of the Faith, Akbar refused to imbrue his hands with the blood of a helpless warrior, but the wicked regent did not scruple to behead him with his own sword. Having reached his eighteenth year Akbar threw off the pupilage and control of his guardian. The means he adopted to restore order in Hindustan after two centuries of anarchy and misrule, showed that Akbar was a far-seeing statesman and an able commander. He captured fortresses in the possession of the Afghans and stamped out disaffection amongst his own turbulent and troublesome chieftains. He also subdued and dethroned dynasties of independent Sultans who had built up kingdoms in Guzerat, Malwa and Bengal.

It is unnecessary to enter into any detailed account of his warlike exploits or the particulars of his life as these can be easily had by reference to standard works of Indian history. We would only select such anecdotes and interesting matters as are calculated to throw light upon his character and general policy. Some traditions have been preserved which serve to show Akbar's strength of character and hatred of dishonesty and deception illustrating at the same time the lawlessness which he had to face. An officer named Adham Khan was sent to subdue a Sultan of Malwa. The Sultan fled at his approach leaving his treasures behind. Adham Khan took possession of Malwa with all the treasures left but kept back the Emperor's share of the spoil only sending a few elephants to Agra. Akbar managed to detect this concealment and criminal misappropriation on the part of the officer

and punished him by recalling him and appointing another person as governor in his place.

The most arduous task of Akbar had been to quell the frequent rebellions breaking out in the different parts of the Empire.

The truth seems to be that the Mahommedan religion had lost its force. The brotherhood of Islam could not bind Moghul, Turk, and Afghan into one united mass as it had united the Arab tribes in the old wars of the Khalifat. The dismemberment of the Mahommedan Empire in India had begun two centuries before, at the fall of the Tughlak dynasty and revolt of the Deccan. Under such circumstances Akbar called in the aid of a new power to restore peace in Hindustan and consolidate a new empire, and the policy which he pursued forms the most important and interesting event in the history of his reign. This policy was the policy of equality of race and religion which maintained the integrity of the Moghul Empire for more than a century and since then has been the mainstay of the British Empire in India.

The first step in the work of amalgamation was the conquest and pacification of the princes of Rajputana. The Rajput league under the suzerainty of the Rana of Chitor was bound together by a system of inter-marriages. The policy of Akbar was to put the emperor in the room of the Rana; to become himself the suzerain of the Rajput league and the commander of the Rajput armies. To carry out this object he married the daughters of the Rajas giving them daughters in return. Although this practice of Akbar was considered as highly heterodox by the Mahommedans as it was not sanctioned by the Koran, and in the teeth of violent opposition of the Rana who would not mingle his high caste Kshatriya blood even with that of an emperor, the majority of the Rajput princes adopted it and was raised to positions of honour and emolument by the emperor.

Henceforth there were two aristocracies in the Moghul Empire, and two armies. Each was distinct from the other and acted as a balance against the other. The one was Moghul and Mahommedan; the other was Rajput and Hindu. The religious antagonism between Mahommedan and Hindu was a positive gain to Akbar. Mahommedans could not always be trusted in a war against Mahommedan rebels; and any scruples about fighting fellow-Mahommedans were a hindrance to Akbar in the suppression of a revolt. But no such scruples existed between Mahommedans and Hindus. Mahommedans were always ready to fight idolatrous Rajas. The Rajputs, on the other hand, were always ready to fight Mahommedan rebels; and they gloried especially in fighting

their hereditary enemies the bigoted Afghans who had driven their forefathers from their ancient thrones on the Ganges and Jumna. He thus played off the Hindus against the Mahomedans and *vice versa* to serve his own purpose.

Akbar pursued a conciliatory policy towards the Hindu princes and took care to provide a career for them. He appointed his brother-in-law, the son of the Jaipur Raja, Governor of Punjab. Raja Man Sinha, also a Hindu relative, did good war service for Akbar from Kabul to Orissa and ruled as Governor of Bengal from 1598 to 1604. His great finance minister, Raja Todar Mall, was likewise a Hindu and carried out the first land settlement and survey of India. Out of 415 Mansabdars or Commanders of horse, 51 were Hindus. Akbar abolished Jaziah or tax on non-Musalman as well as the tax on pilgrimages and placed all his subjects upon a 'political equality. He had the Sanscrit sacred books and 'epic poems,' as also the Bible translated into Persian and showed a keen interest in the religion of his Hindu subjects. He respected their laws, but he put down their inhuman rites. He forbade trial by ordeal and animal sacrifices.

Akbar was the greatest Moslem ruler that has ever ruled in India, and one of the wisest and noblest of sovereigns that the world has ever seen. His bravery in war was remarkable, and he seemed indeed to be stimulated by an instinctive love of danger. His wonderful activity, his inexhaustible energy and his great power of endurance were equally remarkable, and baffled all opposition, and he has justly been called the real founder of the great Moghul Empire. His administrative talents were also of a high order, and with the assistance of Musalman and Hindu ministers, he organised a perfect system of administration, and settled the land revenue of this great Empire after a careful survey. And lastly, he was enlightened and tolerant and catholic in his views. He looked upon all systems of religion with equal veneration, and held that people could obtain salvation by following any religion. He was a patron of learning. Urdu and Hindi poets received every assistance and encouragement from him. He was fond of music and invited Miyan Tansen from the court of Baghelkhand and conferred high honour on him. Akbar has often been described by his contemporaries as 'being proud and arrogant but clement and affable. He was tall and handsome, broad in the chest and long in the arms. His complexion was ruddy and nut-brown. He had a good appetite and digestion, but was sparing as regards wine and flesh meat. He was remarkable for strength and courage. He was hostile to the Mahomedan religion. He broke up the power of the Ulama a collective body of orthodox Mahomedan doctors.

He conversed with teachers of other religions—Brahmans, Buddhists and Pasis. He sent a letter to the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, requesting that Christian fathers might be sent to teach him the tenets of Christianity. Both Akbar and his minister Abul Fazl professed the utmost respect for Christianity; and Akbar even entered the Church and prostrated before the image of Christ; but neither the Emperor nor his minister were sufficiently impressed with the truths of Christianity to become baptised.

Akbar indulged in religious experiences until he believed himself to be a representative of God. He founded a new religion known as the Divine Faith. He allowed himself to be worshipped as a type of royalty emanating from God, while he himself worshipped the sun in public as the most glorious image of the Almighty Being in the world. But in reality he was a strict monotheist.

Akbar sought to better his subjects by measures of toleration as well as by improved social laws. He permitted the use of wine, but punished intoxication. He gratified the Hindu subject by prohibiting the slaughter of cows. He forbade the marriage of boys before they were sixteen. He permitted the marriage of Hindu widows, and did his best to put a stop to widow burning. In after-life he tried to check the practice of polygamy amongst the Mahommedans.

The daily life of Akbar and his Court may be gathered from three institutions of Moghul origin. They were known as the Jharoka, the Durbar and the Ghusal-khana; in English parlance they would be known as the window, the audience hall, and the dressing room. At the Jharoka Akbar used to worship the sun and was himself worshipped by the multitude assembled below; from the window also he inspected troops, horses, elephants and camels and was entertained with the combats of animals. The Durbar was the hall of audience where the Emperor disposed of petitions, administered justice and received Rajas, Ameers and Ambassadors. The Ghusal-khana was a private assembly held in the evening in a pavilion behind the Durbar Court. None were admitted excepting the ministers and such grantees as received special invitations.

Akbar is famous for having introduced a land settlement into his dominions. It should be explained that under Moghul rule all lands were treated as the property of the Emperor. They were divided into two classes, Khalisa and Jaghir. The Khalisa lands were those held by the Emperor as his own demesnes, and paid a yearly rent to him. The Jaghirs were estates given in lieu of salaries. In this way Jaghirs were given to queens and princesses in the imperial harem, to governors, ministers and grantees. Every Jaghir paid a

fixed yearly rent to the Emperor ; and all that could be collected above this amount belonged to the Jaghirdar or holder of the Jaghir.

Akbar employed a Hindu named Todar Mall to make a revenue settlement ; in other words to fix the yearly payments to be made by holders of the land. All lands were measured whether cultivated or uncultivated. Every piece of land yielding a yearly income of Rs. 25,000 was placed under the charge of an officer known as a *Krori* ; the object being to bring uncultivated lands into cultivation.

We have the authority of Sir William Hunter to state that Akbar's revenue system was based on the ancient Hindu customs and survives to this day. He first executed a survey or actual measurement of the fields. His officers then found out the produce of each acre of land and settled the Government share amounting to one-third of the gross produce. Finally they fixed the rates at which this share of the crop might be commuted into a money payment. These processes, known as the land settlement, were at first repeated every year. But to save the peasant from the extortious and vexations incident to an annual enquiry, Akbar's land settlement was afterwards made for ten years. His officers strictly enforced the payment of a third of the whole produce ; and Akbar's land revenue from Northern India exceeded what the British levy at the present day. From his fifteen Provinces including Kabul beyond the Afghan frontier, and Khandesh in Southern India he demanded fourteen millions sterling per annum ; or excluding Kabul, Khandesh, and Sind, twelve and-a-half millions. The British land tax from a much larger area of Northern India was only twelve millions in 1883. Allowing for the difference in area and in purchasing power of silver, Akbar's tax was about three times the amount which the British take. Two later Returns show the land revenue of Akbar at sixteen and-a-half and seventeen and-a-half millions sterling. The Provinces had also to support a local militia in contradistinction to the regular royal army, at a cost of at least twelve millions sterling.* Excluding both Kabul and Khandesh, Akbar's demand from the soil of Northern India exceeded twenty-two millions sterling per annum under the two items of land revenue and militia cess. There were also a

* [The Permanent Settlement of Bengal does not exclude such an additional Imperial Military Cess, and were this to be imposed and collected, in proportion to its population and land revenue,—say, some ten millions sterling annually—it would still be the outcry against the Settlement and the injustice thereby done to the rest of India. Else the Settlement itself is sure to be overhauled soon, as Land-Legislation is the order of the day all over India.—ED., *C.R.*]

number of miscellaneous taxes. Akbar's total revenue is estimated at forty-two millions.

The latter years of Akbar were embittered by the rebellion of his eldest son which was in fact a Mahommedan insurrection against his apostasy. It was suppressed and Akbar became outwardly reconciled to his son; but he was apparently a changed man. He abandoned heresy and scepticism and returned to the Mahommedan faith. He died in October 1605, aged sixty-four.

The first element of civilisation is free and easy communication; and during the greater part of the seventeenth century this was by no means wanting in India. The roads and postal arrangements which prevailed throughout the Moghul Empire during the reigns of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb, were quite as advanced, if not more so, than those of France during the reign of Louis XIV or those of England under Oliver Cromwell and Charles II.

The administration of civil justice of every town was conducted by the Nawab and that of criminal justice by the Kotwal. The Nawab was assisted by a Kazi reputed to be learned in Mahommedan law; and there was always a Mullah or Mufti who superintended all matters pertaining to the Mahommedan religion. The Nawab generally rendered speedy justice. If a man sued another for a debt, he had either to show an obligation or produce two witnesses, or take an oath. If he was a Christian he swore on the Gospels; if a Mahommedan he swore on the Koran; and if a Hindu he swore on the Cow. The Kotwal discharged the functions of Magistrate and Judge and was also head of the police and superintendent of the prison. While the Kotwal maintained peace and order in the town an officer known as the Fauzdar carried out the same duties in the surrounding country. The Fauzdar exercised the same authority in the district that the Kotwal exercised in the town. All revenue questions had been left to an officer called the Dewan. It was the duty of this officer to receive all collections of revenue, to pay all salaries, including that of the Subahdar or Nawab, and devote his whole attention to the remittance of the largest possible yearly balance to the imperial treasury at Delhi.

The Emperor was the sole fountain of all honour, rank and titles throughout the Empire. These rewards were so eagerly coveted that grantees were often ready to sacrifice the greatest part of their wealth to obtain them. They were never hereditary, but they elevated the grandee for the time being above his fellows in the eye of the whole court, and were thus always received with the utmost pride and gladness of heart. Many a Subahdar or Nawab driven to the verge of rebellion by insult

or neglect, has been brought within the pale of loyalty and devotion by the receipt of an empty title and a dress of honour from the Great Moghul. Mr. J. T. Wheeler has recorded a correct and impartial view of Moghul administration in his history of India. The character of the Moghul administration is confounded with that of the reigning sovereign; and if the Emperor is self-willed, self-indulgent, and vicious like Jehangir or Shah Jehan, the conclusion is drawn that the administration is equally selfish and tyrannical and regardless of the welfare of the masses. But this inference would be fallacious. The Emperor was certainly a despot; his will was law and his influence was great for good or evil. The local Viceroy may have been corrupt and grasping to the last degree. But the Moghul administration was not the handiwork of individuals or generations; it was the growth of centuries kneaded into shape by the experience of ages, hedged around by checks which are not always visible to the historian, and controlled by the latent force of custom, habit and public opinion to which the most despotic princes are occasionally compelled to bow. The Moghul Emperors, especially Akbar, followed the policy of equality and fair play which, although solemnly declared by the Royal Proclamation of 1858 as the policy which ought to be pursued in India, is seldom carried into effect by the enlightened English Government.

Akbar came to the throne when the country was suffering under a confusion of claims, not with swelling professions and elaborate promises on lips and avarice at heart, but with a calm determination to adjust the disputed rights between the rulers and the ruled. To have brought together and reconciled conflicting elements of the Empire; to have formed, out of distinct and alien races, hostile creeds, and exclusive nationalities, a homogeneous people, is not the only merit of Akbar and other Moghul rulers of India. To them we owe the perfect development and preservation of that matchless municipal system—the village community—which left the people of India in the enjoyment of the larger measure of real freedom under the most despotic occupiers of the Delhi throne than has been enjoyed by other peoples living under freer constitutions. To them we owe that magnificent land system under which agriculture flourished and wealth increased in spite of rapacious proconsuls and desolating civil wars and ruinous invasions. To them we owe that early land settlement which, in accuracy, completeness, and magnitude, far surpasses all the settlements yet effected by British Statesmanship in India.

And hence the late lamented Mr. Robert Knight, the Bayard of Indian Journalism, said: "A very remarkable settlement of the land was made in the time of the Emperor Akbar, by his

great Minister Todar Mall, whose assessments, I found, were not empirical, and put our own entirely to shame. He began by instituting a careful and minute record, in all the provinces of the Empire, of the actual yield of the soil, and he had the enquiry protracted over a cycle of nineteen years, before he ventured to affirm the average returns to the cultivator's industry."

Many sources of income now open to the English were to Akbar sealed. He had no revenue from stamps, no monopoly in opium and salt. "It would have been well," say Dr. Sambhu Chundra Mukherjee, "if the Anglo-Indian Statesman could profit by the precedent of their Mahommedan predecessors. But instead of taking advantage of the experience of centuries, they have pursued a policy of their own whose mischief of irritating the people is not counterbalanced by even the paltry recommendation of cheapness. Every Governor-General from Lord Teignmouth to Viscount Canning has declared himself for what has been termed 'the patriarchal system,' and has tried to shape the Government accordingly. What is insisted on as the chief merit of this system, namely, it enables the ruling-body to watch over every minute proceeding of the people, is, we submit, its chief defect. Under the patriarchal theory, the Government and its subjects stand in the relation of parent and children. It is, we believe, open to the feeblest intellect to perceive that a system which pretends to give the people a sort of earthly Providence in their rulers should be necessarily very vexatious and very expensive."

According to the Ayin Akbari the total revenue of the Moghul Emperors was forty-two millions sterling including all the petty taxes. With this sum they managed an empire like India, and a standing army of three lakhs of men without any further taxation. They also built such magnificent buildings as the Tajmehal, Jumma Musjid and others which cost them an immense sum of money. No doubt a source of their income was plunder. Yes, the Moghuls too were not above looting, but they looted the enemy—never their subjects. It was not plunder or no plunder that made all the differences in the financial results of Moghul and British Rule in India. The Mahommedan rulers of the country did not rob Peter to pay Paul.

Their Government spent a good deal of money on useless works, but the money still remained in the country. Agriculture flourished, trade and commerce went on smoothly as far as knowledge of the people permitted. Famines, the high prices of food, the extinction of the aristocracy and of various industries, and, above all, incessant drain of money, have, in our time, produced a degree of misery that never existed under the

Hindu, or the Moghul, Tippto Sahib or the Peshwa. The English civilians are practically so many money-recruiters sent to India. India is the great market-place where Englishmen sell not only their commodities, but also their talents at an enormous price—not at the desire of the people but through the interposition of the Government. Indian weavers, oilmen, paper-makers, blacksmiths, and many others are starving and fast disappearing.

“In our insular impatience of every national institution,” says Mr. Robert Knight, “that differed from our own, our rule has been one sustained effort to fuse and re-cast everything in India, in the moulds of English thought, feeling, and development. In our impatience of what we despised for no other reason than that we did not understand it, we have broken down every relation of class to class, and disintegrated the whole social and political life of the people. The subversion of Native Rule, and the substitution of a rule of foreigners in its stead, was a vast revolution in itself; while not content with the change in the life of the people, we have set ourselves to remodel every institution upon Western, and, indeed, English ideas. And the result is what might have been foretold. The people are docile and accustomed by long ages of submission to obey their rulers blindly. They have conformed to our rules and regulations without a thought of actively resisting us; and to-day India presents the spectacle of a vast and noble tree that has been torn up from the soil, while every leaf drops and withers from the disruption of its roots.”*

KAILAS CHUNDRA KANJILAL, B.L.

* [We suppose the Permanent Settlement, for instance, is one of the old great roots torn up; that has rendered “extinct (see a few lines above this quotation) the aristocracy;” that has “drained all the money;” that has “produced misery that never existed under the Hindu and others;” and at the expense of which “English Civilian money-recruiters are sent to India. (!!!).”—ED., C.R.]

ART. XI.—RAM BODH MUNI—A STORY OF THE HIMALAYAS.

ON a bright October morning in the year 1815—to translate it from the more formidable 1871, Vikramaditya, as a Hindu would write it—two persons, a girl and a youth, sat in the shade of a stone temple in the quiet hamlet of Paraspur, in Western Nepaul. The youth had seen nineteen summers, each of which had helped in some degree to add manliness to his features, and a grace of bearing which of itself would have told him high-born had the Brahmanical cord which hung over his shoulder been wanting : he was taller than most Nepalese youth, and seemed in the sight of the brown-eyed girl seated near him, like some fair, tall pine tree of her native forests : a blush overspread his face, and the brightness of his eye did not come from the single fact that he had been left in charge of the temple while his father had gone with the other villagers to the great fair at Jawalpur in an adjoining valley.

The girl was thirteen, as fair and beautiful as a Nepalese girl could be—which is saying a great deal. Her veil was partly thrown back, revealing a face not soon forgotten when once seen, illuminated by eyes of deepest brown and adorned with a mouth that spoke at once of sweetness and strength. Her fair cheeks were suffused with red and her frame was thrilling with excitement ; but a few moments before she had entered the temple door, her hands filled with the loveliest ferns and mountain-flowers which she had reverently presented as an offering to the rude stone idol, accompanying it as usual with a *lotah* of water brought from the neighbouring stream the music of whose falling waters was still in her ears as she worshipped : her pious request inaudibly spoken, she had struck the low-hung temple bell as she had done from early childhood, and had passed out to the stone platform where her lover and betrothed was sitting.

The two were alone. A gentle breeze was sweeping through the majestic *peepul* tree which ornamented the temple courtyard and playing with the tender branches of the holy Basil (*Tulsi*) near which the lovers sat : two doves were hovering near each other in the singing *peepul*, happy in the freshness and fragrance of the bright autumn morning. Ordinarily the courtyard would not have been empty of worshippers at this hour, but the attractions of the fair at Jawalpur had influenced almost all the men and boys of the village to leave their homes for the day. In front of the stone houses the diligent matrons

were attending to their early morning duties, some cleansing the brass vessels, some hulling the rice in the well-worn, iron-like rocks, and others carrying vessels of water from the village spring: children were playing in the stones and dirt; while in the terraced rice-fields below the old women were watching the grazing herds making the most of the white stubble

"O, Piyare," said the girl, with tremulous tones, "Dearest one, how much I have risked to see your face this morning! Last night I overheard father telling mother of your going to India—to-morrow—are you going so soon as to-morrow? This morning before he started to the fair I asked him as persuasively as I could if I might not go to your home to-day and bid you farewell, but of course he refused—'it would make talk:' at going he charged mother to care for me, but O, Piyare, what could I do—I bribed the house-woman who told me you were here, and under pretence of going to see my cousin Lakshmi I got an hour's leave—the old woman is waiting outside the courtyard—and here I am dying to see your brave face once more!"

"Well done, my little Kamini!" said the youth, with unfeigned admiration in his look: "No one but my own sweet Kamini would have risked so much for such a worthless one. The day has dawned again since your feet crossed the threshold yonder: your eyes bewilder one with their brightness: the birds have ceased singing to hear you talk!"

The girl's eyes fell and her cheeks tingled at the hearty words of praise. "But are you really going to India?" said she, looking anxiously at her lover's face.

"Yes, precious one," said he: "my uncle, the contractor, who lives at Newalgarh, has been commissioned by our great ruler the Maharajah to go to Benares, as our holy Kashiji is so often called now-a-days, to build a temple there: the Maharajah gives two *lákhs* of rupees and uncle is to have it finished within two years. I go to be his assistant, and at the same time to perfect myself in Sanskrit in that famous place where the glory of the saints and sages is only eclipsed by the beauty of the holy Ganges which sweeps past the rich and blessed city!"

"And you return when?" asked the girl with nervous tones, the tears filling her eyes.

"Alas, I must be absent at least two years, perhaps three," was the reply: "As village priest, for such they say I am to be on my return—it behoves me to look deep into the well of knowledge: when I return I shall open a Sanskrit school, and the *slokas* of our golden Vedas will be chanted here in this lovely hamlet of ours as never before: besides I must visit

some of the sacred shrines of India—Ajudhiya, Bindrabun, and, if possible, Hardwar—so I fear I must leave you three years.”

“O, Piyare, Piyare, my heart fails me,” said the maiden in a voice full of tears: “You go so far, you stay so long—and—I love you so”—the head dropped lower and the words seemed spoken to the Basil plant. Looking up, she continued, “But I must be brave as well as you. Are you *sure* you will still love me and think of me and come back to me?”

“*Sure*,” echoed the youth: “Are *you* sure the sun is shining; are you sure this is a *peepul* tree and not a pine; are you sure the brook yonder is flowing down towards the sacred Sarju? Yes, dearest one, I am yours, and for your sake I go that you may some day be very proud of your Punditji returned from Benares!”

Silence fell on them, while the cooing doves in the tree above sang a gentle love-song: tears were in the lovers’ eyes and their hearts were strangely moved.

Kamini rose tremblingly and stepped nearer her betrothed: her eyes as she stood were on a level with his. “Dear heart,” said she, “be not angry if I ask a great favour before you go—may I have a kiss from your lips?”

There could be but one answer; their eyes, their lips, their souls met. The birds stopped singing, the wind ceased to blow: never before had the tall *peepul* or the lowly Basil seen such a sight.

“Take this from me, O Piyare,” said the girl, “keep it, wear it; whenever you see it let it tell you that Kamini lives for you, loves you, and will never love another so long as the sun and moon and stars endure”—and dropping a parcel in his hand she turned and rushed out of the door into the narrow street where the old servant was waiting in dumb amazement.

Ram Bodh, the youth, watched the departing figure, longing to call the maiden back; once he shouted, but she had crossed the threshold: only the doves heard; they were frightened and flew away. The young Brahmin opened the parcel. Carefully removing various coverings of silk cloth he came at last to a beautifully carved trident made of gold, bearing an inscription with but a single word,—“KAMINI:” tears came into his eyes again as he replaced the precious love-token in its wraps, and carefully concealed it about his person. He had hardly done this when a company of travellers thrust their feet across the threshold of the temple enclosure shouting the praises of Mahadeo, the god they had come to worship: the meditations of the young priest were brought abruptly to a close as he arose to superintend the worship of the travellers.

The uncle and nephew left their homes on the appointed day, followed by the blessings of their fellow-townsmen, who joined in beseeching all the gods and goddesses to speed them on their way and give them glorious success in the very meritorious work they were about to undertake. The Maharajah gave them an escort to the British territory, from which point the way was open and their progress unimpeded. They tarried several days in Ajudhiya "the Invincible," bathing in the sacred Sarju, and worshipping in the beautiful stone temple built but recently by the father of the Maharajah whose pious wish they had undertaken to carry out. Passing on by easy stages, they came to Kashi the thrice holy city, centre of the great Hindu world, the jewel of Hindustan. The uncle at once set about building the temple: agents were dispatched for stone, artists engaged, workmen employed, and in course of time the temple was finished, one among the many which crowd the banks of the sacred Ganges. The report and accounts were prepared, ready to submit to the Maharajah whose zeal in the enterprise had never flagged.

Ram Bodh had grown taller, stronger and wiser. The treasures of Sanskrit lore had been opened to him for he had the real key—a love of study; he had sat at the feet of the most celebrated Sanskritists: he had denied himself many a pleasure that he might find knowledge; he had visited the great temples, the famous shrines, the most renowned monasteries of the day: he had talked with the holiest ascetics, drinking in at every place the spirit of Hinduism and becoming more and more zealous therefor every year. Regularly, at long intervals, he had had word from his village home: his father had died a year after the son left for India, and his second son, Sri Ram, had been put in charge of the temple. Kamini sent tender messages of love: and Ram Bodh at last began to count the months, the weeks, the days, when he should again sit in the shadow of the temple at Paraspur and hear the village news; when he should see his betrothed; when he should take her to his home to be his own—and for ever.

* * * *

"But tell me, brother, how did it happen," demanded Ram Bodh as he paced up and down the temple courtyard, the outer door of which had been securely fastened: five years had passed since he received the golden trident, and he had just returned to his home.

"O, impatient one, I have told you thrice—but hold, you do well to be angry—the great Mahadeo curse me if I diminish the fire of your wrath a single grain: have patience and I will tell you again. It was a month ago—our annual festival when the women go singing and begging—you remember? Rajah

Ranjit Singh, who, since your departure, has grown to be a man and has succeeded his father as owner of all these valleys, this fiend, this devil, must needs pass through our hamlet while the women were singing : he caught but a glance of Kamini's face—O, brother, how shall I tell you—and turning to his attendants he swore by all the gods that she should be his wife : no one heard it but an old servant of ours who told us the next day. That night Kamini's father's house was attacked, he resisted, he and his wife were killed outright, and Kamini was carried away to the Rajah—may the gods curse him ! By bribes and threats he compelled the priests of Ramgarh to marry them the next day. We tried to rescue her but failed : I have done nothing since but pray to the gods and ask them to bring you home—alas ! alas ! this wicked world ! ”

Ram Bodh could not speak : his grief overcame him : he continued walking up and down while the pale moon hastened over the mountain-top out of sight and only the stars were left : the young man's heart was slowly breaking ; the moon had sunk in his heavens.

Midnight found the two brothers sitting side by side under the *peepul* tree, planning revenge and rescue : their words were low, and none but the sacred tree heard the oath they took as they separated at last.

Three days later a little company—the hamlet was not large—stole quietly out at night and took their way to Ramgarh, a dozen miles away, where Rajah Ranjit Singh was halting : the young men were armed in the usual Nepalese fashion with short swords : they hastened on hardly speaking, the two brothers leading the way, their hearts aflame with grief and rage. They had kept their counsel so well that as they thought, no one knew of their departure ; but money can do all things ; the Rajah had bought two men in Paraspur and set them as spies : these heard of the proposed attack as Ram Bodh and his friends left the hamlet, and, taking a shorter, steeper road, they hurried away in the night to warn the Rajah, arriving at his camp only half an hour before Ram Bodh. The Rajah awoke and armed himself ; his attendants did the same, and when the attacking party rushed upon the camp they found themselves overmatched two to one. Both brothers fell wounded : Ram Bodh, who had aimed a blow at the Rajah, was felled to the earth by a strong swordsman. “ Well done, Sher Singh ! ” shouted the Rajah, “ a hundred rupees for that blow : look well to the dog, if not dead, bind him fast until to-morrow when he shall be put out of the way—only one escaped ? Let him go, the rest are done for ! ”

Ram Bodh was siezed at once and carried to the small tent

known in the camp as "the jail," where he was made over to two guards with strict orders to keep him fast. The Rajah hastened to the women's quarters where the shrieks of waiting-maids were loud and piteous, each thinking her end had come. To Kamini's enquiries he said curtly and with peculiar emphasis, "A gang of wretches from your village, Ram Bodh and his brother they say, attacked us. Thanks to mother Devi they are all dead : let the women cease screaming ;" and thus saying, he hurried away to the great tent, and, well satisfied, fell asleep.

The mention of her lover's name had roused to life the captive maiden, now a woman grown and fair as Eve : her soul sank at the dreadful news she had heard, but revived presently when one of her attendants reported that Ram Bodh was not dead but only wounded and was a prisoner in "the jail." She kept her heart still by a mighty effort and feigned sleep : her most trustworthy attendant, who like her had reason to hate the Rajah, managed to put out all the lights quietly, and before half an hour had passed Kamini's gold had silenced the two guards at "the jail," and lifting the curtain, she touched the disheartened prisoner, who was fast recovering from the effects of the blow he had received.

"It is I, love," said a low, musical voice that thrilled his soul, "I am yours still, but I cannot escape—I have risked life to come here—fly at once—leave Nepaul—do not try to rescue me—the gods keep you—take this and this—and she was gone.

Ram Bodh staggered to his feet and ran : the purse of gold he hid in his dress, and as he did so he felt a ring which he thrust in the purse. He knew the camp and the mountains about, and managed somehow to make his way to a hiding-place in a rocky cavern known only to his brother and himself. To his surprise he found his brother there, wounded and bleeding from several severe cuts ; daylight found him tearing his clothes into strips with which to bind up his brother's wounds.

The following night they separated. "I must give her up," said Ram Bodh, "my life will not be safe here now : that fiend will never rest while I live. Alas ! alas ! my darling Kamini ! I go to-night, far away to the west, towards Badrinath : there in those lofty snows perhaps my wounded spirit can find rest—perhaps I can die. Tell no one ; let people count me dead—brave brother, farewell"—and he tore himself away and hurried down the mountain-side.

Sri Ram kept himself hidden for weeks and months ; a reward was offered for his head ; he decided at last to leave his native land and betake himself to India ; he did not even return to the hamlet to bid farewell to his mother ; and thus

the word spread through the village and province that both the brothers had perished in the attack on Ranjit Singh.

That cruel despot on the day after the attack when he found that his prisoner was gone was furious with anger ; the guards were ordered up and questioned ; on their making some lame excuse Sher Singh was called in, their noses were cut off, and they were turned out of the camp, the Rajah doubled the number of his guards and at once moved his camp to the opposite side of the province, never coming near Paraspur again.

* * * *

Ram Bodh made his way, heart sore and weary from Nepaul to Kumaon and on into Garhwal. At last he came within sight of the glistening peaks of Badrinath and Kedarnath, still far away on the horizon across many a ridge and valley ; with renewed purpose he pressed on, but the strain upon his mind and body was excessive, and one evening as he threw himself down on a grassy knoll near a mountain spring he felt the touch of fever upon him ; by midnight he was afire with the burning torment, and at break of day he was delirious ; the end would soon have come had it not been that a company of pilgrims encamping near the spring found him and administered medicine ; one of their number, attracted by the noble bearing of the fever-stricken man, decided to stay and nurse him and on the morrow the others passed on.

By slow degrees the patient recovered, but the look of youth and strength and high purpose had passed from his face leaving in its stead a look of pain and thwarted design ; in the waning of a single moon, the man of five-and-twenty had become fifty. When he awaked from his long sleep he found to his delight that the sacred shrines towards which he had been journeying were immediately in front of him, seemingly but a day's distance, thirty or forty miles away. Rousing himself he heard from his faithful friend the story of his illness and hastened to render thanks for his great kindness ; as the two men talked their hearts were bound together, and the younger, seeing a pundit before him at once claimed the privilege of discipleship which was granted. When he wished to know his new-found teacher's name Ram Bodh hesitated ; a far-off look came into his eyes ; he said to himself, " I have died, why not let the old name die ? " and turning to the other he said, " Call me Mahadeo Das if you like, but do not ask from whence I came or what has happened me—the past is sealed." The young disciple learned no more.

Ram Bodh—or Mahadeo Das as he was now called—could go no further. One night as he tried to sleep, a plan came to him ; the next morning he told his disciple that they would

build a temple on the spot and consecrate it to Mahadeo. Kamini's gold was still in her purse and he decided that it should thus be used. Workmen were called, the mountain sides above and below were relieved of part of their rich deposits ; stone was placed upon stone, and in a short time the temple, modelled after the one at Paraspur, was finished : the image, brought from the rocky bed of the Ganges seven miles away, was set up, the sacred bull, carved in stone, placed outside and a Basil cutting carefully set in front.

As time passed the new temple so eligibly located attracted many pious pilgrims on their way to Badrinath ; a tall bamboo surmounted by a scarlet banner was daily to be seen and indicated the place of worship. Mahadeo Das became noted for his sanctity and learning. His knowledge of Sanskrit, his uniform kindness and quietness of disposition, his words of council and exhortation won him many friends, and in a few years he had a dozen or more resident disciples besides scores of others, who in admiration of his great ability besought him to enroll them as disciples even though they went their ways ; many of them to distant parts of India.

The Government gave the sad-faced pundit a few acres of ground rent free, above and below the temple ; a kind official visiting the beautiful spot presented the owner with a number of fruit trees and encouraged him to enlarge his garden into an orchard ; while to accommodate the pilgrims who came and went, this same official caused a rest-house to be built in front of the temple. Mahadeo Das seemed dead to the world ; he became an ascetic in that he never left the temple grounds ; he talked but little, he never laughed ; most of his time was spent in poring over the leaves of the Vedas, a splendid copy of which he had ordered from Benares by one of his disciples. Two small rooms formed his home ; in the outer he ate, read and slept ; the inner room was kept locked and he was seldom known to enter it.

* * * *

Sri Ram, leaving Nepaul, spent five years in an ascetic school at Benares ; he had found but little difficulty in gaining entrance to the brotherhood and was content to sit from day to day seemingly unconscious of the world ; his hair grew long and was carefully coiled on his head, his garb was in keeping with his profession ; at the end of the five years his face had changed and no one would have recognized him as the stalwart youth of Paraspur. He spent another five years in pilgrimage, visiting all the shrines of India, resting at one place half a year, at another three months, at others, a shorter time ; he came at last to Hardwar and made his way up the Ganges to Badrinath and Kedarnath. Here he sought anxi-

ously for tidings of his brother, but in vain. "No Ram Bodh had come among the fathers to live," said they : "he may have come and gone, who can tell—thousands are doing that every year." He fell in with a party of Nepalese pilgrims who told him—he pretending to be of Hindustani birth—of Mahadeo Das the holy man at Kinkwala ; and after a time he consented to return with them to the sacred place.

Entering the temple, Sri Ram recognized his brother even changed as he was, but made no sign. That night the two met at the spring when all the others were asleep ; their hands were clasped in lover-fashion as they sat talking. Each told the story of the ten years ; neither had seen or heard of Kamini. The mention of her name and of their native village caused Sri Ram to reveal to his brother a plan which had long been taking shape in his mind—to return to Paraspur and take up his abode there as an ascetic—if for nothing else to look upon the beautiful valley, to see the sun rise over the mountain ridge, to hear the music of the waterfall as in former days, but to remain unknown to the people—and, if possible, to help his brother.

They parted in the morning, Sri Ram going on with the pilgrims. Mahadeo Das shut himself up in the inner room, eating nothing all day, not even reading his beloved Vedas ; when he came out the next morning he seemed to his disciples still more tender-hearted, graver if possible than before.

Sri Ram in course of time reached Paraspur and went through the streets with begging-bowl asking alms. No one recognized him ; with his tiger's skin, umbrella and begging-bowl, his sole possessions, he took up his abode near the old temple under a *peepul* tree which had been a favourite with his brother and himself when they were boys ; the music of the waterfall hushed him to sleep every night ; his manifest sanctity brought him many offerings ; and in a short time "Thakur Das," as he was called, became known throughout the entire valley ; old and young flocked to him to receive his blessing.

* * * *

The end of the ten years found Kamini still in the Rajah's palace, ranking first of all his wives. She was more a prisoner than a queen : she scorned his love, and after a few years of waiting he was compelled to admit that he could never hope to win her love. No children were born to them, and after five years a second wife and following her a third were added to the household. Kamini, with her personal charms, her flashing eyes, her stately step and graceful bearing, was born to rule and easily held her place. Ranjit Singh had no mind to let her escape : if she would not be his she should

never be others ; once, when she thought she had succeeded in making a safe plan for escape and was about to fly she found herself stopped at the outer gate of the palace by the Rajah himself who conducted her to her apartments and bade her be careful in future.

Several years passed thus : shortly after Sri Ram had established himself as an ascetic at Paraspur, Kamini, on the plea of once more seeing her native village obtained leave of the Rajah to repair to the distant hamlet. An escort was supplied and she travelled in state guarded more carefully than she thought. She reached Paraspur and was carried to her old home, now entirely changed and occupied by strangers. She ordered her bearers to take her to the temple, where she alighted and worshipped, the blinding tears coming into her eyes as she thought of the happy days when she knelt at the shrine with ferns and flowers—the sweet days of girlhood : she thought, too, of the parting with Ram Bodh and prayed the god to give her tidings of his fate. The old *peepul* tree still stood apparently unchanged : the Basil plant was dead : the temple had not been kept in repair and all seemed different from the days when the father of Ram Bodh her betrothed was in charge.

Her attendants had told her of the ascetic, Thakur Das, and Kamini had intimated her desire to visit him. Leaving her palanquin at a short distance she walked on alone, her graceful hand playing with the coins she intended giving the holy man in return for his expected blessing. The eyes of the ascetic brightened as she drew near : he had heard of her intended visit and his heart was strangely moved with a desire to know if she had forgotten his brave brother. He had not long to wait.

“ O, father,” said the woman, as she cast the coins upon the tiger’s skin where he sat and bowed her head almost to the earth as she knelt, “ give a blessing to a heart-sore woman—tell me, I beseech you, if you know aught of the brave youth Ram Bodh who formerly dwelt here !”

The man’s posture remained unchanged : his heart beat quick and fast as he said in low tones : “ Keep your head as it is—your attendants are watching you—and I will tell you all : my brother lives and loves you.”

The woman remained motionless while the ascetic gave her directions for finding his brother, by what name to make enquiries ; and then extending his hand until it rested lightly on her bowed head he said reverently. “ The blessing of the great Mahadeo be upon thee, sister, go in peace !”

Kamini stole but a single glance at the well-disguished face and hastened back to her palanquin, her heart throbbing

wildly and her tears flowing freely as soon as the curtains were dropped. She left Paraspur the next day, after sending the holy man a costly present and begging his further prayers. She reached the palace safely, and when Ranjit Singh had called and spoken to her, the flush on her face and the new light in her eye so increased her charms that he declared she had become a girl again by going to her childhood's home.

Through all these years Kamini had maintained her reputation for piety : her money had been spent not for jewels but in offerings at the neighbouring shrines, in relieving the poor, in building rest-houses for pilgrims. Now, as it was a *Kumbh* year, nothing would do but she must make a pilgrimage to Hardwar and visit Badrinath and Kedarnath concerning which her priests were never done talking. It was a great undertaking ; the places were remote, the dangers of the journey not trifling, but the zeal of the pious queen prevailed, and Ranjit Singh, providing a suitable escort and sending one of his trusted agents in charge, yielded, and the party set out.

It was in the month of May. The face of nature was lovely beyond comparison : wooded hills and fertile valleys, cosy villages nestling on the mountain sides, rapid torrents gliding on to the noisier rivers—all joined to make the journey delightful. To Kamini, however, the days passed all too slowly : she heard nothing, she saw nothing : but one thought was in her mind—she was again to see her own dear Ram Bodh ; and although she could count upon only a glance, only one little word, her heart said it would be enough.

The party reached Kinkwala at noon. Through a messenger sent in advance Ram Bodh had heard of the coming of the Rani of Ranjit Singh, and his heart was in a state of commotion which not even the golden verses of his adored Vedas could quiet. Requesting the others to go out he took his place in the temple—*her* temple, alone : *she* would come to worship and he would be her priest again.

The drums beat loudly and the temple bells clanged as the Rani and her party approached. Descending from her palanquin, Kamini entered the temple, her waiting-maids standing outside. Her eyes saw the image but rested not until they fell upon the face of the priest—her own Ram Bodh—but so changed, so aged ! He rose to greet her with the usual salutation : neither dared speak, but their eyes met and a message of love flashed from heart to heart, he took her offerings and placed the tray in front of the idol : she knelt and prayed—for half a minute the two were alone. She passed out touching his hand as she went : he kissed her garments as she passed. The bells and drums sounded again, louder than before, and

scattering coins among the temple-attendants, Kamini passed on to her camp. The temple door was locked and no one else entered it that day.

At night Mahadeo Das, taking a light opened the door, passed in and fastened it. He took up the small brass tray which Kamini had presented to the idol, and held it reverently before him : there were a few flowers, the usual sweetmeats, pomegranates and dried raisins : these were taken off and laid aside : underneath all was a silk cloth and under this a piece of paper carefully folded and sealed. Ram Bodh opened it and read with throbbing heart the words (written in Sanskrit) :—

“TO RAM BODH MUNI.—The sun, the moon and stars still endure, so does my love for you. The great god keep you.—KAMINI.”

Something glittering fell from the letter to the floor. Ram Bodh picked it up : it was a gold trident, made like the one he already possessed, and on it was engraved the single word, “Kamini.”

* * * *

Thirty years passed away. Every sixth year Kamini made her pilgrimage to the Snows ; always carefully guarded. The route was ever the same : the party always passed by the temple of Mahadeo at Kinkwala, and the Rani always halted to worship there. Fifty years old, she was still beautiful and fair, her form full of grace, her step elastic, her eye rich in magnetic power. Five times had Ram Bodh knelt by her side in the stone temple : five times had he taken the brass tray from her fair hands : five times had he read the message of undying love : five other golden tridents had found their way into his strong box with the two first given. The look of suffering had passed from his face giving place to one of satisfaction and peace. Men wondered at the spirituality which shone out of the famous priest's thin face.

The month of May had gone, and the Nepalese Rani had not come although the road was thick with pilgrims. Ram Bodh had counted the days from January : it was a *Kumbh* year, and his heart longed for another sight of the winsome face of his adored Kamini. As the last days of May passed away his heart grew heavy and a strange foreboding of disaster crept in.

Early in June as Mahadeo Das was one day sitting on the stone platform in front of the temple watching the golden sunset on the snowy peaks before him as he had done for two-score years, never wearying, never calling them old, a Nepalese pilgrim approached. Gravely bowing, with repeated salutations, he drew forth from his garments a carefully sealed letter

and handed it to the holy man. The latter opened it tremblingly: he glanced at the name of the senders it was signed, "Your brother Sri Ram;" and asking the attendants to give the pilgrim food and a place to rest, Mahadeo Das entered his apartments carrying the letter in his hand: he unlocked the door of the inner room, his *sancta sanctorum*, and passed in, looking it after him; and seating himself, he read the letter.

* * * *

The night passed. Morning broke. The sun mounted the heavens. At last one of the disciples said to the others, "The teacher must be ill, we must break the door open and see." Reluctantly the others consented: the door was forced, and for the first time they entered the small apartment. There in the golden sunlight which streamed in through the single window lay Ram Bodh. He was not ill; a smile was on his lips and a look of ineffable peace on his face: he had passed on out of this evil world.

In one hand was his brother's letter: in a small box made of gold in one corner were seven gold tridents engraved with one word "KAMINI," a gold ring, and underneath were a few letters written in Sanskrit—that was all.

The letter in his hand read as follows:—

Here the tale breaks off—and ends.

ART. XII.—THE DICTATORSHIP OF MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

THE complaints so generally made at home with regard to what is called the decadence of Parliament seem to have been largely influenced by the opening of a new era and the commencement of a new reign. Unquestionably, the spirit of the twentieth century, so far as it has yet been able to shape itself, is marked by a spirit of impatience which is intolerant of the Parliamentary forms and traditions which are the matured fruit of the wisdom of ages. Nothing is more common than to hear in conversation, or to read in the newspapers, suggestions that the age is weary of tedious debates in the House of Commons, and wishes the personal authority of the King and the Executive Government to assert itself with greater force and directness. The nation, one can see, is weary of criticism, it has fallen into a mood of dissatisfaction and unrest, and it cries out, as it is apt to do from time to time when things go wrong, for a real ruler, "aristocrat, democrat, autocrat, one, who can rule and dare not lie." The circumstances of the general election, again, have predisposed men's minds in this direction. A year ago the Government assumed that the war, then only beginning, was over, and the election was taken on this issue. It resulted in the return to the House of Commons of an overwhelming Ministerial majority, very largely composed of young and inexperienced men who are strongly imbued with the war fever, and who are ready to shout down anyone who even hints a fault in the conduct of military operations in South Africa. A considerable number of these members secured their seats by the comparatively easy process of making a voyage to the Cape and spending a few months in the interior not unpleasantly as Imperial Yeomen. They went out in obedience to the curious watchword which went the round of smart society in London that the Empire was in danger, and that now was the time for every Englishman who valued his social position to prove himself to be a good sportsman and a good patriot. Most of these warriors are now happily home again, bearing their blushing honours thick upon them, and it is pleasant to see that they have had some other reward besides the consciousness of their own virtue, and that they survive in large numbers to march past the king and receive their medals, while many amongst them have been promoted to good posts, and even to seats upon the Treasury bench. The aggressive militarism of the ministerialists has been

intensified by the weakness of the Opposition. The forces under the nominal command of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman are split up by intestine quarrels, and the leader himself is hampered by his professed willingness to accept the verdict of the constituencies given last year, and to vote all the money required to carry the war to a successful issue. Many of the Liberals, too, have sons or other near relations fighting at the front, and they feel that "blood is thicker than water," and that they cannot oppose the policy of a war in which their own kinsfolk are playing a prominent part. War, in any country, is always a disintegrating force. The Opposition are constantly reminded of the fate of Fox, who broke up his own party by his sympathy with France and Napoleon. But the party of Fox was not destroyed though it remained helpless till the end of the war. When peace had been restored the Liberal feeling in England burst forth again. It triumphed in what was really the Revolution of 1832, and it seated the Liberal party firmly in power for half a century.

In estimating the position of the House of Commons in public estimation, one must take into account the personal character of its leader. Mr. Arthur Balfour is an interesting and attractive figure in politics, but nobody can remember a single inspiring sentiment or thought which he has placed at the service of his party or of mankind. "He has a charming smile, no doubt," said a distinguished Conservative, "but you cannot live on a charming smile." He has a horror of being taken for "an earnest man," who is generally, in his opinion, a prig and a pedant, and he laughs openly at the tedious debates in the House of Commons, and thinks it a bore to be obliged to attend steadfastly to business. He speaks of the House, in fact, with the easy air of aristocratic insolence which the true-born British snob so much admires. His idea of politics is that the two parties should be too well-bred not to remain always in good terms with one another. They should go down to the House, we think, in the interval between a game of golf and an evening at the opera, get through their work as quickly as possible, and then adjourn for a good long holiday, leaving the task of governing the Empire to the select circle of statesmen whom providence has specially created for that purpose. The only thing in connection with his career which will be permanently remembered is that he made the game of golf fashionable; and golf is, as a scornful cricketer once remarked, "a leisurely sort of game," just suited to Mr. Balfour's indolent disposition.

With Lord Salisbury now past praying for, and the leader of the party in the House of Commons too idle to seize the opportunities of distinction that fall in his way, it follows as

a matter of course that the conduct of public business has fallen into the hands of that minister who, holding one of the chief positions in the Government, is at the same time a capital man of business and always ready to do the work which others neglect. Mr. Chamberlain has consequently, come more and more to the front as the champion of the ministerial party. His apotheosis was completed at Blenheim the other day, when, in the company which he now finds so congenial of dukes and duchesses he proclaimed that the union between himself and Mr. Balfour was "indissoluble." It is shrewdly suspected that there is no love lost between two men whose temperaments are so anti-pathetic, and who are united by no bond but that of self-interest, but for all this Mr. Chamberlain cares very little while he is allowed to run the show.

The only member of the Government who ever had the strength or courage to challenge the supremacy of Mr. Chamberlain was the present Lord Curzon the Viceroy of India. When he was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. George Curzon would not suffer the interference of Mr. Chamberlain in his department. Three years ago the relations of France and England on the West Coast of Africa were much embroiled and incidents arose which an impulsive and headstrong minister might easily have aggravated till war became inevitable. The lines of the Colonial and the Foreign Offices overlapped in many places on the west coast, and Mr. Chamberlain took upon himself the responsibility of answering most of the questions put in the House, with the result that a quarrel between two great nations over some worthless pieces of territory seemed to be inevitable. On one occasion, late in the evening, it was whispered round the House that bad news had been received from West Africa. Presently, Mr. Chamberlain marched up the floor amid profound silence, with Mr. Austen Chamberlain and his Private Secretary to bear him company. A communication was made to Sir Charles Dilke, on the other side of the House, and he rose and asked if there was any news. Mr. Chamberlain, in his most melodramatic manner, solemnly read a telegram in which it was stated that there had been a collision between French and English, and that the English flag had been hauled down. A little further questioning, however, revealed the fact that there had merely been a little scrimmage on the frontier between a few black men, and that the negroes who claimed English protection had hoisted some rag or other, which they called a flag, on territory which did not belong to them. *Risu solvuntur tabula*; the House much relieved, broke up in inextinguishable laughter. The next day, when a further question on the subject was asked, Mr. Curzon stepped

to the table in front of Mr. Chamberlain, and said the matter belonged to his department and he would give the official answer. But now Mr. Curzon has been conveniently shunted to Calcutta, and Mr. Chamberlain ranges through the Empire at his own sweet will. Lord Salisbury has ceased to have any control over the policy of his own Cabinet, and cannot now be trusted to show the spirit which saved England in 1898, on the occasion of the Fashoda incident, from being hustled into war by his more fire-eating colleague.

We have thus traced the career of the Colonial Minister to the point at which he became the man solely responsible for the war in South Africa, which has brought England neither honour, profit nor glory, has embittered race feeling between Dutch and English for generations to come, has lowered the reputation of the English army, and has cost the country not far short of £200,000,000, or the amount which France was called upon to pay thirty years ago before she could shake herself free from the grip of Prussia. One may acquit Mr. Chamberlain of having formed any design against the independence of the Dutch republics from the time that he became Colonial Secretary. His previous record was entirely the other way. It was he, more than any other man in England, who upheld Mr. Gladstone's initial blunder after Majuba Hill, which was the source of endless future misery. The Duke of Devonshire has tried to excuse his own complicity in the policy of surrender to the Boers by saying that he voted for granting them their independence in 1880 as an experiment, but that experiment failed, and then it became necessary to use force. His Grace has forgotten that he and Mr. Chamberlain not only gave the Boers their freedom in 1880, but confirmed and extended it in 1884, and that during fourteen of the best years of their lives, from 1880 till 1894, he and Mr. Chamberlain laboured diligently to build up a strong and independent Dutch nation in South Africa. The reasons for the Colonial Secretary's change of front are still locked in his own bosom and Mr. B. H. Hawksley's. Probably the secret lies in the extraordinary influence Mr. Rhodes had acquired in 1895 both at the Cape where he was Prime Minister, and in the highest circles of English society. Visions of an African Empire extending from the Cape to Cairo had roused the adventurous spirit of Englishmen, and their cupidity was also excited by the millions of gold from the mines which were poured into England, and which debauched sober Englishmen with hopes of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice. Anyone who lived in London during 1895 must remember the fever of speculation that raged among all classes from the highest to the lowest. Not only men but women, in their

haste to be rich, staked all they had in the world in South African ventures, and their rage grew inconceivable when they were told that the burghers of the Transvaal denied full political rights to the residents engaged in the business of gold-mining. That the Outlanders had serious grievances cannot be disputed, and if Mr. Kruger had not been of such stubborn mould, he might easily have made concessions that would have satisfied them. But he denied them redress, and many people considered that Johannesburg would have been perfectly justified in organising an insurrectionary outbreak to obtain their rights. When the news of Dr. Jameson's raid first reached England, it was assumed that such a revolution had begun, and bitter was the revulsion of feeling when it was discovered with what a ramshackle crew he had undertaken his enterprise, and how completely destitute he was of support. Both Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Chamberlain were perfectly furious at a catastrophe which upset all their plans, for Mr. Fairfield's confession in the South African Blue Book clearly proves that the Colonial Office and Mr. Rhodes were parties to a deliberate plot for upsetting the Government of the Transvaal. Mr. Chamberlain denounced in very outspoken language the poltroonry of the people of Johannesburg, and he hastened to repudiate and condemn the Raid, to which he had not been a party. He did not despair at that time of patching things up again and receiving for himself a diplomatic victory. One has not forgotten his wheedling telegram inquiring tenderly after the health of Mr. Kruger, or the long despatch in which he invited the wary old President to come to London and have matters comfortably arranged. The contempt with which Mr. Kruger treated this invitation was a deadly blow to the minister's self-esteem, and in the long negotiations, which subsequently took place, and by means of which Mr. Rhodes hoped to retrieve his fortunes, Mr. Chamberlain's wounded vanity played no small part.

The ensuing diplomatic negotiations describe the struggle through which Mr. Chamberlain dragged the British Cabinet into war, and the "nagging" despatches by means of which he fairly worried Mr. Kruger into commencing hostilities. The dogged and perverse, but sincere, President of the Transvaal really believed that the concessions he offered to Lord Milner ought to have sufficed to purchase the continuance of peace; and there are few things more pathetic in the Blue Book than the parting speech he made to the High Commissioner after their Conference at Bloemfontein, when he said, "Now I hope we shall begin to understand one another a little better." It illustrates the spirit in which the British Plenipotentiary conducted the interview that to judge by the Blue Book, he

made no reply to Mr. Kruger's plaintive appeal but simply turned on his heel and went away. Lord Milner had been tutored in England by Mr. Chamberlain, and he became the blind instrument to carry into force that minister's fatal policy. No man could have fallen away more hopelessly from the high expectations formed of him when he left England. But there is no trial of character like that of being placed for the first time in a great and independent position. Lord Mayo was held in very slight esteem by the House of Commons but he turned out the best Viceroy ever sent to India. Lord Milner had been a most capable subordinate in Egypt and at the Inland Revenue Office, but in South Africa he revealed himself as the narrow-minded, bitter and masked partisan. On him might be pronounced the memorable verdict, *Omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset*.

It suits the purpose of the ministerial press in these days to profess that the war took the Government by surprise, and that they were taken aback by discovering how formidable was the warlike strength of the Boers. But there is no evidence that the Transvaal and the Free State were ever able to put large forces into the field. Our real difficulty has always been and is still the immense extent and the physical configuration of the country. Our intelligence officers knew the numbers and armament of the enemy, and any one who has the curiosity to look into a file of the *Times* for the first week of September 1899 will find that that inspired organ, which is known to be devoted to Mr. Chamberlain, boasted of the sufficiency of the forces in South Africa, strengthened by the Indian contingent, to protect the colonies from invasion, and said a larger army would soon be on its way. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt that these calculations would have been proved correct if we had not begun the war in the same arrogant and vain glorious spirit in which we had conducted the diplomatic campaign. The Boers never were strong enough to take the offensive against us anywhere, and the successful defence, not merely of Ladysmith, but even of Kimberley and Mafeking showed the limitations of the enemy's power, and the idleness of the pretence that the integrity of the Empire was endangered. But our first actions consisted in hurling British troops against inaccessible positions held by men who had been trained from childhood to ride and use the rifle; and, when we were hurled back with ignominy, we cried out, like the French, that we had been betrayed. The prolongation of the war brought out in still stronger relief the utter helplessness of the English military system. Mr. Chamberlain compassed sea and land to obtain recruits, he lavished English money like water, and disgusted the regu-

lar soldiers who form the mainstay of the army, in order to bring colonial contingents to South Africa and let them see how imperial officers carried on war. A nice revelation it must have been to them! Then we had the scandalous display of inefficiency made in sending out the first contingent of Yeomen. This, however, has been surpassed by the present year's despatch of the reinforcements asked for by Lord Kitchener. That General does not share Lord Roberts' amiable weakness for making things pleasant all round. He is as courageous as he is clear-sighted, and the despatch he has sent home describing the condition of the new Yeomanry with which he was expected to wage war is simply appalling. No more terrible condemnation of the British War Office has ever been published. No wonder that the war drags on, and that Lord Kitchener is unable, with the means at his command, to finish the work entrusted to him. We try to compensate him for the lack of soldiers by arming him with paper proclamations, but these can be of no effect. We have robbed the Boers of everything worth living for except their love of independence, but they are shrewd enough to know that we have shot our bolt, and can do them no further harm even if they resolve to die fighting. So the war becomes fiercer, more barbarous, and more exasperating every day. There is no limit to the ferocity of Mr. Chamberlain's threats, and he has even told the House of Commons that, if he had his way, he would use black as well as white men to end the war, a statement which only shows his ignorance of mankind and of history, and his inability to understand the race-feeling in a colony like South Africa. Surely he ought to be satisfied with what the war has already done. It has ruined the *morale* of the British army as everybody knows who has read recent letters from soldiers engaged in burning or seizing property and in hunting down the Boers as if they were wild beasts. He has created a feud between Dutch and English which will last for generations, and which makes it impossible for us to maintain peace in South Africa without the constant presence of an overpowering British garrison supported by the block-houses built across the country in which we are imitating the tactics of the men who built the Roman Wall across Britain!

A proud and patriotic people like the English is slow to find fault with a Government engaged in the conduct of a war, but the present inglorious struggle is at last bringing Englishmen to their senses. It was estimated at the end of the Session that the country was spending this year on naval and military forces the enormous sum of 210 millions, but this sum does not cover the whole cost of our armaments

to the Empire. If we add what is spent in India and the Colonies, the Imperial Bill must mount up to fully 250 millions. Such expenditure must stagger even the wealthiest nation in the world. The English tax-payer might not grumble if he got anything good in return for his money. But the War Office remains true to its old traditions in spite of all the teachings of experience, and deserves more than ever its popular nickname of the "Huggermugger" office. The Government seem to have lost all sense of proportion, all grasp of business. Even so moderate a man as Sir M. Hicks-Beach thinks there is nothing ludicrous in saying that the Funds have not fallen so low as they did a century ago when we were grappling in a death-struggle with the genius of Napoleon, commanding all the resources of Europe. Why, we are now engaged in a war of pigmies compared with the battle of giants in which we were then engaged. What Englishmen feel is that, if they cannot vanquish a handful of peasants, their chances in a European struggle would be very small. Lord Chesham says this nation of forty millions of men cannot raise an army of 35,000 mounted men. This can only be because we do not go the right way to work, yet the Government dare not have recourse to the only efficient military weapon, that of conscription, not because the people fear it, but because it would shake the monopoly enjoyed by the men of fashion who hold commissions in the present professional army. The example of France has shown that the creation of a national army, based upon conscription, is the surest guarantee for peace, and for immunity from the street riots and revolutions which were the work of the professional soldiery, yet the English Government will neither have recourse to conscription, nor, in the alternative, offer to the private soldier sufficient pay to attract really good men to the colours.

The defenders of Mr. Chamberlain often urge that, at all events, he has done one good and great work, he has brought the mother-country and the colonies closer together, and raised a hope that they may some day be welded into an Imperial Federation. The loyalty of the colonies is, happily, unbounded, and in their hardy and energetic population a multitude of adventurous spirits can be found eager to fight side by side with Englishmen. A distinguished Canadian, writing when his son had received a commission in the contingent for South Africa, said, "Now we will let Englishmen see we are as good as they are," and this very natural and praiseworthy sentiment had great weight. The Colonists had nothing to do with our quarrel with the Boers, but they loved fighting for the fighting's sake, and they have shown their worth on many a hard-fought field. But it would be an utter mistake to infer from this

comradeship on the battle field—that Colonists are now politically more closely affiliated to the mother-country than they were before. On the contrary, a close observer of the trend of public affairs will see that the Colonists have taken advantage of the war to become completely independent nations. Canada and Australia are associated with us in sentiment, but they have emancipated themselves from the rule of Downing Street, and will brook no interference by the Imperial Parliament. They make their own treaties and frame their own commercial tariffs, and we can no more hope to get submission from them than we can from France or Germany. When Mr. Chamberlain tried to broaden and extend the Imperial Court of Appeal in law cases, he was almost rudely repulsed by our kinsmen over sea, and no one but a child, ignorant even of the rudiments of politics, can think it possible that anyone of our great self-governing Colonies can ever yield allegiance to a Federal Council sitting in London. Mr. Chamberlain must henceforth be content to practise his imperious temper on the savages of the West Coast of Africa, or on the hapless population of the Island of Malta. The rest of the Empire is beyond his reach, and his scheme of Imperial Federation is but the baseless fabric of a vision. The whole edifice of Imperialism with which his name is associated, and which he invented to provide a common ground of action for Conservatives and Liberal Unionists who have no other principle to bind them together, topples to its fall; and the time cannot be far distant when Englishmen, looking back on the humiliating history of recent years, will come to the conclusion that the city of Birmingham, once famous for the manufacture of false gods, has now learned an equally discreditable name by the manufacture of false statesmen.

WESTMINSTER.

[The above article—the internal evidence of which will show it to have been written in London, and by an old politician and House-of-Commons man—is altogether too mild in its estimation of a “man-in-the-street” who has ruined England. Lord Curzon, of course, was too much for the sham pinchbeck Brummasem ware. Lord Curzon may yet lead the true old conservatism.—ED., C.R.]

ART. XIII.—EPIDEMIC ZYMOTIC DISEASES IN INDIA.¹

It seems almost impossible to understand, how anyone—who entertains an interest in the health of the Indian populace, and has watched the health-reports from time to time—can doubt any longer the futility of the measures adopted for combating the plague, as also cholera and malaria; and how any faith in these measures, which might still lurk in the mind, should not vanish before the report of Sir Henry Blake from Hong-Kong about the plague,² and how the last vestige of such belief should not disappear before the open admission of failure on the part of the Indian Government?

And equally incomprehensible is it to learn, why attempts at solving the question of: "How to prevent the epidemic diseases in India," should meet with opposition; since on the very face of it, this opposition cannot be justified by any declaration of an interest in the well-fare of the people, nor be defended by an *à priori* dictum of "non-success." The question has long ere this been taken—or truly slipped—out of the hands of those specialists, who have claimed an exclusive knowledge on the subject and have arrogated a special mental aptitude for dealing with it.

With such unreasonable opposition to so laudible an object as that, of solving a question, in which the health and life of hundreds of thousands of human beings is involved—arises the inquiry into the state of mind, which can possibly account for such a hostility; and, under the circumstances, no blame can attach to the expression of doubt about the true motive, whether it is the outcome of professional superciliousness, of egotistic *amour-propre*, or of ignorance about the subject. Whoever entertains an honest concern for the well-being of the suffering people, should hail with pleasure

¹—"The Prevention of Epidemic Zymotic Diseases in India and the Tropics generally." By C. Godfrey Gumpel, Author of "Natural Immunity against Cholera;" "Common-Salt. Its Use and Necessity for the Maintenance of Health and the Prevention of Disease;" and "The Plague in India—An Impeachment and an Appeal."

²—Sir Henry A. Blake's Report from Hong-Kong for the year 1898, (Colonial Report—Annual No. 282), contains the following statement: "The year 1898 witnessed a recurrence of the plague, which carried off 1,175 people. The proportion of Europeans attacked was somewhat greater than during the preceding epidemic. So far medical science appears to be equally at fault as to its prevention and its cure. The most active measures were taken by the health-officers and the Sanitary Board, but without any apparent effect upon the course of the epidemic, which appeared, increased, declined and disappeared synchronously with the epidemic in Canton and other towns where no attempt was made to check its ravages."

an attempt of preventing disease—provided, that such attempt is based on true scientific facts and reasoning, and is not advanced haphazard. The treatise the title of which heads these remarks, contains an appeal for such an attempt; and the question, which is naturally uppermost in the reader's mind is: how far does the author justify us in accepting and supporting his views and furthering his object?

We will endeavour to answer this question, as we think our readers will agree with us in our opinion, that the health and the physical well-being of the people, forms the basis for the industrial and social capabilities and for the fiscal stability of the state. Our object may probably be served best by letting the author speak for himself.

In any inquiry about the possible prevention of epidemic zymotic diseases, there is forced upon our attention most conspicuously the incontestable fact, that "the greater number of people show a natural immunity against these diseases. There are human beings who carry the poison about with them without suffering or yielding to the infection. Others again, when the poison enters their system, suffer only a slight indisposition, scarcely enough to disturb them in their daily avocation; while the susceptible members of the infected community are struck down, and if death does not claim them, the patients linger under the affliction of serious constitutional ailments." How powerfully this insusceptibility asserts itself for the protection against plague is evidenced by the facts, which are related in the Report of the Austrian Plague Commission; and about which the late Dr. Müller remarks: "To come to any conclusion from the escape of people, who are so intimately and so directly exposed to infection, is almost impossible." And it is almost equally impossible, not to see in these facts the evident proof, that the principal factor for the development of the individual case and for the propagation of an infectious disease, is the individual susceptibility, the predisposition for the disorder; in other words, that "*a natural immunity is the most effective weapon in the combat with an epidemic.*"

If now we wish to obtain an insight into the nature of this susceptibility, we must enquire into those symptoms of the attack, which give to the disease its mortal character; and here we meet with a very definite reply, as obtained from all practical treatises on plague (as also on cholera and malaria), and from the Reports of the several plague-commissions. This reply is most distinctly expressed in the German Report, in which it is declared, that: "*with the entrance of the bacillus into the blood-circulation, and its effect on the red corpuscles, the whole clinical aspect of the*

case, hitherto of a mild and benign character, reveals suddenly serious and alarming symptoms—copious diarrhoea” (as the result of the destruction of the red corpuscles) indicates the approaching death.”

All evidence serves to show that the bubonic swellings are, in themselves, not contributive to the fatal issue of an attack. But with the destruction of the red corpuscles the blood ceases to supply oxygen to the organism; and this want of oxygen accounts for all the various phenomena, which are observed in every form of this class of maladies.

Deficiency of oxygen in the blood is gradual death to the heart, and Dr. Müller adds: “In not any of the known infectious diseases are the symptoms, connected with the heart, forced upon our attention in the same degree, as in the case of plague. The state of the heart dominates the course of the attack. *The patient perishes from weakness of the heart,*”³ although the latter organ may, according to necroscopic evidence, appear perfectly sound. As, however, the blood cannot furnish oxygen to the nerve-centres of the heart, this organ ceases to propel the blood to the brain—and death is the inevitable result. The object before us then is: the protection of the blood-corpuscles against the attack of the pathogenic microbes.

The above consideration will make it appear futile to inquire into and quibble about the question: whether poverty, dirt (as such), unwholesome dwellings, low-lying habitations or other climatic surroundings, etc., are the immediate cause in the production of zymotic diseases, for—*the immune, the insusceptible person will not be affected by any of these extra-corporal conditions*. That, however, such outward circumstances can influence the human body and assist in the development of a susceptibility is undeniable; and to understand the possibility and the probability of such an influence, we must direct our attention to the blood, and endeavour to learn what agency can lower the vitality of this life-giving liquid.

Among the surrounding influences which act upon the internal state of our system, the principal one is unquestionably exercised by water. Not only is it the carrier of disease-germs, but in its purest state it acts like a poison on our organism⁴—although life cannot exist without it. This will no doubt cause astonishment; but facts—as established by incontestable experiments—are too stubborn, to yield to the assertions of the ill-informed.

³—Imperial Austrian Plague Report, p.174.

⁴—Professor Dr. J. Ranke. “*Lebensbedingungen der Nerven.*” Leipzig, 1868, pp. 53 and 71.

Pure water, when added in sufficient quantity to blood, destroys the red corpuscles; if absorbed by muscular tissue beyond the normal amount it enfeebles the latter;⁵ if existing in the nervous substance above the proper percentage, it weakens them and causes susceptibility for influenza, and if absorbed in greater quantity, it first paralyses and finally kills the nerves;⁶ if present in the body generally above the normal amount, it imparts to the body a susceptibility for many forms of disease⁷ (of which it is only necessary to mention rheumatism).

If we seek information about the cause of internal constitutional zymotic diseases in the volumes of medical authorities, it must excite surprise to notice the almost constant reference to the effects of water; to "exposure to wet," or to "damp surroundings," or other forms, in which our body can come in contact with water—as having, if not directly caused, then certainly contributed to the attack; and in closer inquiry we should meet with a host of ailments, which can be ascribed to the action of moisture in the soil, in the house, to wet clothing or damp bedding—in short, to the action of water externally in contact with our body.

A closer observation of our personal and our friend's habits cannot fail to make us acquainted with the in-ordinate quantity of water, which can be stored in our organism to *assist* in producing a susceptibility for bodily ailments and diseases of various kinds.

It is necessary to say: "assist," since there is another more potent factor, which in a reverse sense, namely: by its deficiency, causes a predisposition for disease, which will now claim our attention. This potent factor is Common-Salt (Sodium chloride, in chemical symbols= NaCl), which, by its presence in our organism, counteracts the destructive influence of plain water.

Although a great affinity exists between these two inorganic constituents of our body, there seems at the same time a kind of opposition displayed between them; or, shall we say, they act upon each other as moderators; the destructive tendency of the water is moderated (prevented) by the presence of common-salt, and the irritating action of NaCl is subdued by the softening influence of water. And there is no more impressive and striking example of the way in which water and salt act in the human body, than the following experiment. Prick your finger with a clean needle, press out a drop

⁵—Dr. G. Jaeger, whose name is so well known in connection with woollen underclothing, in "Seuchen-festigkeit und Constitutions kraft. Leipzig 1878.

⁶—Professor Ranke, as above.

⁷—Professor Dr. Max von Pettenkofer, in one of his works on cholera.

of blood, and place this on a glass slide under the microscope. With an objective of sufficient power, you will distinguish the blood-cells as of a biconcave disc-form, provided your blood is in a healthy condition. Add to this drop of blood a drop of pure water, and you can observe the blood-cells to swell and to assume a spherical form. A further absorption of water will cause the cells to burst.⁸

If now, before such destruction takes place, a grain of NaCl is added to the watery blood, you can actually observe the globules (cells) gradually restored to their normal shape; *i.e.*, those cells, which have not been killed (burst) by the absorbed water, will give up this water to the salt solution, and assume again the healthy disc-form. In those globules in which the distension has gone too far, no alteration will be noticed; they are dead, and of no further use as carriers of oxygen to maintain the life of the organism. And if this destruction happens in the human body to a considerable extent, then disease, and, if not remedied betimes, death will be the result.

But the morbid symptoms, which are the result of the abnormal absorption of water (or watery serum) by the blood-corpuscles, do not commence with the destruction of the latter; long before this occurs—*i.e.*, whilst the globules (corpuscles, or cells) are in this distended swollen condition, which has been designated by some eminent physiologist as their death-form—they have lost their elasticity which enabled them to pass through the finest capillaries, and by their enlarged size they readily occasion more or less extensive stagnation in the circulation of the blood. They have become soft and pappy and lost their function of taking up oxygen from the atmosphere in the lungs—thus laying the foundation for a number of ailments, some of a serious character. The loss of this function will appear more certain, when it is considered, what has been proved by 40,000 experiments on 178 different animals, that the absorption of oxygen enlarges the corpuscles to the extent of one-tenth of their volume.⁹ Having increased already through the absorption of a watery serum, they are prevented from taking up the oxygen; and want of oxygen is not only death to the heart, but to every part of our body—to our very existence.

If now NaCl restores and maintains the blood-corpuscles in their healthy condition and enables them to perform the first and foremost function upon which the health and the life of our organism depends—then surely it deserves the

⁸—Lehmann's Physiological Chemistry, and most works on Physiology.

⁹—Mauasseiu's Experiments, reported by Rollet in Hermann's Physiologie. Vol. IVa, p.22.

first consideration among all the means suggested for maintaining our body in health and protecting us against disease.

It has already been stated above, that the dangerous, the mortal symptom of plague is the entry of the pathogenic microbe into the blood-cells; and the same observation applies to malaria and to cholera. It must stand to reason, that the cells in their soft and pappy condition can offer little if any resistance against the plague-bacillus, or the cholera-vibrio, or the malaria-parasite, when one or the other kind of these microbes attack and burrow themselves into the pulpy body of the cells. And thus it is, that *NaCl can protect the system against such morbid and mortal attacks, by extracting the watery serum and giving to the blood-cells a firmer consistency, by which to resist the pathogenic microbe.*

The suggestion of employing common-salt—"salt that we eat"¹⁰—as a prophylactic—or possibly as a curative agent, has been met by the objection (but without absolutely any reason, except the objector's fancy), that NaCl cannot possibly act as a specific against any of these diseases; and that salt is already present in every human body, even when the supply is withheld, so that, did it possess the beneficial power claimed for it, it would exercise this power and prevent an attack without any further addition of it to the system.

In answer to this argument, it is necessary to point out, that NaCl can perform its various functions in the human organism only, when it is present in sufficient quantity—in other words: that the salt, which is contained in the blood-serum to protect the red corpuscles, cannot act in the liver, or furnish the chlorine for the gastric juice, or protect the lymph; that it cannot act like a magical specific, of which one dose will work the wonder; but that it requires to be administered as a daily food to permeate the system with it.

The proportionate amount of NaCl in the blood varies within definite limits. It never or seldom exceeds 6 parts of salt in 1000 parts of blood; and any amount supplied above what is required to maintain that density, is expelled by way of the kidneys. But—either through (1) entire abstinence from the use of it; or (2) taking it in insufficient quantity; or (3) washing it out of the blood by means of immoderate and continuous imbibing of liquids—we can reduce the proportion down to a minimum of 0·25 (in some diseases to 0·20) per cent.¹¹ This amount is tenaciously

¹⁰—A medical critic remarked in his review (?) of "Common-Salt:" "The idea of recommending common salt as a medicine—salt that we eat." One may wonder how this worthy son of Aesculapius estimates the use of air, in the open air treatment for curing consumption: "air that we breathe."

¹¹—Becquerel et Rodier, "Traite de Chimie Pathologique." Paris, 1854.

retained, the blood will not part with it ; and when more water is added to the blood (which is equivalent to a lowering of the salt-density), in that case a corresponding amount of red corpuscles will be destroyed.

Extensive experiments of eminent physiologists have determined the fact, that the absorption of a watery serum by the blood-cells depends upon the presence of NaCl in the inverse ratio ; *i.e.*, the lower the proportion of salt in the serum, the greater is the absorption of the latter by the blood-cells.¹²

It cannot present any great difficulty to show the connection existing between the periodical climatic conditions and the corresponding outbreaks of plague or cholera, and to offer thereby further claims for the employment of NaCl as a prophylactic.

In a warm, dry atmosphere the evaporation from the skin is very active : the body is deprived of water and thirst is the result, to quench which, leads to imbibing quantities of liquid. In many instances the latter is resorted to—not to quench thirst, but to cool the body, which thus tends to surcharge the system with water. All liquid—whether originally taken as plain water, or in the form of tea, coffee, milk, soup, or the different table-waters—which leaves the body by way of the kidneys, or in less degree as perspiration by the skin, deprives the blood of NaCl ; the salt is washed out of the blood, and, unless a corresponding amount is taken to replace the loss, it must naturally follow, that the proportion of salt in the blood reaches sooner or later its minimum, and produces susceptibility for, and in many cases already an attack of one or the other of the raging diseases. But now follows rainy weather ; the air is charged with moisture ; this checks evaporation from the skin, and—as drinking even of plain water, often becomes a pernicious habit, which is extended beyond the period of warm weather—the body is surcharged with water and a watery state of the blood is the result ; the system has developed a high degree of susceptibility for disease, the form and severity of which is determined by the pathogenic influences, that may be active at the time. Plague, Cholera, Malaria, Dysentery, and Fevers will successfully attack the body ; and the general popular view that either having caught a cold, or having been exposed to rain or to a damp atmosphere, as the immediate cause of the ailment, can be interpreted by this salt-impooverished state of the sufferer.

What the natural history of the bacillus cannot account for,

¹²—Zundt, in " Fortschritte der Medizin." Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 100. The latest researches have ascertained, that the standard saline solution, which does not affect the blood either chemically or physically, must contain (not 0·6, as hitherto assumed, but) 0·9 to 1 per cent. of NaCl. Rudolph Hober in Biologisches Central-blatt. Leipzig. Vol. 18, No. 21. November 1898.

is thus simply explained by the individual susceptibility, as produced by personal habits in the use or non-use of NaCl and by the relative watery state of the blood.

A cold and dry or a warm and dry atmosphere meets with general approval; but cold and wet weather produces one kind—and warm and wet weather (heat and moisture in the tropics) produce another—the so-called tropical diseases—all for want of NaCl in the human body.

In further support of the claims of NaCl for a practical experiment of its employment against zymotic diseases, is the practical success, that has already been achieved in Hamburg during the cholera epidemic in 1892. After all other means, which had been tried against cholera, had failed—it was found, that the only remedy left, by which the disease could be beneficially influenced and the sufferer's life could be saved, was the injection into the circulation of a solution of common-salt; it had a wonderful effect in restoring vitality to the dying patient; and repeated injections achieved complete recovery in most cases.¹³

Instead of awaiting the attack and then resorting to the injection of a salt-solution—which requires medical aid,—it will certainly suggest itself (especially during or in expectation of an epidemic) to forestall the attack by permeating the system by the administration of a 1 per cent. (or even stronger) solution of common-salt.

And as the latest outcome of medical science in the treatment of plague, we learn from Professor Calmette's lecture in London (November 22nd, 1900), that in his latest experiments he took "*bodies of dead plague-bacilli free from any trace of toxin*," suspended a certain fixed quantity in *sterilised salt-water* and injected it under the skin or into the veins.¹⁴ Whether or not the good results, said to have been achieved at Oporto, were due to "*the dead bacilli without any trace of toxin*,"—or to the injected *salt-water*—is a question, which to answer will not require a profound learning in the much doubted and in bad repute falling practice of serum-injection,¹⁵ but only the simple logic of an unbiased mind.

¹³—Dr. Sick. "Die Behandlung der Cholera mit intra-venöser Koch-salz Infusion." Also:

Dr. G. Hager. "Die Infusions-therapie der cholera behandelt nach 967 Fällen. Both dissertation contained in "Jahr-bücher der Hamburger Staats-Kranken-Anstalten. Vol. 3.

¹⁴—Report in "The Times" of November 23rd, 1900.

¹⁵—Dr. A. Lutaud, (Chief Editor of the "Journal de Medicine de Paris") in "Pasteur and Sero-therapy," shows the complete failure of Pasteur's attempt of preventing and curing hydrophobia. He says in conclusion of his dissertation: "I can then only endorse the assertions of Peter, of Zientitz, of Virchow, of Purgez, of Boucher, of Durr and many others who recognise in the Pasteurian vaccinations not only an error, but also a danger." See also Dr. Bantock. "The modern Doctrine of Bacteriology," London, 1899.

Supported by the above facts and reasoning, more fully worked out in his treatise, the author has appealed to the Indian Government for a practical trial, but has met unfortunately with an evasive reply. We say "unfortunately;" since we are convinced, that few of our readers will fail to admit, that the author has made out a very strong point in favour of his contention—when after all no harm can result, beyond the expense of such a trial.

He makes suggestions for the *modus operandi* of such a trial, the cost of which, on a liberal scale, he estimates at £500; and now makes an appeal to the people of India, to form an association (similar to those established in Europe for the "Open Air Treatment of Tuberculosis") the object of which would be:—

(1) To collect the funds for the experiment—estimated at £500;

(2) To petition the Government for its sanction—if not active support—to obtain a status before the public;

(3) To select the community in which plague or cholera has broken out;

(4) To arrange the superintendence and the details of the experiment. In this latter—the practical work of the trial—the author thinks, it may probably be expected that intelligent and public-spirited gentlemen of leisure and independence will offer their assistance, considering the noble and grand object to be achieved. His appeal ends with the weighty words: "what is the expenditure of even £1,000 for such an experiment, in view of the promising and incalculable benefit that will accrue for all mankind from the undertaking? It is no exaggeration when declaring, that the whole subject is of unsurpassed and of far-reaching importance for the future of the human race."

NOTE ON COMMON-SALT IN THE HUMAN BODY.

The life of the human body is sustained by the constant supply of oxygen to all parts of the organism.

For want of oxygen the nervous system ceases to act, the brain loses its powers; unconsciousness, fainting fits and syncope result; furthermore, for want of oxygen in the blood and for want of a supply of oxygen to the nerve-centres of the heart, this organ ceases to pulsate and stagnation in the circulation of the blood is the consequence and with this stagnation life ebbs away. To insure a normal supply of oxygen to the system, the blood must be in a condition to absorb the oxygen from the atmosphere in the lungs. In a watery state of the blood the blood-corpuscles swell and lose the power of taking up the oxygen thus causing the above cited morbid and mortal symptoms.

The evil effects of a watery state of the blood are counteract-

ed by the presence of chloride of sodium in the blood-serum. It restores the red corpuscles to their normal condition, in which alone they are able to act as carriers of oxygen ; and it prevents besides the destructive effect of water on the nervous matter and on the muscular tissues of the organism. In short : it protects the heart from weakness and the nerves from loss of vitality.

It has been designated by some American " Scientists " as the " Elixir of Life ; " but—although it cannot deserve this grandiloquent name—it certainly can claim to be classed as one of the principal factors for our physical well-being, as it is of unequalled importance for the human organism. It not only protects the blood, but also the lymph.

It keeps the albumen of the blood and of the lymph in a soluble condition (Lehmann).

It prevents the too watery state of the brain and of the nerves. It regulates and intensifies the flow of all the various fluids on which the life of the organism depends (Voit).

It is essential for the action of the liver, and forms a necessary constituent of the bile (Liebig).

It is the medium for the elimination of effete, used up and hence poisonous organic substances out of the body, and is thus the best and the most natural purifier of the blood (Liebig). In short :

It is a never-failing component part of the animal economy ; it is absolutely necessary for the growth and the continued existence of the human body ; *there is no other substance in the whole universe which can replace it*, and to abstain from it absolutely leads to certain disease and death.

Evolutionary biological researches have forced upon us the conclusion, that man had his origin in the shallow parts of the sea ; that the thread of human life commenced in salt-water ; that, as Professor Ranke expresses it : " In the blood we still carry the sea in our body ; " and most significant of all : *the embryonic development of every human being takes place in salt-water*—the Amnion water, which—certainly not from accident, as some vegetarian ignorant fanatics may assert—contains about one per cent. of mineral ingredients, chiefly common-salt.

All facts and all experience point to the conclusion that human life finds its element not in plain water but in Sea or Salt-Water.*

* We question the statements in the last two paras.—ED., C.R.

ART. XIV.—MO ROISGEAL DHU.

(MY BRIGHT DARK ROSE.)

I.

Care seems o'er all the land to brood,
Mist veils the hills.
What wonder that a sullen mood
Each valley fills?
With skull I'd bale the sea till dried,
Though deep it flows,
To woo thee, win thee for my bride,
O bright dark rose.

2.

Sweet love, look not so sad and grave,
All's well with thee,
Thy breth'ren home from o'er the wave
Sail on the sea,
With blessings from the Pope, with wealth
To soothe thy woes,
With Spanish wine to drink a health
To the bright dark rose.

3.

For thee to roam the world I'm fain,
To scale each hill,
Thy love, thy confidence to gain,
Thy sweet good will,
Who was it whispered in mine ear
"For thee she shows
Her love"—That maiden fair and dear
My bright dark rose.

M. R. WELD.

These words fit the air given (with Irish words) at p. 14 of Joyce's "Irish Music and Song" and are a close translation of the Irish words.

ART. XV.—DAYBREAK.

I.

We are waiting for the clouds to break,

We are watching for the dawn,—

For the *first faint flush of the rosy light*,

For the first soft flood of the sunbeams bright,
For the sweet, long-tarrying morn.

There are shadows now on heath and hill,

And the drifting clouds *look gray* ;

And the *stars still linger* ; and still the gleam

Of the moonlight silvers the meadow stream
As it glides along its way.

There will soon be *slender lines of gold*

In the dim, dark, *eastern sky*,

And above the mountain *a crimson streak*,

And *a purple tint* on each pine-crowned peak,
That will bid the night-gloom fly.

Then, the moon's fair rays will all grow pale,

And the star-gleams fade away ;

And the cold, calm heavens be blue and bright ;

And the *clouds be crested and fringed* with light,—
With the tender light of day.

And the stream will shine among the reeds,

And the lilies by the lake

Will unfold their buds ; while the *wood-birds sing*

Till the copse and forest and valley ring,
And the mountain echoes wake.

There is nothing half so fair on earth

As the first bright *blush of dawn*,

When the shadows die in a flood of light,

And the clouds and darkness are put to flight
By the sunbeam hosts of morn.

THE CREATION OF ADAM.

Genesis I.

II.

Still, still with Thee, when *purple morning breaketh*,
 When the *bird waketh* and the shadows flee,
 Fairer than morning, lovelier than daylight,
 Dawns the sweet consciousness, I am with Thee.

Alone with Thee, amid the mystic shadows,
 The *solemn hush of nature newly-born* ;
 Alone with Thee in breathless adoration,
 In the calm dew and freshness of the morn.

As in the dawning, o'er the waveless ocean,
 The *image of the Morning Star doth rest* ;
 So in this stillness, Thou beholdest only
 Thine image in the waters of my breast.

* * * *

So shall it be at last, in that bright morning,
 When the soul waketh, and life's shadows flee ;
 Oh, in that hour, fairer than daylight-dawning,
 Shall rise the glorious thought—I am with Thee ! *

* The two preceding pieces have been sent to us for insertion as containing a beautiful "figure of Adam's Creation." They are not original as we have seen them somewhere before, though we believe their authors are unknown. —ED. C.R.

ART. XVI.—THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

LORD Curzon's memorable address at Simla on Monday, September 2nd, has completely changed the educational outlook. It is not merely that the whole field of education in this country has been reviewed with all the weight that the highest position in India can give to such a survey, and with a full consciousness of the responsibility involved in that position; nor again that this great position is by rare good fortune combined with a personal claim that all acknowledge. The whole subject has been lifted on to a different plane: its problems become practical questions instead of being to a large extent idly speculative. This is an immense gain.

But the actual passage from the speculative field to the practical has still to be made. That something will be *done* as a result of the deliberations lately going on at Simla is certain; but it is all-important *what*. Taken in its entirety the question is colossal. Every branch of the subject—Lord Curzon recognized no less than six; four main branches, University Education, Secondary Education, Primary Education, Technical Education, and two subsidiary branches, Training Colleges and Female Education—is in itself a big question. It is true these are ultimately connected and are rightly co-ordinated in one vast scheme. But the vastness of the whole subject is even bewildering, and when it comes to practice, each one of these great questions requires special knowledge and experience; the methods that are proper in one branch do not altogether apply to another. This paper will be confined to one only, the University question. Its scope will be even narrower: it will consider only the Calcutta University; for along with common features each University has an individuality, which it would not be altogether a gain to take from it. The problem of each University, the changes needed or not needed, will, in each case, be somewhat different according to circumstances. The problem of the Calcutta University is, at all events, definite, concrete, pressing. Something would be gained by a review of this more special problem: such a review is a contribution towards the general solution, a necessary preliminary.

If it is granted, as it seems to be on all hands, that the Calcutta University needs reform, both constitutional and administrative, what is the first definite step to be taken? In what direction is it to be altered and by what means? As soon as the question is plainly stated and answers begin to be supplied, divergences, even the greatest are certain to occur.

The present paper will attempt an answer to one part of the question only, the question of the education imparted and examination tests ; and it will approach this from a single point of view—the teacher's. There are many other points of view, and it is expedient that all these should find voice. But the teacher's point of view deserves a hearing, and although among teachers also there are sure to be differences of opinion, any one definite statement has such value as the reasoning it contains can give it. This is all the claim made here.

As regards the Calcutta University at the present time, broadly three courses and three only are possible. We can leave the existing system of education as it is, only modifying the constitution of the Senate and trusting to such gradual improvement as the newly-constituted Governing Body may be expected to effect. Secondly, we may devise some method of overhauling the existing system with a view to tinkering here and there. Or thirdly, we may attempt to formulate a general reconstructive scheme, which, within a limited number of years, might reshape the existing order to a better model. Without any pretension to so large a design as this last, the present paper will make tentative suggestions in that direction. As already advanced, all views require to be stated, and this is one, the most courageous and the most thorough-going ; like the others it needs to be stated.

As regards the other two courses it may be remarked briefly that a reorganised Governing Body must either proceed forthwith to some such attempt, or leave things very much as they were before. It would carry out its task much more effectually, if it started with a definite programme and were equipped with full authority to carry through the needed reforms in a limited time. As regards the second it has the advantages and disadvantages of all middle courses, but it cannot in any degree be effective, unless directed by settled guiding principles towards definite ends : and this again implies a scheme of reconstruction. Accordingly it would seem that, whichever course we advocate, and however we approach the practical problem, a systematic reconstructive scheme is somewhere implied. Every tentative towards such a scheme furnishes materials for the ultimate reconstruction, if only by way of elimination and rejection.

Given, then, such a scheme of reconstruction as desirable, it is expedient first to consider existing defects, in order that the special ends towards which the reconstruction is to be directed, may be determined. It may be laid down that the shortcomings of the present system are :—

- I. The unreal character of the education given :
the education is largely a sham education.

The holders of degree are in too many cases not in any real sense educated.

2. The system is too pretentious. Its curricula are exceedingly elaborate, and if they were thoroughly carried out, the education would be real and solid : but they are not thoroughly carried out.
3. They are not thoroughly carried out mainly because the students who follow them are not really fit for the tasks attempted. They are taxed beyond their intellectual strength and consequently adopt shifts and expedients, which frustrate the true ends of education. Education resolves itself into a fevered struggle to ' pass ' by hook or by crook.
4. The chief reason of the inaptness of the students for their curricula is their inadequate knowledge of English, the language through which their studies are carried on. A second reason is the early adoption of vicious methods of study. They start with bad habits, which ought to be unlearned, but are not.

We now have something like our required starting-point. We must contrive in some way to raise the standard of English. So long as we confine ourselves to the University and its regulative machinery, this can be done only by means of the Entrance Examination. If the case has been correctly diagnosed above, the first step in our reconstruction is necessarily *the raising of the standard of English at the Entrance Examination*. How can this be done? I conceive in one of two ways. There would be much to be said, if it were at all possible, for a Preliminary Examination in English, strict within a certain limited range : that is to say, a strict test of the ability to understand moderately difficult literary English and to write correctly in a plain and simple style. Best of all, perhaps would be a *vivâ voce* test, at all events to supplement the written in doubtful cases.

Is a *vivâ voce* test possible? Probably not : at the same time it is permissible to glance at the conditions involved : something is even gained by so doing. There is, conceivably just one way in which it might be compassed. Examiners might go round and hold this preliminary test at certain centres. The test would then have to be of the simplest nature, reading, a few *vivâ voce* questions and the writing of a short essay or letter. The undertaking though a large one

is not, perhaps, quite absolutely impossible.* The efficacy of the test would depend entirely on the examiners. They would at least know what standard was required and have the means of applying it.

But as there is the smallest likelihood of a preliminary test of this kind being adopted, it remains to consider whether the examination as now held can be in any way modified, so as to make it more effective as a test. My belief is that the present examination might be altered with advantage in two respects :—

- (a) a slightly different arrangement of the papers ;
- (b) the requirement of a higher percentage of pass marks.

The papers now set in English are two ; the first on selections of literature set as a text-book,† the second in translation from the vernacular, and in Grammar and Composition, the percentage which now passes is 33 per cent. The modification I propose are these :—

- (a) Two papers as at present, but the first to consist of translation from the vernacular and English composition ; the second to be on the text-books and on *general* English Grammar.
- (b) Pass marks 50 per cent.

With these two changes the rest of the examination might be left as at present.

The proposed re-arrangement of the papers differs verbally but slightly from the present regulations. Its actual effect, if adopted, would be very different. One whole paper is now given virtually to work on the text-books and conceivably a candidate may get his whole 66 pass-marks on this paper.‡ As proposed above the half-paper on the text-book would carry 50 marks only ; 50 would be given to translation into English ; 50 to original composition in English,§ and 50 to

* The sum can be worked out. The examination of each candidate might be expected to be on the average twenty minutes. A single examiner could hardly be expected to examine more than twenty candidates in a day. It would then take 10 examiners 5 days to examine 1,000 candidates. Thus 5,000 candidates would take 25 working days on this basis ; 6,000 would take 30.

† ‘The text-books and questions on Grammar the Calendar says (Rules for Examinations, p. 150), but the interpretation of the amount of grammar varies.

‡ Out of the total of 200 assigned to English, 120 marks are apportioned to the first paper (text-book and questions), 80 to the second paper (translation and composition). See Calendar for 1901, p. 151.

§ Out of 80 marks in the second paper, 26 are assigned to the translation from the vernacular, while the marks given to pure composition have sunk from 24 in 1890 (short essay and letter) to 6 and 7 (for an original letter of 100 words) in the last two papers published (See Calendar for 1901, pt. III, p. xix ; Calendar for 1900, pt. III, p. xvii ; Calendar for 1891, pt. III, p. xiii).

English Grammar and that wonderful mental gymnastic known as composition exercises.

This alteration with the demand for 50 per cent. pass-marks would ensure that the successful candidate really knew a little of the English language ; it would test something more than an ability to 'get up' text and notes as a memory exercise. Whether a sufficient knowledge of English is in popular estimation at present acquired receives curious illustration from a sentence given for correction in a recent Entrance paper. It runs : " He was very much angry, because, although he was two years more senior than I, he was failed, and I was *passed in First Division*." This seems a little to countenance the wicked inference that the sentence is offered as a typical, or let us say possible, specimen of 'First Division English.'

This amount of change might reasonably be expected to effect something in the required direction. Such a change could not be introduced abruptly and at once. Sufficient time would need to be given for the schools to adapt their teaching to the requirements of the new standard. It might take effect in 1905 or 1906, and as a further precaution against the disturbing effect of sudden change the pass percentage might be raised gradually, 40 in 1906, 45 in 1908 and 50 in 1910. The type of paper set should simultaneously be slightly changed, if possible, in the direction of simplicity. It should be as easy as possible consistently with a thorough test of essentials.

The net result to be expected would be a decreased total of successful Entrance students, but these would possess a better outfit for the studies before them. What of the rejected ? Their number is already too great ; something must, if possible, be done for them, or at the least their case needs consideration. A well-devised Final Schools Examination would go a long way towards a solution ; but I incline to think that this should be an examination wholly distinct from the Entrance as at Bombay, not in large part identical with it as at Allahabad. So far as this examination tested English it should be as a modern language and for the practical purposes of life—for commercial purposes, if you will ; the literary side should be subordinate or absent. In fact, most of those who study English in this country should study it as a living language to write and speak, not as a 'classical' language. In other words the method of instruction should be that of Ollendorf or something equally practical. This examination should, accordingly, meet the requirements of all those, who, while making good progress in other respects, had not the attainments indispensable for the pursuit of more advanced studies through the medium of English.

At all events this is really our problem at the present time ;

so to sift the youth of Bengal taught in High English Schools that those who are fit may go on to higher studies, literary and scientific, with assured hope of profit; while those who are not fit are drafted off in other directions. We want to give opportunities of better education to the more fit, and, at the same time, to make suitable provision for the great numbers who at present grapple unprofitably with courses of study too difficult for them. The final schools certificate would meet the needs of a great number of these, in particular of some of that great number who never pass the Entrance Examination at all.

The sifting process might be carried a stage higher by a more effectual distinction of Honour and Pass men among the students admitted to colleges. We want on the one hand to simplify the courses of study for the ordinary Pass degree, incidentally making them less extensive in range, but insisting on a higher standard within these limits. On the other hand we want Honour degrees of a higher character and more thoroughly differentiated. This brings us to the courses of study after Matriculation and to the F. A. and B. A. examinations.

We started by assuming as the practical end at which we were to aim the substitution of a real education for a sham. The position was that even when after great stress and effort our average B. A. is made, he turns out not to be educated in any real sense at all. If this is admitted—and no one has been heard as yet maintaining the contrary—our object must be to give him a more real education. It is no good, however, making our degree more difficult to obtain, unless we want to eliminate our average ‘pass-man’ altogether; but we might possibly get better results with more modest curricula and a higher standard in these. This is what I advocate for the ‘pass’ man. Make the curriculum easier and make the standard of passing higher. In this way we might make our education, as far as it went, real, though it might not make so good a show on paper. We should not educate up to a high standard, but we should be educating on sound lines. I mean something like this. In the First Arts Examination we now prescribe five ‘subjects’ as Compulsory and allow a sixth as Optional. This is too many, not more than four should be taken up simultaneously. I should be willing to admit a moderate degree of specialization in the F.A.; to allow a candidate to choose between a group of subjects mainly literary, or mainly scientific, in fact to introduce A. and B. courses at this earlier stage. Or, if the reasons for covering this wide range of subjects should be held valid, they might be taken up in groups *successively*. What I contend for is that the number of subjects at present prescribed is too many to be studied together profitably by

ordinary F. A. students. Their minds are distracted and overburdened. What I ask for, would even plead for, is some lightening of this burden (in this or some other way) in the interests of the students and in the hope of better educational results.

Then in respect of the several subjects: I submit that the task imposed in English is still too much for the average F. A. student considering his very imperfect knowledge of English and the extraordinary deficiency of ideas with which he starts. For instance the books prescribed for next year's examination are *Paradise Lost*, *Book I*, *The Traveller* and *The Deserted Village*, Tennyson's *Aylmer's Field*, some 140 octavo pages of *Cowper's Letters* and a *Life of Oliver Goldsmith* by William Black. I would regretfully but resolutely cut out the book of *Paradise Lost* as far above the student's intellectual reach, and I should query the life of Goldsmith as in parts dimly comprehensible by reason of the quality of its literary excellence. The total bulk is not indeed very great for a two-years' course: yet I am persuaded that our only chance of passable educational results with students of the present calibre is by an *extraordinary simplification* of the task we set them. The whole question of English text-books is hedged with perplexity, but more might be done than has been done as yet toward fixing principles and establishing a kind of canon. I shall have occasion to return later on to this point.

As regard other subjects, without pronouncing one way or other, I should wish it carefully considered, if we were not asking too much Mathematics (Trigonometry and Logarithms) for indiscriminate application: whether the Physics and Chemistry could not be made more practical, the History less in extent and deeper.

To compensate for this simplification and relaxation, I would require a higher percentage of 'pass-marks,' at all events in the aggregate (but not specially now in English only), and I would establish Honour courses. The Honour courses should be two and two only, the one literary, the other scientific. On the literary side the papers might be in English, a second language, in History and in Logic. On the scientific in Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and *either* History or Logic. We should take care to make these courses really mean a high degree of proficiency, and we should make it impossible for any one to get Honours who had not this proficiency.

Here we might surely learn from the London University, which we are so often told is our prototype. At the London Intermediate Examination in Arts Honours may be taken in one or more of *eight* subjects (1) Latin, (2) Greek, (3) English, (4) History, (5) French, (6) German, (7) Mathematics, (8) Logic [see the Calendar of the London University (1899—1900),

p. 53 cf. p. 47-49]. At London the candidate must take up five subjects : we should so far be lenient in asking only four. One thing should never be left out of account in quoting the University of London as the model for Calcutta. Of all British Universities none is more exacting in its standards than the University of London. If it errs anywhere, it is on the side of stringency and inflexibility. We may fitly, nay we must necessarily, adopt less exacting standards, for Calcutta—the worst fault of our system at present is that it affects high standards and even attains to some semblance of such, without really applying them. But it is the variest mockery to appeal to London in excuse for any laxity in the Indian system. The London standards are strict and the London degrees are very hard-earned. Accordingly they carry great weight anywhere. When Calcutta is equally strict, the result will be the same.

The F. A. Examination leads on to the examination for the B. A. degree. The Degree Examination must be co-ordinated with it. We again require a comparatively simple Pass course or courses; and now considerably greater elaboration in Honour courses. We already have an A. and B. Course for the Pass, and this may stand. Only it might be well to diminish the extent of ground covered and insist on more depth, so as to ensure sounder knowledge, while lightening the burden of details to be carried. In the A. Course we have, I conceive, extended the course in Mental and Moral Science somewhat too widely. Six years ago (before the year 1897) we only asked a knowledge of two specified text-books, difficult text-books it is true. We now prescribe a syllabus of indefinite extent in three subjects, Psychology, Ethics and Logic. But I have long doubted whether it would not be really better to set, in the Pass Course two or more short philosophical 'classics'—Descartes, Berkeley, Hume—and to reserve the syllabus in Psychology and Ethics for Honour men. I conceive that better results for general education could be got from such a combination as Descartes on Method and Berkeley's *Principia* (or *Dialogues*), or even a little Hume along with Mill's *Utilitarianism*—or even better Kant's *Metaphysic of Morals**—and a translation of certain portions of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. The advantage of these works I take to be their excellence as a foundation to build upon and the scope they would afford the teacher in exposition and criticism. Some of these are in fact adopted in the B. A. Pass courses of other of the Indian Universities.†

* The Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Morals.

† Bombay prescribes the *Nicomachean Ethics*; Allahabad, *Berkeley's Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous* and *Hume's Inquiry* concerning

In English we should confine Pass studies in poetry to the great classics as now and mainly to modern prose; and we should try to fix principles of selection a little more definitely. Shakespeare, Milton, Tennyson, as now, are obviously right in poetry, I think also clearly some of Matthew Arnold's poetry, especially the narrative poems: other selections are doubtful. Prose is a more difficult problem: in all Pass courses we want typical modern prose as far as possible, judiciously selected biography may pass, but Burke and Macaulay are 'suspect.' They form rather too stimulating a diet for our Pass students, unallied with wide general reading. Our prose should be eminently sober, not too complex as to subject matter, and, above all, lucid in style: certain of Matthew Arnold's essays I take it might form the standard. Philip Gilbert Hamerton is another writer who at once occurs to me as in all respects suitable. There are many more, but they require selecting with patient care and a refined process of sifting and rejecting.

I incline to think that in the B. A. we should not require more than two subjects* for the Pass degree and should allow considerable choice in the combination of these. I should not oppose these subjects being taken up separately. The only objection is the undesirability of multiplying examinations. But in all cases I should insist inexorably on a high standard in respect of the work offered, whether Pass or Honours.

In Honours, we should now be free to elaborate at our pleasure and we should make our Honour standard high in every sense. The cardinal point, I conceive, is that in every subject the Honour course should be taught separately from the Pass. At present Honour and Pass students largely attend the same lectures—an almost incredible arrangement. In English an attempt should be made to systematize the studies and round them off into some sort of unity. The elements of English Philology should certainly be included: the History of English Literature more doubtfully: at all events, I conceive that limitation to a period would be preferable (*e.g.*, 1579 to 1800). Set books might now be imposed on some scale. For instance all Milton's Minor Poems with six books of *Paradise Lost*, alternated with the six later books together with *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. Milton, as the English classic poet pre-eminently, should be our staple. Of Shakespeare we might appoint half a dozen plays for general reading with special critical study of one or two. We should want

Human understanding (also *Buller's Fifteen Sermons and Dissertation on Virtue* another possible choice in Ethics); the Panjab University has lately introduced Selections from Berkeley.

* If only two subjects were taken up would be less reason for shortening any of the separate courses.

at least one other poet and the difficulty would now be how to decide between conflicting claims. For Honours practically the whole range of English Literature is open to us, because we may expect the literary instinct in our Honour candidates in Literature. We could not require it of our pass-men. So also in prose we can now freely recall Burke and Macaulay along with Bacon and Charles Lamb, Carlyle and De Quincey. Breadth of reading will now be an aim, but always controlled by the still more important principles of thoroughness and unity.

Whether Mathematics and Science as taught in connection with the Calcutta University might, also with advantage, be subjected to a review such as I have applied on the literary side I leave to the consideration of those whose first interest is in these branches of study. The touchstone must be the same—reality and thoroughness with an added insistence in the case of Physical Science of the supreme importance of good grounding and practical aims.*

In our M. A. courses in English, as was pointed out in the *Calcutta Review* for October 1896, we lose a great opportunity. Let me enforce this doctrine by a recital of the studies of an M. A. student as by law established.

For this year 1901 we prescribe: Chaucer—*Canterbury Tales. Prologue and Knight's Tale.* Shakespeare—*Cymbeline, Henry VI (Parts I and II), Othello, The Merry Wives of Windsor.* Marlowe—*Faustus.* Milton—*Paradise Lost Books X, XI, XII.* Dryden—*Select Satires: Absalom and Achitophel, The Medal, MacFlecknoe.* Taylor—*Philip Van Artevelde.* Sir Thomas Browne—*Hydriotaphia or Urn Burial.* Bacon—*The Advancement of Learning Books I and II.* Carlyle—*On Heroes.* Hutton—*Literary Essays.* Holmes—*The Professor at the Breakfast Table.* George Eliot—*Scenes of Clerical Life.* Besides these, as aids to the study of English Language and Literature we recommend: Morris—*Historical Outlines of English Accidence.* Smith—*Student's Manual of the English Language.* Taine's *History.* Dowden—*Shakespeare's Mind and Art.* Sweet—*Anglo-Saxon Primer.* Sayce—*Introduction to the Science of Language.*

This list speaks for itself; it is vastly ingenious, but nothing similar will be found in the pages of the Calendar of the University of London, though we search it from cover

* In the Calendar of the University of London this *Note* is prefixed to the Syllabus on General Elementary Science for the Matriculation Examination (Cal., 1899-1900. p. 39). "In particular, the subjects of the present Syllabus will be treated wherever possible from an experimental point of view and numerical examples or problems will be restricted to very simple calculations."

to cover. I feel inclined to treat these lists as Plato was for treating the poets in his ideal republic—anoint them with myrrh, crown them with garlands, but send them away 'to another city.' There is no room for them in ours.

The opportunity we lose is that of making our studies for the M. A. degree a stepping-stone to genuine research in English Literature. This we could do by making the study of Anglo-Saxon something more than a mere scratching of the surface. We might allow a choice of specialization either on the literary or the philological sides of the subject. We should then want no prescribed text-books, except perhaps in Anglo-Saxon. A possible arrangement would be one paper in the general history of the language, one in the general history of the literature, two in a special period prescribed on the literary side balanced by two in the special study of Anglo-Saxon, and an essay.

This completes the review from my present standpoint. If anything here put forward seem too dogmatically stated, I can only say that the dogmatism is unintentional and apparent only. The intention is wholly tentative, a process of search. The aim is to quicken interest. There is not one of the suggestions hazarded that I should set any great store by in the precise form in which it is expressed—save and except the raising of the standard of English at the *Entrance Examination*. This I regard as necessary and indispensable whatever else we do or leave undone. For the rest it is principles and tendencies that matter; the definite suggestion is only made as earnest of an endeavour to be practical.

Any changes that are made can only be made slowly; the actual process of transition must be a lengthy one; it will take several years to get any system that departs widely from the present into full working order. But we seem to be at a definite parting of the ways. An effort is possible now—it may or may not prove successful—to give a more healthy and fruitful direction to the education fostered by the University of Calcutta. If this opportunity passes, no other so favourable is likely to occur again. It would seem that through a laudable desire to advance, the Calcutta University has attempted to advance too rapidly; its apparent is much greater than its real progress, the result being to give, as I have already implied, a somewhat 'shoddy' character to its whole system. This cannot be set right without considerable effort and some sensible discomfort. But the gain, if higher education could be put on a sound basis, would be worth the sacrifice.

I suppose so dull a paper as this has never before been found in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*. The dullness will

be to a great extent condoned by any one who appreciates the vital importance of the issues involved. The loftiest aspirations after improvement are all reducible in the end to sordid details such as these. We are, moreover, still very much in twilight as to the more special and mediate ends and aims of university education in India. It is expedient that we should become more fully aware of what precisely we are trying to do in the educational schemes we devise, for it is only in relation to this end that we can judge of the fitness of this or that detail. It is plain that even if the ultimate end be the same as that of all education, the mediate end must take in India a special and peculiar character, and this ought to be susceptible of articulate statement.

As regards the particular question here treated the manipulation of curricula, I am glad to be able to quote valuable testimony to its importance. Mr. P. A. Barnett writes in *Common Sense in Teaching and Education*, one of the most recent and thoughtful contributions to the literature of the subject, p. 94, "Curriculum is important because it provides the main material, the main food, out of which are made mind and character. We cannot get equally good results from one set of studies as from another, any more than we can profit equally by different sorts of food. Some foods are more digestible than others, better fitted for assimilation by the body, more easily made into bone and muscle and nerve; so some studies, or some arrangements of studies, are better than others for building up mind and character." It is to be feared that in Bengal the food has hitherto been too strong in quality, too great in quantity, and too miscellaneous, for the assimilative capacity of the ordinary student. *Alma mater* would be wise to adapt her diet to the feeble digestive powers of her nurselings.

This is why I think it of importance to try and determine scientifically the sort of books most suitable for Indian students in their English courses at the various stages of their education. This by no means implies that our practice hitherto has been all wrong, or even very seriously wrong, but only that something would be gained by a conscious effort to arrive at principles. If the principles could be agreed upon and formulated, and then the whole field of English literature were sifted by their means, I think that a 'canon' of text-books might be fixed not, of course, with absolute finality, but sufficiently for practical guidance. I think that prevailing ideas on the subject might be made clearer than they now are. I do not think the subject of English text-books has been satisfactorily 'threshed out,' and I do think something might be expected from the attempt to determine principles formally and

authoritatively. I do not find there is as yet any clear recognition, what distinctive characters should be looked for in a text-book for the F. A., for the B. A., for B. A. Honours. I think the principles might be determined partly by a patient collation of the opinions of those who have most knowledge and experience, partly by a consideration of the psychological means by which the educational end may be reached.

The other questions in respect of the Calcutta University demanding consideration and not less important are many. Even in respect of the examination system, there is the question of the conduct of examinations and of the measures necessary to check mere memory-work. Probably a good deal might be done to outwit 'cram' by judicious combination among examiners, but it must be deliberate and common action. There are the large questions of teaching methods and of the organization of the college. Teaching is at present wholly or mainly by lectures, but there are far too many lectures given for these so-called lectures to be lectures in the strict sense—that is each lecture a finished presentment of some aspect or section of a subject, the distilled result of the lecturer's special experience and study. Yet they are not frankly and professedly class-teaching, such as is practised in schools. Is lecturing or class-teaching the proper business of the college 'professor'? Is personal and individual teaching desirable? Is it possible? Then outside the routine of instruction, what is possible in the way of making a college more of a living organism? Can anything be done to give it more unity, to make the members of a college, teachers and learners and even the college servants, realize this unity? I am not even sure that at quite every college in Bengal it is as yet customary to hold regular meetings of the teaching staff, like the Masters' meetings at English Public Schools and Tutorial meetings at English Colleges, for exchange of views and the facilitation of common action.

I believe this question of the college and its individual unity to be the most important of all at the present time, so much so that I should be prepared to subordinate the University question to it. For in education it is the actual teaching and training which is the important thing, all the rest is means to an end. The end is education; the organization of college, university, examinations, is all means to this end. As in other things, so here the tendency is to put the means before the end. We elaborate machinery, which is comparatively easy, and the true end, the formation of mind and character, sinks into the second place. And in this connection it is permissible, I think, to wonder, whether a departmental organization is really compatible with the deeper purposes of

collegiate education. By departmental I mean a system which makes the college merely a part or member of some larger whole. The most successful educational institutions in this country would, I believe, be acknowledged to be such institutions as the Raj Kumar Colleges, Aligarh, the Martinières, the Medical and Engineering Colleges, all of which occupy a more or less extra-departmental position. Since the flood-gates of speculation have been opened, let us greatly dare—what after all in the field of speculation is one audacity more or less—and permit ourselves to doubt whether in the parallel case of Arts Colleges the departmental organization is really necessary. There is a wide distinction between the functions of inspecting schools and ‘professing’ a branch of science or literature. Why in India are they treated as identical? Is it not conceivable that the colleges maintained by Government for the general purposes of higher education might each severally be organized—like a School of Art for instance—as a separate and self-contained whole; that, in fine, the college and not the department might be the unit, the living organism one and indivisible? To create an agency which really teaches, which really educates, is, at all events, the question of questions in the now insistent problem of University education in Bengal.

H. R. J.

ART. XVII.—STATUTES OF THE NOBEL FOUNDATION.*

GIVEN AT THE PALACE IN STOCKHOLM, ON THE 29TH DAY
OF JUNE IN THE YEAR 1900.

Objects of the Foundation.

§ 1.

THE Nobel Foundation is based upon the last Will and Testament of Dr. Alfred Bernhard Nobel, Engineer, which was drawn up on the 27th day of November 1895. The paragraph of the Will bearing upon this topic is worded thus :

“ With the residue of my convertible estate I hereby direct my Executors to proceed as follows : They shall convert my said residue of property into money, which they shall then invest in safe securities ; the capital thus secured shall constitute a fund, the interest accruing from which shall be annually awarded in prizes to those persons who shall have contributed most materially to benefit mankind during the year immediately preceding. The said interest shall be divided into five equal amounts, to be apportioned as follows : one share to the person who shall have made the most important discovery or invention in the domain of Physics ; one share to the person who shall have made the most important Chemical discovery or improvement ; one share to the person who shall have made the most important discovery in the domain of Physiology or Medicine ; one share to the person who shall have produced in the field of Literature the most distinguished work of an idealistic tendency ; and, finally, one share to the person who shall have most or best promoted the Fraternity of Nations and the Abolishment or Diminution of Standing Armies and the Formation and Increase of Peace-Congresses. The prizes for Physics and Chemistry shall be awarded by the Swedish Academy of Science (*Svenska Vetenskapsakademien*) in Stockholm ; the one for Physiology or Medicine by the Caroline Medical Institute, (*Karolinska*

* [In our last number we furnished a Despatch from the Home Colonial Office in which reference was made to an official translation in French of the Statutes and Regulations of the great Nobel Bequest. As the subject is of the greatest interest to all scholars throughout the world, and is hardly known or understood properly, we furnish here an equally authentic and official translation in English. We have also arranged for the results of the First Competition (this year) to be furnished to us direct from Norway.—*Ed., C. R.*

institutet) in Stockholm; the prize for Literature by the Academy in Stockholm (*i. e.*, Svenska Akademien) and that for Peace by a Committee of five persons to be elected by the Norwegian Storting. I declare it to be my express desire that, in the awarding of prizes, no consideration whatever be paid to the nationality of the candidates, that is to say, that the most deserving be awarded the prize, whether of Scandinavian origin or not."

The instructions of the Will as above set forth shall serve as a criterion for the administration of the Foundation, in conjunction with the elucidations and further stipulations contained in this Code and also in a deed of adjustment of interests amicably entered into with certain of the testator's heirs on the 5th day of June 1898, wherein subsequent upon the arriving at an agreement with reference to a minor portion of the property left by Dr. Nobel, they do affirm and declare, that: "By these presents we do acknowledge and accept Dr. Nobel's Will, and entirely and under all circumstances relinquish every claim for ourselves and our posterity to the late Dr. Nobel's remaining property, and to all participation in the administration of the same, and also to the possession of any right on our part to urge any criticism upon the elucidations of, or additions to, the said Will, or upon any other prescriptions with regard to the carrying out of the Will or the uses to which the means accruing from the bequest are put, which may either now or at some future time be imposed for observance by the Crown or by those who are thereto entitled;

Subject, nevertheless, to the following express provisos:—

- (a) That the Code of Statutes which is to serve in common as a guide for all the corporations appointed to award prizes, and is to determine the manner and the conditions of the distribution of prizes appointed in the said Will, shall be drawn up in consultation with a representative nominated by Robert Nobel's family, and shall be submitted to the consideration of the King;
- (b) That deviations from the following leading principles shall not occur, *viz.* :

That each of the annual prizes founded by the said Will shall be awarded at least once during each ensuing five-year period, the first of the periods to run from and with the year next following that in which the Nobel-Foundation comes into force, and

That every amount so distributed in prizes in each section shall, under no consideration, be less than sixty (60) per cent.

of that portion of the annual interest that shall be available for the award, nor shall the amount be apportioned to more than a maximum of three (3) prizes."

§ 2.

By the "Academy in Stockholm," as mentioned in the Will, is understood the Swedish Academy—Svenska Akademien.

The term "Literature," used in the Will, shall be understood to embrace not only works falling under the category of Polite Literature, but also other writings which may claim to possess literary value by reason of their form or their mode of exposition.

The proviso in the Will to the effect that for the prize-competition only such works or inventions shall be eligible as have appeared "during the preceding year," is to be so understood, that a work or an invention for which a reward under the terms of the Will is contemplated, shall set forth the most modern results of work being done in that of the departments, as defined in the Will, to which it belongs; works or inventions of older standing to be taken into consideration only in case their importance have not previously been demonstrated.

§ 3.

Every written work, to qualify for a prize, shall have appeared in print.

§ 4.

The amount allotted to one prize may be divided equally between two works submitted, should each of such works be deemed to merit a prize.

In cases where two or more persons shall have executed a work in conjunction, and that work be awarded a prize, such prize shall be presented to them jointly.

The work of any person since deceased cannot be submitted for award; should, however, the death of the individual in question have occurred subsequent to a recommendation having been made in due course for his work to receive a prize, such prize may be awarded.

It shall fall to the lot of each corporation entitled to adjudicate prizes, to determine whether the prize or prizes they have to award might likewise be granted to some institution or society.

§ 5.

No work shall have a prize awarded to it unless it have been proved by the test of experience or by the examination of experts to possess the pre-eminent excellence that is manifestly signified by the terms of the Will.

If it be deemed that not one of the works under examination attains to the standard of excellence above referred to, the sum allotted for the prize or prizes shall be withheld until the ensuing year. Should it even then be found impossible, on the same grounds, to make any award, the amount in question shall be added to the main fund, unless three-fourths of those engaged in making the award determine that it shall be set aside to form a special fund for that one of the five sections, as defined by the Will, for which the amount was originally intended. The proceeds of any and every such fund may be employed, subject to the approval of the adjudicators, to promote the objects which the testator ultimately had in view in making his bequest, in other ways than by means of prizes.

Every special fund shall be administered in conjunction with the main fund.

§ 6.

For each of the four sections in which a *Swedish* corporation is charged with adjudicating the prizes, that corporation shall appoint a Committee—their Nobel-Committee—of three or five members, to make suggestions with reference to the award. The preliminary investigation necessary for the awarding of prizes in the Peace-section shall be conducted by the Committee of the Norwegian Storting, as laid down in the Will.

To be qualified for election on a Nobel-Committee it is not essential either to be a Swedish subject or to be a member of the corporation that has to make the award. On the Norwegian Committee persons of other nationalities than Norwegian may have seats.

Members of a Nobel-Committee may receive reasonable compensation for the labour devolving upon them as such, the amount to be determined by the corporation that appoints them.

In special cases, where it shall be deemed necessary, the adjudicating corporation shall have the right of appointing a specialist to take part in the deliberations and decisions of a Nobel-Committee, in the capacity of a member of the same.

§ 7.

It is essential that every candidate for a prize under the terms of the Will be proposed as such in writing by some duly qualified person. A direct application for a prize will not be taken into consideration.

The qualification entitling a person to propose another for the receipt of a prize consists in being a representative, whether Swedish or otherwise, of the domain of Science, Literature, etc., in question, in accordance with the detailed

stipulations obtainable from the corporations charged with adjudicating the prizes.

At each annual adjudication those proposals shall be considered that have been handed in during the twelve months preceding the 1st day of February.

§ 8.

The grounds upon which the proposal of any candidate's name is made must be stated in writing and handed in along with such papers and other documents as may be therein referred to.

Should the proposal be written in a language other than those of the Scandinavian group, or than English, French, German or Latin, or should the adjudicators, in order to arrive at a decision upon the merits of a work proposed, be under the necessity of obtaining information as to the contents chiefly from a work written in a language, for the understanding of which there is no expedient save such as involves a great expenditure of trouble or money, it shall not be obligatory for the adjudicators to pay further consideration to the proposal.

§ 9.

On Founder's Day, the 10th of December, the anniversary of the death of the testator, the adjudicators shall make known the results of their award and shall hand over to the winners of prizes a cheque for the amount of the same, together with a diploma and a medal in gold bearing the testator's effigy and a suitable legend.

It shall be incumbent on a prize-winner, wherever feasible, to give a lecture on the subject treated of in the work to which the prize has been awarded ; such lecture to take place within six months of the Founder's Day at which the prize was won, and to be given at Stockholm or, in the case of the Peace prize, at Christiania.

§ 10.

Against the decision of the adjudicators in making their award no protest can be lodged. If differences of opinion have occurred they shall not appear in the minutes of the proceedings, nor be in any other way made public.

§ 11.

As an assistance in the investigations necessary for making their award, and for the promotion in other ways of the aims of the Foundation, the adjudicators shall possess powers to establish scientific institutions and other organizations.

The institutions, &c., so established and belonging to the Foundation, shall be known under the name of Nobel-Institutes.

§ 12.

Each of the Nobel-Institutes shall be under the control of that adjudicating corporation that has established it.

As regards its external management and its finances a Nobel-Institute shall have an independent status. Its property is not, however, on that account available for defraying the expenses of any establishments belonging to an adjudicating or any other corporation. Nor is it permissible for any scholar who is in receipt of a fixed salary as an official of a Swedish Nobel-Institute to occupy a similar position at any other institution at the same time, unless the King be pleased to permit it in a special case.

So far as the adjudicators of prizes deem it to be feasible, the Nobel-Institutes shall be established on one common site and shall be organised uniformly.

The adjudicating corporations are at liberty to appoint foreigners, either men or women, to posts at the Nobel-Institutes.

§ 13.

From that portion of the income derived from the main fund that it falls to the lot of each of the five Sections annually to distribute, one-fourth of the amount shall be deducted before the distribution is made. The immediate expenses connected with the award having been discharged, the remainder of the amount deducted as above directed shall be employed to meet the expenses of the Section in maintaining its Nobel-Institute. The money which is not absorbed in thus defraying the current expenditure for the year, shall form a reserve fund for the future needs of the Institute.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE FOUNDATION.

§ 14.

The Nobel Foundation shall be represented by a Board of Control, located in Stockholm. The Board shall consist of five members, one of whom, the President, shall be appointed by the King, and the others by the delegates of the adjudicating corporations. The Board shall elect from their own members a Managing Director.

For the member of the Board whom the King appoints one substitute shall be chosen, and for the other members two substitutes.

Those members of the Board who are elected by the delegates of the adjudicators, and also their substitutes, shall be appointed to hold office for two years, commencing from the 1st day of May.

§ 15.

The Board shall administer the funds of the Foundation as well as the other property, real and otherwise belonging to it, in so far as such is common to all the sections.

It shall be a function of the Board to hand over to the winners of prizes in accordance with the rules of the Foundation, the prizes so won, and besides, to attend to the payment of all duly authorised expenses connected with the prize-distribution, the Nobel-Institutes and similar objects. It shall further be incumbent on the Board to be of assistance, in matters that are not of a scientific character, to all those who have to do with the Foundation, where help be required.

The Board shall be empowered to engage the services of a lawyer to summon or prosecute a person or to defend a case on its behalf if need arise, and, in general, to act as the legal representative of the Foundation. The Board shall be entitled to engage the assistants who may be necessary for the proper discharge of its duties, and also to fix the terms, both as regards salary and pension, on which such assistants shall be remunerated.

§ 16.

The adjudicating corporations shall appoint fifteen delegates, for two civil years at a time ; of these delegates the Academy of Science shall choose six and each of the other bodies three. To provide against inconvenience from the disability of a delegate to serve at any time, the Academy of Science shall appoint four substitutes, and each of the other bodies two.

The delegates shall elect one of their number to act as Chairman. That election shall be held at a meeting to which the oldest of the delegates chosen by the Academy of Science shall summon his fellow-delegates.

A minimum of nine delegates shall constitute a quorum. If any of the adjudicating corporations neglect to choose delegates, that shall not prevent the other delegates from arriving at a decision on the business before them.

Should a delegate reside at any place other than that where the meeting of delegates takes place, he shall be entitled to receive reasonable compensation for the expense to which he shall have been put in attending the meeting, such compensation to be paid from the general funds of the Foundation.

§ 17.

The administration and accounts of the Board shall be controlled once every civil year by five auditors, of whom each of the adjudicating corporations shall elect one and the King appoint the fifth ; this last shall act as Chairman at their sittings.

Before the expiration of February every year a report concerning the administration of the Board shall be handed in to the Chairman of the Auditing Committee, which in its turn shall bring in its report before the first day of April to the delegates of the adjudicating corporations.

In the Auditors' Report, which must be published in the public newspapers, there shall appear a summary of the objects to which the proceeds of the several funds have been applied.

If any of the adjudicating corporations neglects to elect an auditor, or if any auditor fails to appear after having been summoned to a sitting of the Auditing Committee, the other auditors shall not be thereby prevented from pursuing their task of auditing.

§ 18.

The auditors shall at all times have access to all the books, accounts and other documents of the Foundation; nor shall any information they may demand concerning the management be withheld by the Board. All the deeds and securities belonging to the Foundation shall be examined and verified at least once a year by the auditors.

The Minister of Public Education and Worship, either in person or by appointed deputy, shall also have the right of access to all the documents belonging to the Foundation.

§ 19.

On the basis of the Auditors' Report the delegates of the adjudicators shall determine whether the Board shall be held absolved from their responsibility or not, and shall take those measures against the Board or any member of it for which call may arise. If no case be brought up within a year and a day of the date when the report of the Board was handed in to the auditors, the exoneration of the Board shall be held to have been granted.

§ 20.

The King shall determine the salary of the Managing Director, and also the amount of remuneration that shall be given to the other members of the Board and to the auditors.

Further instructions as to the management of the Foundation not contained in this Code shall be issued by the King in special bye-laws.

§ 21.

One-tenth part of the annual income derived from the main fund shall be added to the capital. To the same fund shall be also added the interest accruing from the sums set aside for prizes, while they remain undistributed or have not been carried over to the main or other (special) fund, as directed in § 5.

ALTERATIONS IN THE CODE.

§ 22.

A proposition to modify these statutes may be made by any of the adjudicating corporations, by their delegates, or by the Board. Upon any such proposition being brought forward by the adjudicators or by the Board, the delegates shall be required to express an opinion relative to it.

The adjudicators and the Board shall have to come to a decision on any proposal made, the Academy of Science having two votes and the other corporations one each. If there are not at least four votes in favour of a proposition, or if that corporation whose rights and authority the change proposed affects has not given its assent, the proposition shall be regarded as rejected. In the contrary case the proposition shall be submitted by the Board to the King for his consideration.

The omission on the part of any of those who are notified in due course of a proposed change, to send in any communication within four months of the receipt of the said notification, shall not prevent a decision being arrived at.

TEMPORARY REGULATIONS.

1. Directly the Code of Statutes of the Foundation shall have been ratified by the King, the adjudicators shall appoint the prescribed number of delegates to act until the close of the year 1901; they shall be summoned to meet together in Stockholm at the earliest date possible, for the purpose of electing the members of the Board of Control of the Foundation.

In determining the period of service of those members of the Board who are first appointed, the following points are to be observed: firstly, that to the time of service laid down by the statutes, which commences on 1st May 1901, the time between the date of the election and the day named must be added, and secondly, that two members of the Board shall be chosen by lot to go off again one year afterwards (on May 1).

2. The Board of Control of the Foundation shall assume the management of the property of the Foundation at the commencement of the year 1901; subject to the proviso, however, that the testator's executors shall be at liberty to continue, during the progress of the year, to take those measures which may still be necessary for the completion of the winding up of the estate, so far as they find needful.

3. The first distribution of prizes shall take place, if feasible, in 1901, and that in all five sections.

4. From the property possessed by the Foundation there shall be deducted:

(a) A sum of 300,000 kronor (about £16,556) for each of

the five sections, 1,500,000 kronor in all, to be used, along with the interest accruing therefrom after the first of January 1900, as need arises, for defraying the running expenses of organising the Nobel-Institutes, and

(b) The sum which the Board, after consultation with the delegates, may deem necessary for procuring a building of its own, to embrace offices for the transaction of business and a large hall for Founder's-day celebrations. The adjudicators shall be empowered to set aside the 300,000 kronor and interest thereon, mentioned above, or any portion of the same, on behalf of the special funds of the different sections.

To all which Each and Every One, whom it may concern, hath to pay dutiful and obedient heed. To the further certainty whereof WE have hereby attached OUR own signature and royal seal.

At the Palace in Stockholm, on this the 29th day of June 1900,

OSCAR.

(L. S.)

Nils Claëson.

SPECIAL REGULATIONS, CONCERNING THE DISTRIBUTION, ETC., OF PRIZES FROM THE NOBEL FOUNDATION *by the Royal Academy of Science in Stockholm. Given by His Gracious Majesty, Oscar II, King of Sweden and Norway, at the Palace in Stockholm, on the 29th day of June 1900.*

PRIZE DISTRIBUTION.

§ 1.

The right to hand in the name of a candidate for a prize, as directed in § 7 of the Code of Statutes of the Nobel-Foundation, shall belong to :

1. Home and foreign members of the Royal Academy of Science in Stockholm.
2. Members of the Nobel-Committees of the Physical and Chemical Sections as defined in the Code.
3. Scientists who have received a Nobel-prize from the Academy of Science.
4. Professors, whether in ordinary or associate, of the Physical and Chemical Sciences at the Universities of Upsala, Lund, Christiania, Copenhagen and Helsingfors, at the Caroline Medico-Chirurgical Institute and the Royal Technical College in Stockholm, and also those teachers of the same subjects who are on the permanent staff of the Stockholm University College.

5. Holders of similar chairs at other universities or university colleges, to the number of at least six, to be selected by the Academy of Science in the way most appropriate for the just representation of the various countries and their respective seats of learning.

6. Other Scientists whom the Academy of Science may see fit to select.

A determination as to the choice to be made of teachers and scientists, in accordance with sections 5 and 6 above, shall be arrived at before the close of each September.

§ 2.

For each of the Physical and Chemical*Sections the Nobel-Committee, as prescribed in § 6 of the Code, shall consist of five members, four of them being chosen by the Academy and the fifth being the president of the corresponding section of the Nobel-Institute, as mentioned in § 14 below.

The election shall be for a space of four civil years. A member going off by rotation shall be eligible for re-election.

If a member retires or dies before his period expires, another person shall be elected to serve for the remainder of the period.

§ 3.

Previous to the election of a member of the Nobel-Committee, a list of proposed names shall be drawn up by the 4th Class in the Academy if the election be to the Committee in Physics, and by the 5th Class if the election be to the Committee in Chemistry. These lists shall be handed in to the Academy not later than the close of November.

If either of the above Classes of the Academy so desires, they shall be empowered to associate any competent member of another Class with themselves in the task of drawing up the lists aforesaid.

§ 4.

The Academy shall select one of the members chosen to sit on a Nobel-Committee to be the chairman of the same, for the space of one year at a time. In case of absence on the part of the chairman, his place shall be taken for the sitting by the oldest among the members present.

When the two committees meet in joint conference the chair shall be taken by the older of the two chairmen.

§ 5.

No decision shall be arrived at by a Nobel-Committee unless there be present a minimum of three out of the five members having seats on it, as directed in § 2 above.

Voting shall not be by ballot, but open. If the votes be equally divided, the chairman shall have a casting vote.

§ 6. .

During the course of the month of September in each year the Nobel-Committees shall issue a circular to all those who are qualified, according to § 1 above, summoning them to make nominations of candidates for prizes before the first day of February in the following year ; such nominations to be supported by evidence, documentary and otherwise.

§ 7.

Before the close of September every year the Nobel-Committee shall present to the Academy their opinion and proposals regarding the distribution of prizes.

That Class in the Academy which is therein concerned shall then express its views with regard to the proposals, before the expiration of the month of October at the latest. . Should the Class in question deem it necessary to call in the services of some qualified member of any other Class, to aid in drawing up their report, they shall have authority to do so.

The final decision, devolving upon the Academy, shall be arrived at within the lapse of the first half of November next ensuing.

§ 8.

The proceedings, verdicts and proposals of the Nobel-Committees with reference to the prize-distribution shall not be published or in any other way be made known.

§ 9.

The amount of the remuneration that in conformity with § 6 in the Code is to be allotted to a member of a Nobel-Committee, shall be determined by the Academy, after it has heard the joint views of Classes 5 and 6.

The amount of remuneration to be accorded to any person who shall have been called in as an expert member of a Nobel-Committee, in pursuance of the stipulations of § 6 in the Code, shall be determined by the Academy, after it has heard the opinion of the Class which shall have called in such member.

§ 10.

To every member of the Academy who shall attend a meeting at which, in pursuance of § 7 (item 2 or 3), a Class in the Academy shall agree upon a final verdict or at which the Academy shall come to a decision in regard to the prize-award, a Nobel medal in gold shall be presented for each occasion.

§ 11.

All questions connected with the Nobel-Foundation shall be dealt with at special sittings of the Academy. The minutes
VOL. CXIII.]

made at those sittings shall not be preserved with those of the other sittings of the Academy. All expenses entailed by these special sittings shall be defrayed from the funds of the Nobel-Foundation.

THE NOBEL-INSTITUTE.

§ 12.

The Nobel-Institute, which § 11 of the Code authorises the Academy of Science to establish, is to be so established primarily for the purpose of carrying out, where the respective Nobel-Committees shall deem requisite, scientific investigation as to the value of those discoveries in the domains of Physics and Chemistry, which shall have been proposed as meriting the award of a Nobel-prize to their authors.

The Institute shall, moreover, as far as its means allow, promote such researches in the domains of the sciences named, as promise to result in salient advantage.

§ 13.

The Nobel-Institute shall consist of two sections, one for Physical Research and one for Chemical Research

The buildings required for these two sections shall be erected on contiguous sites, and rooms for the sittings of the Nobel-Committees as well as record-rooms, libraries, etc., shall be constructed for the two in common.

§ 14.

The Nobel-Institute shall be under the superintendence of an Inspector, appointed by the Crown.

As President of each of the two sections of the Nobel-Institute, the Academy of Science shall select, on the basis of recommendations from the Class in the Academy concerned, a scientist, either of Swedish or foreign extraction, who is possessed of an established reputation as an investigator and of a wide experience in, and grasp of, the branch of science which it is the function of the section to promote.

The Presidents shall have the title of Professor.

The terms of appointment for the Presidents shall be drawn up by the Academy on the basis of suggestions from the Class in the Academy concerned.

§ 15.

The President of a section shall devote the whole of his working-time to the concerns of that section. He shall exercise supervision over the officials and attendants in the service of the section, have charge of the buildings and collections belonging to it, and be held responsible in the last resort for the finances.

The President shall see to the carrying out of the work of investigation mentioned in § 12. In cases where such work falls within that department of research which the President has made his own, he shall be required to execute it himself.

The other regulations to which the President shall be subject shall be imparted to him in a special code of instructions drawn up by the Academy.

§ 16.

Whenever need shall arise for the calling in of a specialist to assist in the work of investigation, that Nobel-Committee which has the matter in hand, shall make application to the Academy for the purpose. The fee for such work shall be fixed in each case by the Academy on the basis of the Committee's own proposal, observance nevertheless being paid to the following paragraph—§ 17.

§ 17.

In cases where the Academy, by the terms of the Code, does not hold the sole right to determine the amount of the remuneration to be accorded to any member of the Academy, the decision authorising such payments to be made shall be submitted to the Crown for consideration and sanction.

§ 18.

A Joint-Secretary for the two sections of the Nobel-Institute shall be appointed by the Academy, the conditions of appointment to rest with that body. Names for the post shall be proposed by the two Nobel-Committees jointly. The Secretary shall be required, in addition to his other duties, to keep the minutes at the sittings of the Nobel-Committees. A Librarian shall also be appointed in the same manner. The position of Librarian may be combined with that of Secretary or Assistant to the Institute.

Assistants, makers of instruments, porters and other officials required for the work of the Institute, shall be engaged and dismissed by that Nobel-Committee which employs them.

§ 19

Permission for other persons than those who are on the scientific staff of the Institute to carry on research in its laboratories etc., may be granted by the Nobel-Committee interested, yet only provided the researches are directed towards determining the scientific conditions upon which some discovery or some invention may be evolved.

SPECIAL FUNDS.

§ 20.

As soon as any Special Funds shall have been formed, in accordance with § 5 in the Code, the Academy shall be entitled to distribute, out of the annual yield thereof, support for the furtherance, in directions the testator had ultimately in view in making his bequest, of any work in the domains of Physical and Chemical Science that may be judged to be of significance either in a scientific or a practical regard.

Assistance of that kind shall by preference be accorded to such persons as shall have already attained, by their labours in the sciences named, to results that promise in their further development to prove worthy of the support of the Nobel-Foundation.

Proposals for the awarding of assistance of the nature above indicated shall be made by the respective Nobel-Committees and submitted to the Academy ; it shall then rest with that body to consult the opinion of the Class concerned and thereafter to determine on the case.

The income derived from the special Funds may also be applied to the needs of the Nobel-Institute.

ALTERATION OF THE PRESENT STATUTES.

§ 21.

A proposition to alter the present statutes may be raised by any member of the Academy or of the Nobel-Committees. Before the Academy proceeds to deal with any proposition to that end, it shall first obtain an expression of opinion with regard to it from the two Nobel-Committees jointly, and subsequently from Classes 4 and 5 in the Academy jointly. Any proposed alteration that has been adopted by the Academy shall be submitted to the Crown for consideration and sanction.

TEMPORARY REGULATIONS.

On the occasion of the first election of members on the Nobel-Committees the Academy shall also appoint a *pro tem.* Secretary for these Committees.

Until such time as Presidents shall have been chosen or definitely appointed, there shall be a fifth member of each of the Nobel-Committees, chosen by the Academy. Those members shall retire on the appointment of Presidents.

In determining the period of service of the other four members of each Committee to be first appointed, the following points are to be noted : that to the period stipulated for them to act must be added the time that elapses between the day of their election and the 1st of January 1901 ; and further, that at the time of election lots shall be drawn to determine which

of the members shall go off by rotation, as stipulated, at the close of the years 1901, 1902 and 1903

The Presidents of the sections of the Institute shall be appointed *pro tem.*, directly after the Academy has decided that measures shall be taken for the establishment of the Institute.

The definite appointment to the permanent posts of both President and Secretary shall not take place until the Institute shall have been equipped and be in working order.

Until the time when the Nobel-Institute shall be complete and have obtained its due organization, the Nobel-Committees shall resort to the opinions of experts in the several departments for such technical information as they may find themselves in need of for the purposes of the adjudicating of prizes, and they are empowered to have the experimental investigation and testing carried out at any institution, either home or foreign, that they may deem suitable. The fees to be paid in such cases shall be individually fixed by the Academy on the basis of a suggestion to be made by the Nobel-Committee concerned, with due observance, however, of the stipulations contained in § 17.

To all which Each and Every One, whom it may concern, hath to pay dutiful and obedient heed. To the further certainty whereof WE have hereby attached OUR own signature and royal seal.

At the Palace in Stockholm, on this the 29th day of June 1900.

OSCAR.

(L. S.)

Nils Claßon.

SPECIAL REGULATIONS, CONCERNING THE DISTRIBUTION
ETC., OF PRIZES FROM NOBEL-FOUNDATION.

*By the Caroline Medico-Chirurgical Institute in Stockholm,
given by His Gracious Majesty, Oscar II. King of Sweden
and Norway, at the Palace in Stockholm, on the 29th day
of June 1900.*

PRIZE DISTRIBUTION.

§ 1.

All questions connected with the prize-distribution shall be first dealt with by the Nobel-Committee for the Medical Section, constituted as prescribed in the Code, and shall be handed on by it to the Professorial Staff of the Caroline Institute for a final decision.

§ 2.

Three of the members of the Nobel-Committee shall be chosen by the professors at the Caroline Institute for a period of three civil years. Every year one of their number shall go off by rotation, a retiring member being, however, eligible for re-election.

The said Professors shall appoint one of the three members Chairman of the Committee, and another Vice-Chairman.

The other members shall be appointed at times, and in the manner, stated below in § 6.

§ 3.

The Nobel-Committee cannot transact business unless at least half the members are present.

If the votes are equally divided the Chairman shall exercise the casting vote.

§ 4.

Every year, during the month of September, the Nobel-Committee shall issue a circular to all those persons who are qualified, according to the stipulations given below, to make proposals of names for the receipt of prizes, requesting them to hand in such proposals before the expiration of the month of February next ensuing, together with the documentary evidence in support thereof.

§ 5.

The qualification requisite for the right to nominate candidates for the Nobel prize-competition shall be held to be possessed by :

1. Members of the Professorial Staff of the Caroline Institute.
2. Members of the Medical Class in the Royal Academy of Science.
3. Those persons who shall have received a Nobel-prize in the Medical section.
4. Members of the Medical Faculties at the Universities of Upsala, Lund, Christiania, Copenhagen and Helsingfors.
5. Members of at least six other Medical Faculties, to be selected by the Staff of the Caroline Institute in the way most appropriate for the just representation of the various countries and their respective seats of learning.
6. Scientists whom the said Staff may see fit to select.

A determination as to the choice to be made of teachers and scientists, in accordance with sections 5 and 6 above, shall be made within the first half of the month of September, the initial proposal to emanate from the Nobel-Committee.

§ 6.

The nominations to the prize-competition that shall have been handed in by persons duly qualified, as above detailed, during the course of each year counting from February 1 to February 1, shall be first dealt with by the Nobel-Committee, which shall arrange them and hand them on, with the comments upon them it may see fit to make, to the Professorial Staff of the Caroline Institute within the first half of February.

The said Staff shall thereupon, in the first half of March, appoint two additional members on the Nobel-Committee for the remaining portion of the civil year.

The said Staff shall, moreover, be empowered to appoint one or more experts to take part as members in the deliberations and decisions of the Nobel-Committee, whenever it shall consider such a procedure necessary in any particular case.

§ 7.

The Nobel-Committee shall determine which of the works of those nominated shall be subjected to a special investigation, and shall undertake the doing of the same, being hereby empowered to employ the assistance needed.

The Nobel-Committee having handed in its decision within the month of April the Staff of the Caroline Institute shall determine at its first sitting in the month of May, whether the works of any others of those nominated shall also be made the subject of special examination.

The work of a nominee shall be rejected if it be not decided to have it specially examined.

§ 8.

The Nobel-Committee shall hand in its verdict and proposals for the prize-award to the Staff of the Caroline Institute within the month of September.

§ 9.

The said Professorial Staff shall then fix a day in the month of October upon which to proceed to decide finally upon the prize-award.

§ 10.

Members of the Nobel-Committee not on the Professorial Staff shall be entitled to take part in the deliberations upon the awarding of the prize, though without the right of voting.

With the above exception, only the regular members of the Staff shall be permitted to take part in the deliberations and voting upon the prize-award.

The voting on the award shall be by ballot. Where necessary, lots shall be drawn.

Every member of the Staff who is present at the final decision, and the Secretary and the Members of the Nobel-Committee, shall receive a gold medal specially struck for the occasion.

§ 11.

The Nobel-Committee is entitled to make requisition from the Board of Administration of the Caroline Institute for the assignment of means to defray its expenses. If the Board approves the requisition so made, it is entitled to debit the Nobel-Foundation with the amount. Should the Board not sanction the requisition, or should it desire from other reasons so to do, it may refer the matter to the decision of the Professorial Staff of the Caroline Institute.

The assignment of sums to meet the other items of expenditure arising out of the prize-distribution shall be decided upon by the Staff of the Caroline Institute, after consultation with the Board of Administration of the Institute.

In cases where the Staff, by the terms of the Code, does not possess the sole right to remunerate one of its own members, its decision that such payment be made shall be submitted to the Crown for consideration and sanction.

The printed documents, which have been handed in with the nominations for the prize-competition or have been purchased for the assistance of the adjudicators, shall be preserved in the library of the Caroline Institute, without, however, any responsibility for the same devolving upon the public treasury.

Scientific instruments and other auxiliaries of like nature, procured to facilitate the labour of investigation as a necessary preliminary to the adjudication of prizes, shall be the property of the Nobel-Foundation. They shall be kept in such departments of the Caroline Institute as the Staff thereof shall appoint, without, however, any responsibility for them devolving upon the public treasury; they shall, moreover, be used there until such time when they can be removed to a permanent home in the Medical Nobel-Institute that is to be established. An inventory of the above-mentioned belongings of the Nobel-Foundation shall be drawn up once every year and presented to the Board of Control, which shall have them under its charge.

THE MEDICAL NOBEL-INSTITUTE.

§ 12.

The Medical Nobel-Institute, which shall be under the superintendence of the Chancellor of the Universities of the

country, shall be established and organised by decree of the Staff of the Caroline Institute, when the said Staff shall deem that the necessary means for the purpose are available.

A proposition for the establishing of this Institute may be made by a member of either the Staff of the Nobel-Committee. The Nobel-Committee shall first deal with a proposition to that end, preparatory to its being submitted to the Professorial Staff of the Caroline Institute for approval.

Until this Nobel-Institute shall have entered upon its duties all particulars connected with its functions shall be submitted to the Crown for consideration and sanction.

THE SPECIAL FUND OF THE MEDICAL PRIZE-SECTION.

§ 13.

The proceeds of this fund shall be devoted to promoting research in medical science, in other ways than by prize-distribution, and to rendering the results of that research of practical use to mankind in directions in accord with what the testator ultimately had in view in making his bequest.

The revenue accruing from the fund shall not be appropriated for paying the salary of any official engaged at the Caroline Institute.

§ 14.

A proposition for the disposal of the proceeds of the fund may be made by a member either of the Staff of the Caroline Institute or of the Nobel-Committee.

The Staff shall debate and decide any such proposition after the Board of Administration of the Institute has expressed an opinion upon it.

§ 15.

If the amount derived from the fund in any one year be not disposed of, the Staff aforesaid shall determine whether it shall be added to the capital sum of the fund or reserved for use in following years.

TEMPORARY REGULATIONS.

In determining the period of service of those three members of the Nobel-Committee who shall be first appointed by the Staff, the following points shall be observed: to the time stipulated for service is to be added the time elapsing between the date of election and the 1st of January 1901; and further, in conjunction with the election, lots are to be drawn to determine which of the three members shall go off by rotation, as stipulated, at the end of 1901, and which at the end of 1902.

To all which Each and Every One, whom it may concern, hath to pay dutiful and obedient heed. To the further certainty whereof WE have hereby attached OUR signature and royal seal.

At the Palace in Stockholm, on this the 29th day of June 1900.

OSCAR.

(L. S.)

Nils Claëson.

SPECIAL REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE DISTRIBUTION, ETC., OF PRIZES FROM THE NOBEL FOUNDATION.

By the Swedish Academy in Stockholm given by His Gracious Majesty Oscar II, King of Sweden and Norway, at the Palace in Stockholm, on the 29th day of June 1900.

§ 1.

The right to nominate a candidate for the prize-competition shall belong to : Members of the Swedish Academy and of the Academies in France and Spain, which are similar to it in constitution and purpose ; members also of the humanistic classes of other academies and of those humanistic institutions and societies that are on the same footing as academies ; and teachers of æsthetics, literature and history at university colleges.

The above regulation shall be publicly announced at least once every five years in some official or widely circulated journal in each of the three Scandinavian countries and in the chief countries of the civilised world.

§ 2.

The Academy shall appoint at its Nobel-Institute, which shall embrace a large library chiefly of works in modern literature, not only a head-librarian and one or more sub-librarians, but also, as far as needed, other officers and assistants of literary training, either with temporary or permanent posts, to discharge the work of preparing questions arising out of the prize-competition prior to their treatment by the Academy, to draw up reports concerning literary works of recent publication in foreign countries and to translate from foreign languages when such work is required.

The Nobel-Institute of the Swedish Academy shall be under the superintendence of an Inspector appointed by the Crown, and under the immediate management of a member of the Academy, to be chosen by that body.

§ 3.

The Academy shall be empowered to employ the proceeds

of the special fund in furthering, in such directions as the testator ultimately had in view in making his bequest, any work in the field of literature, whether carried on in Sweden or abroad, that may be considered to possess importance more especially in those departments of culture which it is the function of the Academy to tend and foster.

§ 4.

If those members of the Academy who do not live in Stockholm are prevented from personally taking part in the election of delegates, which the Code enjoins upon the Academy, they are entitled to vote by sending in voting-papers.

The members of the Academy who are non-resident in Stockholm are entitled to compensation for travelling expenses, to a value which the Academy shall determine, if they desire to be present at any meeting of the Academy where any question is on the agenda that relates to the prize-distribution, to the reserving of money or to the allotting of reserve sums to a special fund.

§ 5.

In cases where other forms of compensation than those for travelling or for attendance, as provided in § 4. above and in § 16 of the Code, be voted to a member of the Academy, that body itself not being authorised by the Code to dispense such payment, the vote shall be submitted to the Crown for consideration and sanction.

To all which Each and Every One, whom it may concern, hath to pay dutiful and obedient heed To be further certainty whereof WE have hereby attached OUR own signature and royal seal.

At the Palace in Stockholm, on this the 29th day of June 1900.

OSCAR.

(L. S.)

Nils Claëson.

NOTE.

The Royal Academy of Science (Kungl. Vetenskaps-Akademien) in Stockholm was founded in 1739. The statutes of its constitution at present in force date from the year 1850 (July 13). The functions of the Academy are to encourage the pursuit and the development of the sciences and also to spread a knowledge of them by the circulation of printed scientific papers and monographs.

The Academy, of which the King is the patron, numbers 100 Swedish and Norwegian members and 75 foreign ones.

The home members are ranged in 9 Classes, to wit: 1. Pure Mathematics; 2. Applied Mathematics; 3. Practical Mechanics; 4. Physical Sciences; 5. Chemistry, Geology and Mineralogy; 6. Botany and Zoology; 7. Medical Sciences; 8. Technology, Economics and Statistics; 9. General Science and Scientific Pursuits.

The Academy elects its President annually, but has several permanent officials, among whom the chief is the Secretary, who has the details of the management under his care.

The Caroline Medical Chirurgical Institute (Kungl. Karolinska Institutet) in Stockholm dates from 1815. The statutes now in force received the King's sanction on April 29th, 1886. It corresponds to a University Medical Faculty and has the same standing as the Medical Faculties at Upsala and Lund. Theoretical and practical instruction in the Medical Sciences is imparted, and students are able to graduate at the Institute.

The head of the Institute is the Rector, chosen from among their own number by the staff of professors for a term of three years; the management and control of the Institute is vested in him. The professorial staff numbers at present 22.

The Swedish Academy (Svenska Akademien) in Stockholm, founded by King Gustavus III on the 20th of March 1786, when it received the statutes of constitution still in force, devotes itself to the arts of elocution and poetry, its mission being to labour in the interests of the preservation of purity, force and elevation of diction in the Swedish language both in scientific works and, more especially, in those products of pure literature that are embraced under the terms poetry and elocution in all their scope, not excluding those works that have the inculcation of religion for their purpose. It is part of the task of the Academy to prepare for publication a dictionary of the Swedish language and likewise a grammar, besides issuing papers and treatises calculated to establish and cultivate good taste. The Academy awards annual prizes to the winners of competitions in elocution and poetry. The membership of the Academy is fixed at 18, all being Swedes; the King is its patron. The officials consist of a President, a Chancellor, and a Permanent Secretary, all chosen from among the members.*

* It will be seen from the preceding Statutes that intending competitors must be nominated only by approved (and for Foreign parts, unspecified) Universities, Faculties, etc., and before the 1st February of each year. As a whole the Statutes appear perfectly fair and necessary, but abuses are liable to creep in from certain Sections, while others are partial to Scandinavians, and others again betray very nearly a sort of ludicrous compromise—for instance, it is possible for us as Editor of the *Calcutta Review* to nominate ourselves in some of the Prizes!—ED., C. R.

THE QUARTER.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN "WAR."—Things are getting here just as bad as we anticipated three months ago,—some may say getting worse,—and very much more rapidly. And as matters related are also, as we shall see in our Home notes, getting worse in England,—eminent Generals to whom the nation owes as much as or more than, to any one else in this very war, getting "dismissed," or rather, unable to stand the set of the flood of distracted counsels; Ministers being howled at by their own party; and Chamberlain, as usual, adding fuel to the fire by his hasty, ill-considered, and criminal speeches;—in short, the old adage of whom the gods wishing to destroy making mad first;—there is evidently a crisis approaching which might or might not startle us accordingly as we have correctly interpreted, or not, the trend of events hitherto. We may, however, proceed in due order. We referred in our last to the Proclamation issued by the Chamberlain—for we can hardly call it the Salisbury—though we might call it the "Hotel Cecil"—Government to come into effect after 15th September—a Proclamation that went against the very principle of belligerency that we had ourselves accorded to the Dutch Republics in South Africa, as well as against the Hague Convention—what do "men-in-the-street," Chamberlain's *confreres* know about belligerent principles or the Hague Convention?—and than which Proclamation there was nothing better calculated to defeat its own ends. Articles VII and XX of the Hague Convention prohibit belligerents from confiscating private property, and while Kruger pointed this out in Europe, in South Africa the Boer Governments and leaders treated the Proclamation as waste paper. And as regards the other pains and penalties comprised in fighting for their independence, Botha in the North proposes to hold 150 British prisoners as hostages against the execution of Lord Kitchener's—for he has been made to bear the brunt of it—Proclamation, and the numerous Commandos in Cape Colony have orders to shoot Colonials in arms after the 15th September. But while the whole of Cape Colony may be said to be in a flame, as we shall see further below, and the wise and humane King of England is feeling dreadfully concerned that the "war" should be brought to a happy and rapid close, and Lord Kitchener writes to Acting-President Schalk-Burger, "It is my fervent prayer that Almighty God

may so guide Your Honor that peace and friendship on a firm and lasting basis, which Your Honor states you so earnestly desire, may result throughout the land," and even Sir West Ridgway in Ceylon publicly speaking can say "this wretched war, the prolongation of which, if not a crime, is a grievous error of judgment, is over—please God soon may it be," the instigator and perpetrator of all the mischief, Mr. Chamberlain, in a speech at Edinburgh adds to the flames by saying "that the time was coming when more severe measures might be adopted," and according to his wont, even travelled aside to fling dirt on other friendly, and even it may be allied nations in Europe by saying further that "the nations which were now criticising our 'barbarity' furnished precedents in Poland, the Caucasus, Touquin and in the Franco-German War which we had never even approached!" Mr. Chamberlain is as unconcerned in treating the European Governments as in dealing with the Irish deputies in the House—which shows his ignorance, want of a sense of proportion, and "malignant vanity" as Mr. Buckland would call it. Indeed, it is a wonder how men like Lord Lansdowne and others of the party, who are presumably mentally whole and sound, can continue to work with a man of the grade and mental stamp of Chamberlain, and who certainly betrays such shortcomings in his official equipment. In any case, it is now clearly seen that while the last election was rushed through by Mr. Chamberlain, and while nothing has been done to carry out the promises then made to the country, it is Mr. Chamberlain, and he alone that is prolonging this "War" and even making reconciliation or peace impossible. Nay, as will also be seen in another place, he is *riding for a fall*—perhaps the light is beginning to dawn on him that he, and his submissive following had better "go!" It is now difficult to procure recruits even, and the Colonial Contingents, too, are thinking they have had enough. (As will also be seen elsewhere, Chamberlain is coming to grief with the Australian Commonwealth.) His "echo" in South Africa, Lord Milner during a late visit to Natal—the very existence of which is threatened by the Boers—"enjoined the *great* virtue of patience;"—we may almost suppose he used the word "great" sarcastically, with one of his usual quiet smiles. Mr. Winston Churchill, speaking lately, observed that "it was no exaggeration to say that the situation in South Africa was very little better, and in some respects worse, than two years ago. He did not regard the issue of the Proclamation as a wise or a brilliant movement. [It was a confession of defeat!] The people who asked Government to employ an iron hand and declare the Boers outlaws were very short-sighted." And all

the papers, especially the ministerialist papers, contain scathing criticisms on the Government's mismanagement of the war. The *Standard* says that it should be plain to the Government that there is a growing public anxiety amounting almost to irritation over the present condition of affairs.

Lord Kitchener, too, finding his hands tied, is said to have threatened resignation. He cannot get good recruits, and all he has done so far, has only resulted in Natal being invaded, and the Cape Colony occupied by the enemy, and martial law proclaimed throughout even in Cape Town! There is little doubt that the whole of the Western half of the Colony is now disaffected, Mr. Chamberlain's "Statesmanship" having brought it about. The Boers assert that they have been joined by some 15,000 men from the Colony, and that they are now enabled to elaborate the plan of annexing the Cape and Natal, and are also certain of a general rising of the Dutch. In the "War of Independence" in North America the French helped the Colonies, and England was busily engaged elsewhere; besides that the population of the "rebels" numbered two millions; still, we lost them through bad statesmanship. And now in this South African Boer War of Independence, though the "rebels" (!) have had no command of the sea-board, and have numbered altogether barely fifty thousand, and no nation has as yet come forward either openly or secretly to help them, and we have had our hands free to deal with them alone, and sent ten "soldiers" to their one "farmer,"—an army ten times the number we had operating in America,—under our best Generals, ever sending "fresh" troops, if we are to lose South Africa, it will also be owing to the utter absence of any statesmanship on the part of the Ministry at home, or rather, the low, malignant feelings of Chamberlain—a "man-of-the-street"—who has been allowed to become the "Dictator" (see our Article sent from "Westminster") and Destroyer of England's traditional power, fair fame, and glory. That the "War" has been still more disastrous to us during the last three months is seen not less in the severe losses we have suffered in the Magaliesberg district—in one action with only 1,000 Boers General Kekewich had 55 killed (2 of them officers) and 138 wounded (among whom were 14 officers)—or in the defence of Fort Itala, where we had 6 officers among the "casualties," and 49 men, as also 63 "missing" of whom "many are known to be killed and wounded" (the Boers losing only 19 in all!); or Major Gough's disaster at Utrecht where our guns were captured, 7 officers being among the killed and wounded, also 39 men, besides 5 officers and 150 men made prisoners (the Boer force here too numbered only 1,000 men); or the determined Boer

attack for two days on Fort Prospect ; or the usual tale of trains derailed, convoys captured, and the successful sallies forth of beleaguered Boer forces, such, for instance, as the sally made by Commandant Smutz, killing 3 of our officers and 20 men, and wounding one officer and 30 men—not less in these disasters, than in the invasion of Natal, and the progress made by the Boer Commandos in Cape Colony, parties of whom have reached Saldanha Bay in the South and are also within 40 miles of Cape Town, near Piquetberg. Martial Law has consequently been proclaimed all over the Colony, including Cape Town—a law providing for the censoring of letters and telegrams, and even molesting ingress and egress into the Colony ! As we have said, the feeling at home (not as represented by Chamberlain's and Brodrick's glozing accounts), joined with the *amentia* exhibited by the Ministry, and with these progressive and increasing disasters—which we have focussed to judge of their true bearings—betoken a crisis at hand, the nature of which we cannot predict, though it may spell a final crash, or an honorable peace such as Lord Kitchener speaks of in his letter to Schalk-burgher quoted above. According to a return that has been published, we have lost nearly 800 officers in South Africa and 2,270 sent home (many of them to die) as invalids, and more than 16,000 men in South Africa, with some 52,000 men sent home as invalids ! It is indeed an irony of fate that the Chamberlains, Brodricks, and others, who keep on inflaming public sentiment at home, are not sent or do not themselves go, to the front fighting line. We may conclude this portion of our notes by referring to General Beatson calling the Australians under him "white livered curs;" three of them being sentenced for life ; the Australian Colonies taking it up warmly ; and finally, the Royal Pardon being extended to the three. Besides this, Chamberlain himself is in trouble with Australia, and he will find the Australians worse subjects to deal with than the Boers—and indeed, it involves the ruin of all the hopes he had built on regarding his shallow and trumpery "Colonial policy." He has never been in one of the Colonies; and does not know "his masters" as he is finding, and will still more find, to his cost.

As we are closing this account a further, and the severest disaster to our arms is reported by Lord Kitchener on November 1st as occurring to the Eastward of Johannesburg. Two Colonels, Benson and Guinness, were killed, eight other officers also killed and thirteen wounded, nearly all severely, and 58 men killed and 156 wounded.

The Boers here, too, were only 1,000 strong.

We may also add the following as among the latest telegrams regarding public feeling at home :—

The ex Liberal Solicitor-General for Scotland, Mr. Shaw, addressing his constituents at Glashiels, on Monday, made a strong pro-Boer speech, and urged the appointment of a Commission, as was done in the case of Canada. A vote of confidence in Mr. Shaw was enthusiastically carried.

Mr Edmund Robertson, M.P., speaking at Dundee on Tuesday, said that, if the Empire was to be saved the present Government must be destroyed.

Lord Aberdeen addressing a meeting at Dundee yesterday, said that the country had erected a false and tyrannical patriotism, to throw doubt on the wisdom or justice of the present Government was to brand themselves as traitors. We were squandering our sons and our money on the veldt of South Africa, and allowing the Americans to buy up our commercial interests both in this country and Canada.

CHINA.—At one time it was thought that a new Capital, more difficult of access to foreign armies, would be fixed on, but the latest news has it that the Court will return to Pekin—which has more than once been a most unfortunate capital for the Chinese. Li Hung Chang is supposed to be *in articulo mortis*—but perhaps it is merely a feint of the wily old politician. He and the Russians are pulling well together, and Russia promises to restore Manchuria, which is politic and all right for the present. The Legation Guards have been directed to keep themselves in their own quarter and not to roam about the city. Prince Ching has also requested the Ministers at Pekin the withdrawal of foreign business establishments from Pekin on the ground that it is not a Treaty port. Pekin is a great city, and the most concise and picturesque description we have seen of it is supplied by one of our native returned soldiers :—“Calcutta would fit into one corner of Pekin. Surrounded by a wall it is a perfect fort in itself. It is twenty-seven miles in circumference and has seventeen gates. It contains three forts, one of which is fifteen miles in circumference, the other three miles, and the third is considerably larger than the other two. The walls of the main fort are about forty-two feet wide at the top and slope outwards for a descent of nearly fifty-two feet to the bottom, where they are fifty-six feet thick. There is room enough on top to allow twelve horses to walk abreast. In the centre of these forts is the city itself with the British Legation occupying a prominent position in the middle of it.” But it has been very much destroyed. The Special Correspondent of the *Times* writes :—“All over the city, East and West, South and North, one comes at intervals across black patches of ruins.” The looting and the pillage of the city,—the Huns and Vandals could not have been worse or more cruel, and we and America and France boast of being “civilised” and having

Christian (!!!) missions all over the world,—both private and official, are now, though denied before, established facts. The *Times*' Correspondent above referred to writes :—" For some days at least after the occupation it was given over to wholesale pillage, unrestrained and alas ! to other forms of licence worse than pillage. There was official looting by superior orders, like that of the Japanese, who having the advantage of greater topographical knowledge, made straight for the Treasury, the Imperial granaries, etc., and promptly emptied them ; there was indiscriminate looting by soldiers and civilians, of every nationality, and by women of gentle birth as well as by men ; there was looting for the fun of the thing and looting with a strict eye to business ; there was retaliatory looting by Native Christians, there was even looting by Missionaries, Roman Catholic and Protestant, for charitable purposes ! The fever was universal. It would have been well for the reputation of the Western world had reprisals been confined to looting only. But even for the worst things that were done in those fierce days much may be pleaded in extenuation that cannot be pleaded in connection with the conduct of the contingents that arrived after the heat of battle had died away, or with the petty acts of vandalism which are still being perpetrated to the present day. The Germans, for instance, did not appear on the scene until all the fighting was over, yet both in Pekin and in the surrounding country their hand as in the long run proved systematically heavier upon the natives than perhaps that of any other nationality ; and amongst the many acts of official freebooting, from which I believe only the British and Americans have held entirely aloof, none seems more utterly wanton and inexcusable than the removal of the splendid astronomical instruments—including perhaps the finest specimens of Chinese bronze work in the world—from the far-famed Observatory on the eastern wall, which the Germans and the French have agreed to divide among themselves for the museums of Paris and Berlin on the incongruous grounds that some of them—and by no means the most valuable—were presented to the Son of Heaven two centuries ago by Louis XIV and that the Observatory happened now to be within the German lines of occupation." And with regard to our own troops, the same Correspondent, while contradicting the *Daily News*' comment on the native regiments of India, writes again of them, that "they looted no less and no more than the troops of other European nationalities during the brief period when Tientsin and Pekin were given over to plunder with the consent of the military authorities of all nationalities." That ought to make one blush for ourselves, if not for our common humanity, but, unfortunately, the hands of the dial of progress, humanity and enlighten-

ment have been going back considerably of late years in many other parts of the world. And at the present time there are—besides a variety of every other form of grave evil—wars, fightings, and troubles “from China to Peru” (*literally*). The same native soldier quoted above for a description of Peking, says of the French and Russian forces that were engaged:—“The French soldiers do not look up to much, and in addition to their crafty disposition and their love for quarrelling they are down right bad. Their discipline also is inferior to that of the other foreign troops. The Russians are pure savages, very cruel and quarrelsome, and they did by far the most looting. They were generally badly behaved, and their officers did not seem to have very much control over them.”

The “consummation” will proceed even just according as it is laid down in Holy Writ. We before wrote of the Third Act of the Drama begun in China being yet to come, and that probably at a most inconvenient time for Europe to again interfere. This Third Act is thus sketched out—it has also been sketched out by Sir Robert Hart—by an old resident:—“A revolt will take place in winter, perhaps next winter, when the northern ports are ice-bound, and it will arise in Pechili. Isolated bodies of Europeans and Christians will be massacred. Then the various towns and positions where troops are, will be besieged. The total garrison in Pechili next winter will be 7,000, of whom 2,000 will guard the Legations. The remainder will be posted at Shanghai, Kwan, Tientsin, and elsewhere on the railway. It is not believed that these Garrisons will be captured, for they occupy strongly fortified positions, and are amply provisioned, but they will be surrounded by hordes of Chinese, and they will not be able to stir outside their defences. Relief must be sent to them by the Powers. Relieving armies will have to fight their way through the country, where every ditch will hide not a boxer but a rifleman. Having rescued the besieged Garrisons the armies will return to the coast of China, and will fall back into a civilisation, which prevailed before the Europeans came upon the scene. Large numbers of Europeans, particularly traders and merchants, are leaving the country. Peking is already almost deserted by this class. I may add, says the resident, “that many diplomatists are sorry that they cannot get away too.”

RUSSIA, FRANCE, ETC.—Since we last wrote, the expected visit of the Czar to France has come off, and on the way he also took Germany. The *Times*' Paris Correspondent's opinion was that the Czar came only to prepare the way for a further loan. The loan may have been one of the minor objects of the visit. But the real object was to arrange that both Russia and France should move together in the matter of the final disposal of

Turkey and the Balkan question, even though Germany should be against them. This has been done and Turkey is doomed. At the same time, even as we advised in our last, Germany's hand was to be forced, and also a chance given to Germany if she would take it. Both these, too, have been done—a pretence, and the occasion was soon supplied by Turkey herself, was got up by France to coerce Turkey, and Germany, having been warned and advised by the Czar, declined to even mediate when asked by the Sultan. Thereupon things proceeded a step further, and Turkey was given to understand that Crete would be annexed to Greece, and that "The Powers" were agreed on it. Still further, the Russian ambassador at the Porte had an audience of the Sultan and "insisted" on the punishment of the Kurd assassins of Armenians at Mush, and "The Powers" are now discussing eventual action for the purpose of obliging the Sultan to execute the Treaty of Berlin "regarding Macedonia and Armenia" and the execution of "reforms." It is stated that "all the Powers" will acquiesce. Of course, Germany, with her astute Emperor, could see that she was not ready to fight single-handed both Russia and France, with perhaps Austria added, and wisely gave in and was "secured" even before this final proposal to do away with the evil influence of the Turk. England, of course, will have no objection (with her hands tied in South Africa), provided she has the reversion of Egypt, and Jerusalem, and this last she may perhaps be allowed to hold in trust for all Christendom,—Greek, Latin, and Protestant Churches equally. Austria is only too glad that things will shape themselves without her immediate destruction. This,—and the "blow" is yet to come off,—it is which brought back all the European armies, as also Count Waldersee, in such sudden haste from China, leaving things to take their course there. And it is just possible that it is this enormous political complication which has struck our Ministry at home with utter imbecility—the Boer "War" being still on hand! In the midst of all this—especially with the Amir of Cabul dead—it is very satisfactory to find that England is moving along with Russia (and therefore also France), even though the German journals at first tried to sow in us distrust of that power. And our contributor C—n was right in our last to say "the dawn was rising in the East" for Armenia. And probably other things are meant in "The Archangel's Trump proclaims Him near." We ourselves believe that, along with the march of science and discovery, there are other very remarkable things in the great Drama of the Globe, which proclaim the advent of the Sole, Rightful, and One Great King of All the Earth, the Anointed One of God, to be not very far off, and that some of us may even live to see it.

To finish off Russia ; that unfortunate, and we may say insane, man, Count Leo Tolstoi, has publicly denounced the Franco-Russian Alliance. As we expressed ourselves once before, it is a wonder this mentally deluded man is permitted to stay in Russia. He may conveniently be sent to Kamtschatka to proclaim his self-evolved fancies to the Buddhists (if any) there ; or better, made a present of to the Arya-Vedic party in India, or Mrs. Besant's Hindu College at Benares as a *Yogi* Professor ! In any case, he should be sent out of Russia, or imprisoned and punished. Nominally a follower of Christ (!) he is far worse than a "Mad" Mullah at large in Allahabad or Delhi.

In regard to France, the visit of the Czar, with the Grand Review and subsequent speeches of friendship and alliance take the first place. The Budget shows a deficit of 50 million francs, owing to the great fall in the prices of the Cheap Wines and the Sugar Bounties. Of the 16,468 religious communities in France 8,800 have applied for authorisation under the new law. How can any nation be strong and progress with so many thousand "Communities" honeycombing it ? Unfortunately most of those who have left have come to England—and no wonder the dead set made at the Crown—the Coronation Oath—by the Romanist body in England (and as we shall see also in the Colonies), and the Pope saying, Protestant nations were better than "Catholic" ones. The fact is there is not one so-called "Catholic" nation, both France and Spain being honeycombed with infidelity, the result of the numerous religious Orders and Associations, and the armies of "priests." The French Government also propose to call an International Conference with the object of discussing the best means of coping with the white slave traffic, whatever that may mean, but which is a very large subject, and impossible to be dealt with by civil governments, unless the immoral traffic of a peculiar class is referred to. All relations with Turkey have been broken off, Ambassadors withdrawn and expelled—as also the Police Agents in Paris who watched the Young Turkish party there. A French Fleet has also sailed for the Levant and the Khedive, however, paid a visit to President Loubet ? In German matters, the Kaiser having received Prince Chun grandiosely, after relaxed so far as to "hob-nob" and fraternise with him. Prince Chun accordingly departed highly pleased. And as the Czar managed to show the Kaiser his true interests in the Turkish matter, he—the latter—feeling easy, has fallen into an acute squabble in regard to Art with the Berlin City Council, and it is doubtful who will win. The Russian Press, previously tutored of course, told only the truth when, seeking to dissipate French

mistrust of the Dantzig interview, declared that it was to afford an opportunity of removing various causes and conflicts threatening European tranquility. Finally, the Polish Jews of Prussia are "causing considerable anxiety in Berlin."

We noticed in our last that Turkey was trying to get all the Mahomedan powers into line, by various expedients. His headship of the Faith, of course, is denied by Persia and the Sheeahs in India, as well as the Senoussis of Africa, and rests on very shadowy and insecure grounds even when examined by Soonnees; but for all that, he has a large and very ignorant and very fanatical following. We find that his agents are moving even in Netherlands India (but the Dutch there will stand little nonsense), and the *Ceylon Standard* writes:—"Our correspondent informed us that all local followers of the Prophet were expecting to receive information from the Sultan that they must rise in defence of their religion. When this information was received the local Mahomedans would rise as one man, or run amok as one man, kill all those who held other beliefs, and if they were killed it would not matter, as they would go straight into Paradise, and enjoy for evermore in the highest degree, those sensual delights the Mahomedan Paradise contains for all who have fallen in the defence of the faith." On which the Editor says, "even the most fanatical of the Muslims must know what would be the result of such a movement. The Sultan is as wily as a fox, and if driven to the wall, may cry for a *jehad*. If the answer is in the affirmative, it will earn a terrible retribution." Meantime we have to await developments, and the Mussulmans and Christians are cutting each other's throats at Beirut, a Turkish Admiral has fled to Malta, and a Mrs. Stone has been captured by brigands.

Spain is in serious Anarchist troubles, and a Weyler Dictatorship is talked of. Japan wants a loan from America. There has been a plot at Teheran against the Shah, discovered in time. Koweit was attempted to be "bagged" by Turkey (for Germany) but the attempt was frustrated by British gunboats. The late Amir of Cabul is dead, and Russia declares she will not intervene causelessly. It is stated there is an "agreement" between England and Russia removing all fear of complications. The "Mad" Mullah of Somaliland holds his ground with 10,000 followers. Venezuela and Colombia are at war with each other in South America.

ENGLAND, THE COLONIES, &C.—We now come to our own blessed-of-God but unhappy and bleeding country—bleeding from the wounds inflicted on her by the counsels of "the-man-in-the-street," and not only bleeding, but disgraced and dishonored, the Lion with his paws in mice-traps, and with such a pneumonia in his lungs that he cannot even roar effectually!

We really cannot say where we should be now but for our Fleet. The Councils of the nation are effete, the ruling party divided one against another, make-bates and breed-inischiefs—half-witted men—still abroad, the imports and exports dwindling down, want staring thousands of operatives, the Colonies disgusted and angry, and the other nations of the world going on their way without heed of us. Worst of all, there is not one leader of the nation at home to hark and call it back to itself. It must be done, and we believe will be done, or things somehow or other will come right. Let us, however, proceed in due order.

King Edward, after paying a visit to Copenhagen, and seeing the Czar there, has returned to England, and shown himself, naturally, rather anxious about the War. The Parliament not sitting, Ministers (*i.e.*, Chamberlain virtually) are having their own way. It is announced that the King will open Parliament in State somewhere about the end of January. If he called it together now, it might be of some purpose.

The Duke of Cornwall has returned from his trip. The most elaborate preparations are being made for the grand Ceremonial of the Coronation. It is expected that Lord Salisbury will retire after that event, and with him Lord Roberts, and we trust the Duke of Connaught will succeed the latter. With reference to future changes, the *Indian Daily News* announces from Home that "Lord Salisbury will presently retire from the office of Premier. He will be succeeded by Mr. Arthur Balfour, who, as Lord Whittinghame, will endeavour to lead the Party, Mr. Chamberlain remaining in the House of Commons as Leader of that establishment and as Colonial Secretary. Those who argue that Mr. Chamberlain will not serve under Mr. Balfour had better turn to Mr. Chamberlain's latest speech, in which he fully and purposely dealt with the subject." Mr. Chamberlain will do anything to stay in.

We referred in our last to a letter we had received from Mr. T. M. Maclean, late Member for Cardiff, and the hated of Chamberlain. How far the latter has any convictions whatever, save and in so far as his own interests are concerned, may be seen from the letter which we now furnish:—"Chamberlain hates me for the same reason that Haman hated Mordecai, but I shall live to see him hanged yet. He did me the honour last year to send me word that I made a great mistake in supposing he was my enemy, and that he would gladly do anything to advance my interests; but I should despise myself if I accepted favours from such a man. The tide has now turned, and you will see that its force will soon become

irresistible." That it *has* turned may be seen from the following:—Mr. Gibson Bowles, M. P., writes to the *Times* saying, that "Government having prevented Lord Kitchener making peace, have as completely failed to provide him with the means of making war, and there is practically no Cabinet." Mr. Edward Norris, a prominent Ministerialist, writes:—"In London to-day I have brushed elbows with all sorts and conditions of men, and I belong to four Conservative Clubs, and the present weakness of the Government is the prevailing topic of conversation." The Press echoes the public voice, for while the *Saturday Review* doubts whether either the statesmen or soldiers at the War Office estimate, as they should, the growing bitterness, and contempt felt towards them by all sections of the community on account of their childish optimism, the *Statist* urges the City to take the lead in expressing the popular feeling, and adds: "We have had enough of old men, long past their working days. We have had too much of incompetent cocksuredness. We are utterly weary of the imbecility of men chosen because of their rank or wealth. We want all this brought to an end, and we want real capacity at the head," and the *Times* itself, one of the great causes of the "War," and the special advocate of Mr. Chamberlain, does not hesitate continually to harp on the string of Ministerial inefficiency and says that people are "patient but perplexed to see that while the prolongation of the struggle in South Africa is the cause of public anxiety and to a great extent paralyses our influence all over the world, our Ministers are sitting beside their nectar as though all were for the best in the best of all conceivable worlds," quite forgetting its own *protege*, Lord Milner's remark about "the great virtue of patience" (!) to the poor folk in Natal.

To make "confusion worse confounded"—or rather seeing his inevitable end approaching, and wishing to fall under another count than the criminal "war" which he initiated, and has mismanaged, and prevented from being brought to a close—Chamberlain speaking at Edinburgh, vigorously attacked the Irish Members, and said that the Government proposed to alter the arrangements of the House so as better to control the men who tried to degrade it. The over-representation of Ireland, he said, would be submitted to the nation at the next General Election! And Mr. Redmond's answer to this was, that "the Irish people would have ample justification for taking up arms to obtain their freedom!" Have we, we may ask, entered on an era of insanity everywhere? Even General Sir Redvers Buller, the most popular man in the Army, has been suddenly "dismissed" for publicly challenging the *Times* in regard to a telegram, on the

plea that he was subverting "discipline," and what is better, *Lord Roberts was the moving party*. A chorus of indignation is sounding through the country, and for once Lord Roberts may find that he has gone too far, even though "the Cabinet had unanimously supported him." The Cabinet itself will probably be swept away, and he with it. As for Sir Redvers Buller, whose rights were superseded in the War by the appointment of Lord Roberts, he should have resigned then and there—only he was too manly to do it. Had he not been before Ladysmith keeping the main body of Boer troops engaged, not only would Ladysmith have fallen, but Lord Roberts with all his augmented forces could not have turned Cronje's flank, compelling him to quit his position, nor indeed marched on Bloemfontein, or done anything. Lord Roberts probably knows this. Sir Redvers Buller, however, is well out of the whole thing now—one more of our finest Generals lost owing to this "War"—and it is not improbably supposed that he purposely brought about his dismissal, in order that the country may fairly judge between him and his one enemy. As for his suggesting the surrender of Ladysmith to Sir George White, that remains yet to be proved, and his challenge to produce the telegram has not been taken up. The *Times* itself says, that General Buller preferred dismissal to resignation, to which he was called by—of all papers—the *Spectator* (!) and to which the *Speaker* replied as follows:—

"It is characteristic of the degradation of modern journalism that the *Spectator*, of all reviews, should attack the appointment of Sir Redvers Buller. It is characteristic of the state into which the public mind has fallen that this attack should have been read and noticed. It is characteristic of a time in which civilians without an ounce of military experience are dressed in khaki and called soldiers, that this piece of folly should be regarded as a weighty indictment of a man under whose leadership the finest work of the war was done. Sir Redvers Buller commanded an army of regulars—that army, though superior in numbers to the enemy, was in no such monstrous disproportion as the great host which was ultimately gathered under Lord Roberts. It had to attack the strongest position in South Africa. It was able, under Sir Redver's command, to attack again and again with unabated vigour. The actions it fought are to those in which our irregulars have distinguished themselves as a man's work to a boy's. It bore a far higher proportion of casualties, and with far less boasting than any of the theatrical levies which are after the very heart of the *Spectator* and the *Times*. This army must have been the best led of all our corps; it did by far the finest work, and that means that it had an excellent commander. Sir Redvers Buller deserves all the respect and admiration which that army continue to pay him. But the opinion of soldiers is the last thing that will guide the opinion of England to-day in the conduct of war. We read the *Spectator* instead."

There is nothing more to be said of Home matters, except
VOL. CXIII.]

that it is all chaos and confusion, and that there is a crisis approaching, the Liberal party, too, being just as disunited as ever, and unable to see what they should do. The only redeeming feature is the Fleet, though even here, whereas no foreign country, with the exception of Italy, retains muzzle-loaders upon their vessels, ten of our battleships are fitted with a total number of seventy-five of these weapons. One Italian battleship, the *Duilio*, has four 17·5 in. muzzle-loaders. Again, although we have only ten coast defence vessels, seven of them are partially armed with muzzle-loaders—twenty-four, being the total in use. The ten British battleships bearing obsolete guns are the *Ajax*, *Agamemnon*, *Temeraire*, *Inflexible*, *Superb*, *Alexandra*, *Dreadnought*, *Sultan*, *Monarch*, and *Hercules*.

The result of the Umpires' decisions in regard to the late Naval Manœuvres is thus summarized :—

1. Speed in a squadron of battleships is of the utmost importance, and under some circumstances spells victory. It is equivalent to the weather gauge in Nelson's day.
2. For scouting purposes a far larger number of cruisers is desirable than has ever been attached to any manœuvring fleets.
3. Wireless telegraphy, in consequence of the leakage of information, is, in its present state of development, a dangerous accessory to the other means of communication.
4. For holding the command of the English Channel and the defence of oversea commerce, a Force is required by this country consisting of a squadron of modern, well-armed, and armoured battleships of the best possible speed, and a cloud of swift cruisers, and several flotillas of torpedo craft. Such a battle fleet, in case of war against an up-to-date foe, we do not at present possess, as the Channel Squadron would at such a moment be concentrated off Gibraltar to reinforce the Mediterranean command.

Among minor matters Mr. Rhodes has been convicted of paying £5,000 to the Liberal funds to secure that party from evacuating Egypt—of course the Liberal leaders knew nothing of this extraordinary transaction, nor did it affect their views one way or the other. The *Times* thus comments on Mr. Rhodes' morality :—

"The transaction he (Rhodes) proposed was demoralising, and he deserved to be sold, as sold he undoubtedly was. It is the besetting sin of Mr. Rhodes that he regards most things as purchaseable. The *Times* adds that Mr. Rhodes is within reach of greatness and tantalises us with feeling that only the illuminating of spirituality is wanting to enable him to attain it.

Mr. Markham, Liberal Member, Mansfield, too, speaking at Nottinghamshire, asked whether Mr. Rhodes would tell the country whether a considerable number of shares in the Chartered Company were given to Mr. Schnadhorst in 1890, whether they were given for the Liberal party and what was the value, and what Mr. Schnadhorst did with them.

Poor self-conceited Sir Ashmead Bartlett—"Silomo"—who

hob-nobed with the Sultan of Turkey a while ago, has gone to the wall and his creditors have accepted seven and six pence in the pound. It thus cost those who believed in him twelve and six pence in every pound! Lord Dufferin has been unveiling the bust of Sir William Hunter at the Indian Institute, Oxford. The speech made was quite ornate, though we remember seeing Sir William come out a plain poor young Assistant, saw him working in his "Shirtsleeves" in his den tended by his faithful nurse "J——" knew him to be hopeless and terribly—involved, helped him on with the Viceroy Sir John Lawrence, and finally, saw him safe up the top rung of the ladder. He had a short memory, and latterly had fallen off even in his knowledge of India. Finally, a terrible sensation has been created by the revelations connected with the English Benedictine Nuns in Rome.

The Australian Colonies have, under the Commonwealth, begun to show more of their true disposition. This disposition has been marked in the following ways:—First, in regard to the prohibition of "coloured" labour. The Senate has ratified by 16 to 12 votes the House of Representatives Amendment to the Postal Bill prohibiting coloured labour on Mail Steamers, the Senators giving three cheers for a "White" Australia [What about the North? Is half of the entire great Continent to remain unpeopled even by Japanese, who are not reckoned as "Asiatics" by Mr. Chamberlain?]. Again; a Pacific Islanders' Exclusion Bill, affecting the entire Sugar industry in Queensland, has been brought forward; but naturally, the Queensland Cabinet are opposed to it. Again; the Federal House of Representatives in Australia has adopted the clause in the Immigration Restriction Bill prohibiting the entry into the Commonwealth of any person under contract to perform manual labour. The education test has been amended to include any European language.

Finally, in regard to the question of "colour" a number of coloured aliens from Calcutta have arrived at Melbourne, and Premier Barton has directed that they be not admitted, unless proved to be British subjects, as he could not allow an undue influx of aliens, pending the passing of the Restriction Act.

There is a power of "veto" in regard to these Bills with Mr. Chamberlain, and he pulls the other way naturally, and the public have not only begun to resent his interference, but are openly consigning the power of veto "to perdition"—which means they are ready to "cut the painter"—a fine termination of all his crude plans for "the Empire!" We have already alluded to the case of General Beatson calling some of the Australians "white-livered curs." This has been warmly taken up in Australia, and a scene even enacted in the House

of Assembly at Melbourne. We are afraid there will not be many more "Australian Contingents" leaving for the front. Things thus have begun already to "cut up rough," and it will be worse as time goes by, and as we shall see.

Then again; the Tariff Bill has upset everyone out of Australia. The new duties include:—sugar, 120 shillings per ton, excise 60 shillings, with a rebate of 40 shillings if grown with white labour; tea, 2*d.* a pound plus 20 per cent. *ad valorem*; coca, 2*d.* a pound plus 15 per cent. *ad valorem*; cottons and linens from 10 to 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. Bounties are provided to encourage new industries, especially iron smelting and the manufacture of machinery. In a discussion of the Chamber of Representatives, on Wednesday, Mr. Reid declared that the Opposition would resist the tariff with their utmost strength. On division the Bill was carried.

In the New Zealand Commonwealth the Tariff is generally considered to be a blow to that Colony, and the Premier Sir R. Seddon hints at a retaliating tariff.

Further; in regard to the "loyalty" of Australia, Cardinal Moran of Sydney has declared that "unless Mr. Chamberlain defers to the representations of Australia regarding the King's declaration oath, which representations were supported by the Federal Parliament, the Australians, being an independent people, will startle Great Britain sooner than Britons expect!"

The Federal flag has been selected out of 30,000 designs sent in. In the top left-hand corner is a small Union Jack. Immediately beneath this a broad six-pointed star, a point for each State in the Union. On the other half of the flag, the Southern Cross is depicted by white stars slightly out of the perpendicular. For the official, or Government flag the groundwork is blue, whilst the Mercantile Marine of the Commonwealth will fly it in red. The Sydney Assembly has read the Women's Franchise Bill a third time. Sir George Clarke has been appointed Governor of Victoria, and Sir Arthur Havelock is on his way to Tasmania to assume the Governorship there. Sir E. Cullen is spoken of for Queensland.

The United States have been full of mourning for the late President McKinley, and his Anarchist assassin has been executed. Roosevelt succeeds as President, and declares he will carry out McKinley's policy in everything. Colonel Hay does not resign. A new treaty has been signed with England, regarding the Canal, in which England gives up all her rights. America guarantees neutrality in time of peace but can do anything in time of war! The Philippine "War" is not yet concluded.

INDIA—POLITICAL.—The first subject here of importance

(the Queen's memorial lying over to our next issue, as well as the article on Lord Curzon's attempt to belittle Delhi in the *Nineteenth Century* magazine) is the Proclamation of the King as Emperor of India, Burmah, and the Islands lying adjacent thereto. Delhi has been selected as the place where the ceremony is to come off, and as the assembly will be very great, with numerous large camps, preliminary steps are already being taken to survey the ground. The date of the ceremony will probably be fixed after the Coronation of the King and Queen in London. Many people are of opinion that the Emperor should be here in person, and no doubt Lord Curzon will do his best that it should be so.

The subject next in importance politically is the death of Amir Abdur Rahaman of Cabul. We referred to this event as probable in our last. He was a man who sought first to secure himself; next, to make his country independent and strong; and lastly, to stick to the British alliance. Considering the enormous subsidy he received from India, and how much it helped him on, his sticking to us will not appear strange. In securing himself, he scrupled at nothing. His cruelty, cunning, and ambition are equally marked—the two last as much in his published works as in his acts. He had also an extraordinary idea as the “head of Islam” in his own country. With all his knowledge of, and contact with European civilisation, he was extremely narrow-minded in the matter of railways and giving facilities of trade. Suspicious, crafty, cruel, all for self, narrow-minded, and assuming the garb of sanctity, he cannot be ranked among one of the greater sovereigns of even Moslem dynasties, and in our opinion, not even with Dost Mahommed, or Shere Ali, the last having only proved unfortunate when England cast aside his advances. Had we treated Abdur Rahaman in a similar way, he would not have occupied his throne for a day; and it was we who broke up Shere Ali after throwing him into the arms of Russia and not his own people. Besides, Shere Ali was far more enlightened, and at the same time kind and merciful. We happened to be very near his territories at one time, and listened to many a story of his uprightness, force of character and clemency from natives, one in particular, to his eternal honor, when at the risk of his life he saved two Indian Christian converts when being led out to death. Abdur Rahaman could never have approached such heroism. He has left Habibulla as his successor, and an apparently consolidated kingdom. As we write things are going on smoothly, there are any number of regiments kept ready near Cabul, and Habibulla has been acknowledged, and further, secured himself by largesses to the soldiery. This is a suspicious sign of weakness. He has, however, had every training required for his

difficult place, and has also been recognised by the Government of India. What the future may bring forth in a country like Afghanistan no one can venture to predict. Should any trouble arise we believe any active support by the Indian Government would result in Russia, too, appearing on the scene. Should Habibulla manage to pull on, it may be interesting to get him, too, to come to the Proclamation at Delhi. It is possible that, for one or other of many reasons, the late Amir's work will not last, and Lord Curzon should be alive to not getting England again into a "trap" by unwise and hasty interference, as has been often before. All his "knowledge of Central Asian problems" will not save his reputation, or the *nation* serious damage, should he land us into a big complication over Cabul.

We had received only a brief telegraphic report of Lord Hamilton's speech on the Budget when we wrote last. Since then the full text has come in, and is much more florid than we expected. Lord Hamilton is one of the only three in the Ministry worth much, and can also speak well when he likes. In India, however, the picture drawn by him fades considerably. It is quite true that revenues continue to increase—but how? The other side of the picture is seen in an oppressive Salt Tax, in regard to which there are continual riots and severe punishments, famine and distress in parts—especially in South India, Police insecurity and open lawlessness, and such like matters of considerable meaning as regards contentment and good government. Here is an extract from one paper, and that represents what goes on even in other cities and towns, large and small, such as Nellore, Agra, and Calcutta!—"ARCOT, 8th September.—On Saturday night, when it was raining heavily, a gang of dacoits, armed with torches, committed a series of dacoities at Arcot. The gang, it is reported, consisted of about 25 men, who carried, besides torches, crow bars and pick-axes. At about 11 P.M. they broke into the house of a poor trader in the middle of the town and within two furlongs of the local Police Station, and inflicted very serious injuries on the inmates of the house. Half a dozen of the unfortunate occupants are now lying in a hopeless state in the hospital, with severe injuries to their heads and limbs." Of course, with all this insecurity of life and property, and even unsafe travelling on public roads, the Viceroy has nothing to do. He has to attend only to "Frontier Provinces," the "Memorial," Antiquarian rubbish, "jungle marches," and the like. Nor has he anything to do with the oppressive Salt Tax—oppressive only to the very poorest and most destitute—or the harassing Income Tax on the poorest incomes, but with the pompous inflation of a public Library not wanted, and with Ethnographic measuring the bodies of tribes, male and female. There is an army of employés

along the extended sea-coasts of the empire to see no "illicit" salt manufactured, and as only the very poorest of the poor live about, they are continually taken up and severely and most disproportionately punished. (The same happens in connection with the numerous *unenclosed* "forests"—which were once the free heritage of the wretched people living about.) We write of India proper, but here is an extract from a Burma paper regarding the matter of salt:—"Every one admits that salt is an absolute necessary of life as much as air, water and food. To tax it as heavily as is done in the Indian Empire affects the poorest portion of the population. When the salt tax in India was lower, the consumption is said to have been fifteen to sixteen pounds per head. In Bengal in 1897 it was only ten pounds and in Bombay a little under 9¾ pounds. The salt tax in India and Burma does not take into account the ability of the consumer to pay. To attempt to abolish the local salt manufacture of this Province in order to reap a larger revenue on imported salt from Europe is an altogether harsh and unnecessary measure, which, if the facts were sufficiently known, would never be allowed by Parliament." And, in regard to the Police here is a sample of one out of nearly a score of questions which the Inspector-General has issued for the public to reply to:—"Is it a fact that they are, generally speaking, oppressive to the people?" And, amid all the questions, we do not note any corruption of the Police or their torturing people when in their power, of which horrible tales now and then leak out. It is unnecessary to pursue the subject of a fair show outside and rottenness within. We referred in a previous number to Mr. Vaughan Nash's "An Empire Afloat" in the *Contemporary*, and he advocates:—

(i.) Elasticity of revenue demand – by the introduction of a fluctuating system based on the year's actual crops, such as obtains in parts of the Punjab:

(ii.) Reversion to the old order of things, under which land could not be alienated outside the tribe; and

(iii.) The power to go behind the bond, or, better still, administrative rather than judicial settlement of debt disputes.

Whatever we may think about (ii), (iii) is excellent, and (i) is carried out, in principle, in civilized Belgium, and even among the most "primitive" states—being based on equity. To the above Mr. Nash says:—"It seems conceivable that district councils of village representatives might be formed without endangering what is called our hold of India." The idea is that this initial representation would mitigate many of the evils. There is no doubt there is much in this, and the ground is prepared by the existence of the old system of Village Unity and the local District Boards. The police, at least, would come to know that they are the servants and not the masters of the unfortu-

nates who fall into their hands, and robberies might be less rife and roads safer. This establishment of representative district village councils, with some real power, might be worthy of Lord Curzon's attention, and might prove true and lasting statesmanship, but, alas! he is too busy with passing fads. If he wishes to go down to posterity along with such bright shining names, Munro, Dalhousie, Canning, Lawrence, Mayo, Ripon, and Dufferin, he must do something that will stand the test of time, will increase good government and loyalty, and permanently add to the wealth of the country,—he must put aside what sycophants and *claquers* of the Press say about him, devote less time to a "Curzon's Folly," and begin to learn again the A, B, C of India. As the Persian poet sings:—

" Nothing is accomplished without suffering,
A pearl is not raised without diving,
To float about on summer seas is not attaining."

The Famine Commission's Report has been issued, and except the recommendation that time should be taken by the forelock, and human lives should not be trifled with by iron-bound rules, there is not much in it—and the above recommendations really should not be necessary.

The Educational Conference has met at Simla, and dissolved, and the Viceroy made an excellent speech, and personally attended the meetings. The result will be seen by-and-bye. As yet we can only see that the Viceroy is bent on having another highly and highly-paid "Imperial" Officer (with his "office") who will only be purely ornamental, who will have necessarily to leave everything to the local Directors of Public Instruction, but who will be the symbol of "centralisation." As for English Education, high or low—ninety-nine hundred thus mere cramming,—it will never accomplish the regeneration of three hundred millions of men, nor supplant the principle of only Vernacular progress, nor supply the training of character. "Cram" will continue to flourish as heretofore. We have in this issue an article on the subject of Educational Reform by an "Expert," and a Scholar of Lord Curzon's own University. For ourselves, we are slow enough to think that education, high and low, should be left to those who want the article; or, if Government must move, that it move equally in English, Hindustani, and the great provincial vernaculars; that more time should be given to thorough grounding all round; that character should be set as the highest object to be aimed at; and that the standard of marks for passing should be raised double; and finally, that no mere School or College course should be reckoned the essential for admittance into the Public Services.

The "Frontier Province" has now been launched, and is to

be immediately under the Viceroy (as if he has nothing else to attend to). There will practically be little disturbance among the Deputy Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners belonging to the Punjab who are now serving on the Frontier their services being retained under the new form of administration. Similar arrangements will be made regarding the *personnel* of the various Departments. But from where will the future supplies be brought?—from Burma, Bengal, or Tinnevely? The additional cost, besides the lakhs required for public buildings at Peshawar, is estimated at Rs. 3,55,000 *per annum* which, at 10 *p. c.*, works out a capital (expenditure) of *three crores and-a-half*. It is not, therefore, surprising that other Viceroys never carried out the project. As regards the officering, formerly every public Punjab Officer from Delhi to Peshawar felt himself, and was trained to be, an Imperial Frontier Officer. It elevated and braced him up. Now, he may as well be, as we have said above, in Chittagong, or Mergui, or the Andamans for the old Punjab Imperial instinct to stir in him. It throws, too, an enormous amount of patronage into the Viceroy's hands, or into the hands of his Deputy at Peshawar, which can never possibly be well or judiciously applied.

In the matter of Curtailment of Reports we quoted some months back the lugubrious lament of a South Indian journal. The following is the voice of a journal of North India. We have always held that a hash has been made of the matter, and things can only turn to their old groove, though any quantity of statistics may be omitted, the totals only being given, and some Reports of little public importance be furnished only once in five years:—

“ The Chemical Examiner in Madras, unlike the Chemical Examiners in Northern India, has an eye to the romance of his work, and his Report for 1900, just published, is as ‘plotty’ as one of Miss Braddon's novels. Not content with merely analysing the mysterious bottled specimens that are sent to him by the Police and other authorities, Lieutenant Colonel J. L. van Geyzel, I.M.S., insists on learning the ‘history’ of each case, with the result that he is able to write every year a criminal calendar as well as a chemical dissertation. The Report in its complete form occupies 20 pages, and Lieutenant-Colonel van Geyzel asks that he may be allowed to continue to prepare his Annual Reports in the present form. This is *à propos* of the new orders of the Government of India relative to the curtailment of official literature. We have lately seen what ‘curtailment’ has done for the Reports of Chemical Examiners in Northern India. In the Punjab it has wiped Major Grant's Report out of existence entirely. In the North-West Provinces it has reduced Professor Hankin's Report to a single page, devoid of all point and meaning. Obviously the flaw in the new régime of literary reform in Administrative Departments lies in the unintelligent assumption that a Report is to be considered too long, not according to what it contains but according to the number of its pages. A wooden rule goes forth that a given num-
VOL. CXIII.]

ber of pages must in future suffice as the maximum for a given Report; unaccompanied by any guarantee that the pruning knife will merely rid the tree of super-abundant boughs. As a matter of fact the length of a Report has never been the real subject of complaint: a Report cannot be pronounced too long merely in respect of its bulk. Reasonable criticism has been directed solely against the practice of inflating Blue-Books with useless appendices or other undigested and undigestible pabulum, the preparation of which involves an inordinate amount of close clerical toil, to say nothing of the subsequent trouble thrown upon the reader who must wade through heaps of chaff to find a few grains of wheat. In the case of Lieutenant-Colonel van Geysel's Report, which is admitted by the Madras Government to be 'as usual full of interest,' curtailment in order to bring it into line with the vacuous Reports of some other Chemical Examiners would simply deprive it of its whole *raison d'être*. Dr. van Geysel has drawn attention in an interesting and, therefore, forceful manner to what is undoubtedly a glaring evil in all parts of India—the unrestricted traffic in dangerous poisons—and had he been hampered, as others have considered themselves hampered, by the new bogey of 'curtailment,' he must have failed to do justice to his subject."

The matter of the origination of the idea of the Imperial Cadet Corps, which Mr. McLaren Morrison claimed, has, it seems, not ended with the denial of the Private Secretary, or even the further light cast on the subject by the *Statesman* or by ourselves. Mr. J. C. MacGregor writes from London that he was the Calcutta Correspondent of the *Times* (London) from 1875 to 1895, and says:—"I think it ought to be pointed out that Mr. Lawience is under a misconception if he means to claim that the Imperial Cadet scheme is an entirely original idea on the part of Lord Curzon; for, as a matter of fact, a very similar scheme was suggested several years ago, under the title of "An Indian Sandhurst," by his Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, who then held a Command in India; and, as I have said, the same idea has been kept steadily before the public by Mr. McLaren Morrison for some fifteen years past." Lord Dufferin, and Sir Henry Lawrence, are entirely out of Mr. MacGregor's account. In any case, even Mr. Walter Lawrence may be content to give the claim of priority to these eminent Indian Statesmen, if not to H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught,—even if he is unwilling to allow it to a "somebody named McLaren Morrison."

After all, the only reasonable defence of Lord Curzon's "Travel Resolution" that we have seen is furnished by Lord George Hamilton who, in answer to a question in the House as to the right of the Viceroy to interfere with the private arrangements of Indian Princes, said:—"I do not think that the Hon'ble gentleman has quite mastered the situation. The authority and power of the Indian Government have behind them the support and authority of the Indian Princes, and if the Indian Princes leave their territory they are, in consequence, protected from disturbance or disquietude inside their

territory. Therefore it is not unreasonable that the Indian Government should ask that they should be consulted in regard to the frequency and duration of absence from India, during which the reigning Princes abandon the reins of authority in their own country."

Lord Curzon seems to be still bent on his Burma Tour, and to make those long "jungle marches," notwithstanding the extremely threatening aspect of public affairs all over the world. We can only trust that if he persists in going, he will not come to any bodily grief on those wild marches, even with thirty odd servants. And the sudden appearance of a tiger on the scene might not be very agreeable. But perhaps, it is this very element of "shooting" which may have irresistible attraction, and we must have to add another twelfth part of a year sacrificed to "sport" within the twelve-month! The Members of Council have made most of the arrangements for their tours. Sir Charles Rivaz goes first to Bombay and then to Calcutta, staying at Nagpur *en route*. He also leaves Calcutta about the 10th proximo for a month's tour in Assam. Sir Edward Law, the Financial Member, visits Rajputana, Bombay and the Central Provinces. Mr. Raleigh visits various Colleges and Schools of importance, while General Elles makes a first acquaintance with Burma, and Mr. Arundel sees some of the great irrigation and other public works in the Punjab and Upper India.

Before we conclude this portion of our notes we have to remark on the quantity of fulsome trash that has appeared in various quarters—not less in the *Times* than in independent articles in papers and magazines—written by friends, or sycophants and expectants of favours, in which Lord Curzon is depicted either as "the greatest Governor-General India has ever had," or, as superior to most. In one article especially, "the last six Viceroys" are represented as mere "figure-heads" (!) or "dummies" (!!!). Surely the Viceroy has cause to exclaim:—"Save me from my friends!" To examine all these articles would be to waste paper and time and the patience of our readers. To the writers of such unmitigated trash we can only say, that "fulsome flattery always defeats its ends, and is only applied by, and to, or taken in by, fools." We ourselves have a strong regard for the Viceroy, and carefully note his course, but we forbear to pass as yet any opinion on him—nay, we have even restrained in our last a very severe indictment against him. But it must be evident that if such unmitigated trash as lately appeared in the *Fortnightly* from an "On-Looker" continues to pour forth, the "other side of the story" will also only necessarily appear. Thus it is, therefore, we find "Another On-looker" writing

in a daily paper :—" When I left India a short time ago the Viceroy had succeeded in quarrelling with almost everyone of standing, Civil or Military, and chiefly through a spirit of aggressive interference, which is no part of a great ruler's character. There is a right way and a wrong way of doing things, and certainly the right way is not to quarrel persistently with your subordinates. If Lord Curzon were ten years older and had half the knowledge of the world of Lord Dufferin, he might make a good Viceroy ; as it is, he has in India more the reputation of a busybody than a statesman, and public opinion would certainly place him below Lord Mayo, Lord Dufferin, or Lord Lansdowne, to quote only recent Viceroys."

How Lord Curzon is regarded at home may be seen from a late paragraph in the same leading Indian journal :—" A well-informed London correspondent attributes the bungling of the Cabinet in Persian Gulf affairs to a jealousy of Lord Curzon. He writes : ' Some, however, explain that the Cabinet, *i.e.*, the weak-kneed ' Inner Cabinet '—Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour, the Duke of Devonshire, and Lord Lansdowne—have been very much actuated by a jealousy of Lord Curzon. He is a strong man, the strongest we have had in India since Lord Dalhousie, and with a masterful knowledge of Eastern politics, and he having advised a Protectorate over Koweit, it is sufficient that the aristocratic clique of old crocks and nin-compoops should repudiate his advice. This is scarcely probable, but it is not impossible, for the jealousy of Lord Curzon is very marked in certain influential quarters here, who are glad to justify themselves by the extraordinary unpopularity of His Excellency with certain classes in India, which the imitative Native Press now seem inclined to aggravate after its most aggravating manner." And it is not quite a secret that Lord Curzon did not find himself very much appreciated, and was, as pointed out by " West-minster " in his article on " Mr. Chamberlain's Dictatorship," really " shunted on " to India to get rid of him. But his *claguers*, admirers, friends, and sycophants will not allow him to rest and do his work quietly even here. For ourselves we believe that, if he can only get the needed inspiration, he may yet prove the hope and salvation of the true Conservative party at home, but it will not be by fulsome trash in " leading," or other, journals and magazines. It will depend on himself—on his denying himself, and self-restraint, and, we may add, the self-restraint and wisdom of his friends.

There is not much to note from either Bombay or Madras this past quarter.

Land legislation, as we stated in our last, has been rife all

over India, save Bengal, though it is here that it is most needed. This is a large subject, and along with Political and other Titles, and the new Province—"Curzon Provinces"—we hope to see to in our next.

NATIVE STATES, PRINCES, &C.

His Highness the Nizam has been carrying out the reforms we sketched out in April last, months before any of the newspapers had any inkling even of what was coming. A Hindu, of an old family, has been appointed Prime Minister ; and the hosts of strangers from the North-West Provinces and other parts of India, who held the fattest posts in the country, have been dismissed. It is intended henceforth to employ the Nizam's own subjects and natives of South India. These, whether Hindus or Mahomedans, offer a large choice, and will certainly not be worse, even if not so "ornamental,"—and very probably be better—than the strangers, whether from Lucknow, Aligurh, or Patna. Over the whole of the new administration, the Nizam himself will exercise a personal supervision. In the meantime, the Government of India lends a high officer to put the financial working of the State on a proper footing. All this is as it should be. Hyderabad is one of the finest and richest States in India, and there is no reason why it should not be well administered by its own native agency, now that high education has spread over South India including Hyderabad. Mere education, however, does not make good administration. In this way, too, the continual masked contest between the Supreme Government and the State will come to an end, and the post of Resident will no longer be one of the most difficult in India—to reconcile varied and conflicting interests, etc. We note, too, another move in the right direction in this State. Independent Europeans will no longer be allowed to settle without permission. Were this rule to be applied to all strangers, including Parsees, it would be well. The Parsees, even though from Bombay, are as truly strangers to the State as Europeans. If Lord Curzon sees to the new *régime* having a fair trial, and can see through this effort of the finest Native State in India trying to make head-way, even as others, he will have done more than many another more showy action, and add to the gratitude of the State itself. And the Nizam himself will have risen to a new life full of hope for himself and his country.

Proceeding northward, Baroda continues on its path of enlightened progress though it has parted with its late Dewan. A great deal depends, in Native States, upon the personal character as well as ability of the Dewan, or Prime Minister, but here, in Baroda, we have a Chief at once highly enlightened, active, and who personally attends to matters of State. We

believe the Chief has secured a thoroughly respectable and respected, as well as able, man for his new Prime Minister.

We next come to Punnah, the diamond-bearing State of Bundelcund, where the young Chief has been removed under a guard to Nowgong, to undergo a trial and free himself from an alleged complicity in poisoning his predecessor. This happened some time ago, and we cannot understand how, if the matter was so, that it has slept so long. There ought surely to be some bar of limitation as to time in such matters, as anything may be got up after a while, and in Native-governed States anything may be got up at any time by a few disaffected. In one of our previous issues we noted that Punnah was a Native State which offered the example of having a Christian as the Chief Minister. Our memory may fog, but we know that it was so during very many years of the rule of the predecessor of the present Chief, the very person who is alleged to be implicated. Let us add, in concluding our note on this matter, that half the Native Baidis and Hakeems poison their patients—of course in ignorance—just as there are wrong treatments and mischances with European Doctors—and it is an easy thing to put one and two together and make it four, bringing in an innocent Chief into it.

The young Maharajah of Jodhpur, after paying a visit to Europe, and being "received" by the King-Emperor, has returned to India, and been accorded great welcomes in Bombay and his own capital. It will be seen that while the Viceroy's "Travel Resolution" hardly affects the few bigger Princes—for Bhawalpur, too, is shortly to set forth on the "grand tour"—the numerous small ones, whose enlightenment is equally a matter of moment, are caught in its meshes. The resolution was well made to strain at gnats and let camels through. To return:—The Maharajah of Jodhpur left India in April, and on arriving at Naples he and his party, which includes three Native Princes and half-a-dozen Aides-de-Camp and native servants, visited Rome and Venice on their way to Carlsbad. He took the waters for five weeks, and then Vienna, Innsbruck, and Salzburg were visited, after which the party rested for sometime at Lucerne, going on later to Interlaken and Berne. While in Switzerland the party did some mountaineering by aid of the familiar electric railway, but the thing that interested here most was the sight of the snow, which he saw for the first time when climbing up the Eiger glacier. He considered St. Peter's at Rome the most wonderful building he had ever seen. Captain and Mrs. Bannerman accompanied the Maharajah, and on their arrival in Paris they put up at the Hotel International, whence they set out each day to see the sights of the capital.

The Maharajah expressed the highest admiration for the people of England. He is eloquent in his praises of their polished manners and of their earnest endeavours to bring into practical use the latest developments in science and art. He spoke in terms of gratitude for the cordial welcome extended to him at every place that he visited in Great Britain. The courtesy of the English nobility, their activity in business, and their progress in civilization, he says, has the tendency to mystify the Indian mind and make it realise its own darkness. The Indians, the Maharajah says, are destined to be ruled and guided by the Britishers. He is of opinion that the former should learn all that was possible for them, if they aspired to develop into a great nation.

The liberal, enlightened, and humane Maharajah of Jeypur has placed another sum of four lakhs to the credit of the Famine Fund he inaugurated with a first gift of nineteen lakhs. It is such princes who have conserved India during the last three thousand years; and it does seem strange to us how slow far richer princes, even such a Lord Curzon's favourite as young Gwalior—are to follow the good example set by Jeypur.

The young Chief of Puttiala has been installed or recognised by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, a Council of Regency directly under British supervision being formed to administer the State during the minority of the prince.

We noted in our last, the marriage and liberality of the young Nawab of Bahawalpur, and that Colonel Grey represented Government with him. It is now arranged that the Nawab proceeds on a visit to England in Colonel Grey's charge, and His Highness could not have a more thoroughly kind-hearted and capable officer to be with him. The great thing in these visits of Native Princes and Chiefs to Europe is to place a limit on expenditure, and to keep harpies and others from preying on them. We make no doubt that Colonel Grey will see to both, as well as the increase of useful knowledge in his youthful charge. Colonel Grey is a man who would be an acquisition as an adviser in any Native State in India.

The first batch of princely cadets are to proceed to Meerut this cold season for their exercise. Admirable in itself, in many ways both for themselves and the country, we can only trust that no false pretensions will make the corps displace a single younger member of a noble family from devoting himself to agriculture, or developing the economic and industrial wealth of India.

Finally, in regard to the political Chiefs and Princes of India, it is proposed to permit a limited number of them to be present at the Coronation of the King-Emperor. It will

be a heavy charge on the revenues of India, for they will go as India's representatives, and be guests from the day they set foot on the steamer till they land back again. Some have proposed the very large number of fifteen. We should think even eight more than sufficient for a mere pageant and to accentuate the political meaning attached. The Nizam and Kashmir, the two biggest of all, cannot or would not go. The Maharana of Meywar would not move nor Travancore. Of the others, we have Baroda, Indore, Bhopal, Jeypur, Gwalior, Mysore and Rampur. Puttiala, as being too young, cannot go. Bahawulpur will be there in the course of his proposed visit. Of the eight we have mentioned above, one or two may hold back. We do not see what place the Maharajah of Cooch Behar, even though "political," has in the list of half-a-dozen or so of the great representative princes of India, though his *claguers* in the press have already settled it among themselves that he—who seems to have been more in England than any one else—shall be one of the party. We trust Lord Curzon will make an appropriate selection, and that there be no more than half-a-dozen or so—perhaps a Gilgit Chief and a Shan Tsawbwa joined on to add to the picturesqueness of the body.

Among non-political leading natives, Zemindars of Bengal, the "Maharajah" of Durbhunga's case with his tenants, which we had no space to notice at length in our last, showed that the "model" territory was really seething with grave internal troubles with the ryots. The Commissioner found against the Maharajah's management. This Zemindar with his "manuscript eloquence," whether in the Council Chamber or in the Hall of the British Indian Association, is constantly trying to push himself and his name forward before the public—even of England!—as one of India's "princes"—we are sure the Maharana of Meywar or the Maharajah of Kashmir or even any of the lesser princes would not recognise him, or even Cooch Behar as one of their body—it appears that this "Zemindar," who travels so far out of his sphere, is innocent of any knowledge of how things are managed for him on his estate. Yet, we believe, he enjoys the very handsome income raised from it, which reminds us of some other Zemindar in East Bengal. Illegal cesses, *abwabs*, forced contributions for this, that, and the other, on every possible occasion, by the myrmidons of his Zemindary increased his revenues to about double the amount within the memory of some living, for he is dead. He, of course, knew nothing,—perhaps he "winked."—but he enjoyed all the substantial money thus raised contrary to Government regulation. We do not know what is the state in that Zemindary now; but both that instance, and this of

Durbhunga, lead us to recommend a general over-hauling of the way things are carried out on these large estates, even if "managed" by Europeans, every five years or so, by a specially appointed Commissioner, to hear petitions of ryots, and report to Government. There would then be no "agrarian revolts," nor need of moving bodies of troops, nor would the poor be mercilessly robbed for the aggrandisement of their all powerful "Zemindar"—an officer, be it remembered, whom we ourselves have created, to the serious loss of legitimate revenue, and whose operations, therefore, are under our supervision. We, of course, exempt entirely from these observations, the leading nobleman of Bengal, the Maharajah of Burdwan, who pays half a million to the revenue, and who has given up his kingly estate to some score of lessees who have thereby themselves become "Rajahs."

We may conclude this section by noting that the difference between the Khettries and Mr. Risley has been settled even as we recommended. Mr. Risley, as Census Commissioner, writes a nice and sensible letter to Rajah Bun Behari Kapur and shows clearly that while the orders of his predecessors were in the wrong direction as regards Khettries, his own orders were exceedingly appropriate, placing them along with the Rajputs. He also says, that the new information he has received will enable him to revise the article "Khatri" in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*.

[As these notes are passing through the press, an official paragraph has been issued regarding the matter of the attendance of Indian Princes at the Coronation, and it will be seen that our recommendations, given above, as to those who are excused, and as to the number, tally exactly. We furnish here the notice *in extenso* :—

THE KING'S CORONATION.

SIMLA, 2nd Nov.—His Majesty the King-Emperor has been graciously pleased to issue invitations which have been accepted by the following Princes and Chiefs to attend his Coronation in London next June :—The Maharajah of Gwalior, the Rajah of Kolhapur, the Maharajah of Jaipur, the Nawab of Bahawalpur and the Rajah of Nabha. His Majesty is aware of the loyal feelings that would prompt a considerable number of Indian Princes to be present at the ceremony and would gladly have welcomed a larger deputation, but the considerations of space and the accommodation, however, compelled a limitation of the numbers, and an endeavour accordingly has been made to render the selection as representative as possible. From racial, religious and territorial points of view the following Princes received but for domestic or other reasons, were unable to accept the honour of his Majesty's invitation :—The Nizam of Hyderabad, the Maharana of Udaipur, the Maharajah of Travancore, and the Rajah of Cochin. His Majesty while excusing the attendance of the remaining Princes and Chiefs, is anxious to afford to them an opportunity of testifying their loyalty to his Throne and person and he has therefore instructed the Viceroy to hold a Durbar at Delhi on the 1st January, 1903, attendance at which will be regarded by his Majesty as equivalent to the presence at his Coronation. Steps are also being taken by the Viceroy

in receipt of instructions from the Secretary of State to select with the aid of the local Government a small number of representative native gentlemen to attend his Majesty's Coronation from the different Provinces and Presidency Towns. Later on a similarly representative European deputation will be selected from Public bodies and from the various branches of the Public Service in India. It is also in contemplation to send a large Military Contingent to take part in the coronation ceremonies, representing all ranks and classes of the Native Army and the Imperial Service Troops. At the head of the last named deputation will be Sir Pertab Singh of Jodhpur.]

LITERATURE SCIENCE, ART AND EDUCATION.—According to our rule we review journalistic literature first. The *Madras Mail*, for inserting some specific charges against certain Municipal Officers, has had an action for libel brought against it by Colonel Sir George Moore, the President of the Municipality. The case promises to be a keen one, and the best lawyers have been retained on either side. As it is *sub-judice* at present, we refrain from commenting on it. We may, however, be permitted to say that it was a most absurd mistake for certain native members of the Municipality to try at the outset to censure their Chairman for taking action. They did not see that it was practically asking him to resign. As a consequence, not only did he refuse to take the chair, but no other European member would, and the *wrangle*—for it could have been nothing else—was fought out *in camera*. Here the *Madras Mail* had good cause to exclaim,—“Save me from my friends!”

The *Madras Times* has begun well under a new *régime* a new editor—Mr. Steer having been got out from the staff of the *Mail*. The old Editor Mr. Ormerod did as much as his other mercantile avocations permitted him. He lacked the necessary literary style and training, but his articles were always remarkable for a solid interest in the material progress of the country; and probably he deserved much more a public meeting to mark the close of his services than others more merely showy. The Hoff case for libel was decided in his favour, but on appeal the decision was reversed on a technical point. Such are the uncertainties of human law. A new monthly magazine called *East and West*, has been started in Bombay, and we wish it well. The number of these magazines of sorts, in various parts of India, especially in the Madras Presidency, is very large, and of only one, the *Arya*, can we say it is of any value. They are all owned or conducted by natives, and one would expect to see pure native talent arrayed in them, but it seems that they rely almost altogether on contributions by stray European writers. This is not as it ought to be, nor does it instil in us a high respect for native literary ability and talent. We would consider this as almost entirely absent in India, were it not for the papers we are privileged to receive and publish for the *Calcutta Review*.

These, however, probably mark the best talent there is in the country, and some of our native writers could hold their own, even in the best Home Journals. For instance, an article on "Colonial Policies" in our last April number could not be excelled for walking on a figurative tight rope swung over a precipice. And another in this issue, "Ram Bodh Muni—a Love Story of Nepal" could not possibly be beaten for pathos, beauty, and a true colouring of nature. Kipling himself is not near it. We write thus, lest we should seem to decry native literary talent and ability from our previous remarks. And yet again we notice another, and again another, monthly magazine—a *Ladies' Journal* and a *Malabar Affairs*, the former edited and written altogether by native ladies, which is as it should be—and is a bright and readable thing, and that is sure to succeed. This journal is the surest sign of India's advance in social regeneration. Before we conclude this portion of our remarks we may observe that, in reference to the article on "Serpent Worship" in our last, we were not previously aware of the extent of the "Serpent Cult" in India as set forth by the *Times of India*, in its issue of the 26th October last in its "leader" treating of our said paper. Here is what the *Times of India* writes [we may add that we have ourselves, ten years back, come on the belief of a monster serpent, not in Sumbulpore but near the sources of the Sone in the Central Provinces]:—

"Little was known of the extent of this cult in India until Fergusson wrote his great volume on tree and serpent worship, illustrated by engravings of the sculptures that adorn the Buddhist topes at Sanchi and Amraoti. In that work, when Fergusson, after passing in review the instances and indications of tree and serpent worship in different parts of the world, comes to India, he remarks that many of his readers will be inclined to ask whether serpent worship exists at the present day in India, and that if the inquiry were addressed to even our best informed Indian authorities, the reply would probably be negative. If this was really the case at that time, his work certainly removed all doubt upon the subject by the numerous and striking instances of snake worship that he adduced. One of the most curious was the great serpent in Sumbulpore visited by Mr. Motte in 1766, which was supposed to have been worshipped there since the world began. It emerged every day from a cave, devoured a goat offered by its worshippers, and took a bath in the canal. It was still alive when Major Kittoe visited Sumbulpore in 1836, and for anything we know to the contrary may be living there still. Of sculptured snakes Fergusson mentions the image of the seven headed Naga, richly jewelled, and under a splendid canopy, which stands between Hanuman and Garuda in the great temple at Madura; and the two similar golden statues, still more richly jewelled which are the principal images in the temple of Seringham. He also shows how the stone sculptures of serpents insinuate themselves in the sacred sculptures of temples all over India, and how in Kashmere, according to Abulfazl, there were in Akbar's time only 45 places dedicated to the worship of Siva, 64 to Vishnu, but there were 700 places in the valley where there were carved images of snakes which the inhabitants worshipped."

Lét us further add to the above, that we have also ourselves come upon a *saurian*—not a snake—in East Bengal, which in every respect of size, etc., was a pre-Adamitic geological epoch monster; and observe, that whatever this extensive and prevalent serpent cult may betoken—and it does mean much—there can be little doubt that the innumerable serpents carved round the lotus flower which may be seen in the remains of probably the oldest Buddhist Temple in India, is a reminder of the fall and emblematic of the Tree of Life.

We trust, in our words “Kipling himself is not near it,” (used above) none of his devoted admirers will consider us as setting too low a mark on their favourite. Out of a great many reasons, only his having in a *Windsor Magazine* article of his (in June 1897, if we remember right) on “Men who have won the Victoria Cross,” set us up above even these, though undecorated, (in something relating to us in earlier days—when Lord Curzon was in the nursery, and Russia had not come into even Khiva in Central Asia—Kipling’s “Khodajantakan Mountains”), would make us feel favourably disposed towards him. Kipling’s true place in literature, however, is a subject above mere personal likes, and we hope to set it forth truly and impartially, neither depreciating him unduly and unjustly as the *Saturday Review*, or seeing in him the greatest “poet” of the age, because of a hysterical Bishop who went into tears over a stilted “Recessional,” whenever we can command some space, which we cannot at present.

Mr. J. M. Maclean has in the press a work entitled; “Recollections of India and Westminster.” Many of the papers collected in the volume were originally published in the *Manchester Guardian*, but they have been revised and enlarged, while the portion of the book relating to Mr. Maclean’s Indian experiences has been considerably extended. Mr. Maclean has also included some very interesting historical letters from Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Bartle Frere, and other well-known public men. The work will be published before Christmas.

Our readers will remember our note in the early part of the year on the similarity between Hebrew and Sanscrit words when either of them is reversed, leading to inferences as to the mode of the Confusion of Tongues at the Tower of Babel. We have now “The Hebrew Origin of the Brahmins,” an interesting essay (S. P. C. K. Press) by Mr. M. Venkataratnam, B. A., of the Teacher’s College, Saidapet, Madras. In this the writer attempts to attribute Hebrew origin to the Brahmin of India from a comparative study of the Hebrew Bible and ancient Indo-Aryan literature; and tracing in them striking similarities in the laws pertaining to cleanliness, uncleanness, priesthood,

etc., which are binding on the Hebrews and Hindu Brahmins, Mr. Venkataratnam is induced to attribute a Hebrew origin to Brahmins. He derives the word "Brahma" from "Abraham" and "Yahava," which is said to occur several times in the Rigveda, from the word "Jehovah." And what appears to the essayist a decisive proof in support of his view, is the supposed contact of the Asiatic Aryans with the Assyrians at some remote period in prehistoric times. The Assyrians being supposed to have carried away a large number of the Israelites into captivity, Mr. Venkataratnam thinks that the latter must have given to the Asiatic Aryans, through the Assyrians, their ideas, words and institutions.

There may be difficulties in the way of accepting the Brahmins as descendants of the late Hebrews, of a time subsequent to Moses, but the earlier Hebrews, and Abraham of a certainty, belonged to the same stock which sent out Eastern offshoots to India and Western branches to Europe, Armenia and Babylonia and Chaldea being the meeting point of all; and if we go still earlier than Abraham, to the Tower of Babel, we come on the one young and growing family. It may be well supposed that there was at first free intercourse and brothership maintained between the leading Indians, Assyrian astrologers, Babylonian and Parsi Magi, Egyptian priests, and Hebrew sages, on-lookers of the "Star" of Jacob with Balaam, the Day-Star which was to appear, and which, and whose Earthly Career and Work, were embodied and set forth in eternal and world-wide starry blazon in the Constellations of the Zodiac (of the heavens) at a time when there were no written characters—probably taught thus by the angels themselves to Adam. In connection with this, Dr. Bühler's deservedly great name may be adduced as having shown that the *English alphabet*, the Indian *kakhaga*, and the Hebrew *aleph beth* all go back to a common origin in Northern Arabia. In a paper of his each letter, as it occurs in the old inscriptions of Asoka, has been traced back to its original in the Moabite stone, and the archaic inscriptions of Phœnicia. A comparative table of the various alphabets appended to his paper sets the matter at rest for ever. We may add, however, that Professor Bühler's research came subsequent to Blochmann's, and Blochmann was Secretary to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, before whom a summary of the paper we referred to in our last, on the "Unity of Alphabetical Writing," was read by its author. We had not, at that time, to controvert the views held by our contributor Dr. Cust—see his opening article in this number—in regard to the date and the origin of our Alphabet—the testimony we have referred to in a *note* to that paper, of the Powers, Principles, or "Angels" of the Universe being embodied by

Moses in the Pentateuch Alphabet in the *Cabbala*, i.e., in the "Word of God" (of *St. John's Gospel and Revelation*), and "The Word" in them, but it was not necessary. In these necessarily cryptic references, we wish to throw as it were a flash (only) into a mine of the purest gold full of riches untold before which Aladdin's famous Treasure of Diamonds and Rubies sinks into insignificance—indeed, of which Aladdin's story is an Oriental and popular setting.

Pundit S. M. Natesa Sastriar has published a translation of the six first chapters of *Raghuvansa* in Tamil; and A. Swadesamitran has brought out, in the same language, a book of "Curtain Lectures," well-written and humourous, giving an insight into native domestic life. An English translation of this might take well. Mr. Nizam-uddin Hussan, a Judge of the High Court of Hyderabad, has employed his leisure—we envy his leisure—in studying the history and origin of our ordinary punctuation marks, and has both written a pamphlet on the subject, and contributed an article on it to the (English) "Indian Magazine and Review." From his own showing in the latter (he does not perceive it) he is on the wrong track in ascribing these marks to an Arabic origin in Spain in the Middle Ages. As for the marks being turned from right to left, let us say that the marks were not turned at all either way in ages much earlier than Arabic literature,—and the marks were existent then,—but pointed straight up and down, or square or otherwise. His theory may be patriotic, but is quite untenable. We regret we have no space or time to show it fully. Mrs. Montague Turnbull has contributed some reminiscences in a late *Chambers' Journal* of the Calcutta Volunteers raised during the early days of the Mutiny, her husband, Major Turnbull, being the commandant of the cavalry portion of the force. Old times and persons are vividly brought to our memory by her, among the latter being one of the editors of the *Calcutta Review* General (then Colonel) Malleson—also one of the authors of the "Rulers of India" series, the *Indian Mutiny* and other works; and General (then Major) Nassau Lees, often a coadjutor and fellow-worker with ourselves in literary and other lines. Among other varied work that Nassau Lees—he afterwards owned and edited the *Times of India*—did, he was a joint-editor of the *Bengal Sporting Magazine* with Lord Ulick Browne and Major Turnbull. We never again expect to see the like in India of the large, talented, able, cultured, and even highly-placed literary talent, in every branch of work and journalism that adorned the country in those grand old days, and shed a lustre over the Services, even though we have men like Risley and Buckland with us—worthy successors these, but labouring under mountains of red-tape and reports, and choked by "officialism," all which were absent then, and

the greater praise therefore to these. Lord Curzon's example, in the highest place, ought, however, to tell in some measure, even though "competition-wallas" be nowhere compared with the Haileyburians. Indeed, the question has often seriously occurred to us—has our modern race of Englishmen, who come out to India (and even who stay at home) degenerated? Let us, however, revert, after just this quotation from the *Indian Daily News* :—

"The cultivation of Persian, Urdu, and Sanscrit among Indian Civilians is not carried on so seriously as it might be. The great Warren Hastings thought and the present Government thinks, such studies of high importance, and he was, and it is, no doubt right. Perhaps, a modification of the time restrictions by Government would have a good effect. At any rate, we hope that some means may be devised to encourage all Government officers to devote a portion of their leisure to improving their knowledge of the classical Oriental languages. Vernacular is all very well, but the classics should not be neglected."

The Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library began its existence as early as 1828 with only 531 volumes out of the well-known Mackenzie collections sent to this Presidency by the Government of India and preserved as part of the Old College Library. Though this institution costs the Madras Government comparatively little to maintain it in a state of efficiency, it serves a very useful purpose. The Library has been added to largely from time to time by the local Government, with the result that at present it has 11,054 volumes. Of these 10,920 relate to Sanscrit manuscripts, 2,858 to Telugu, 1,203 Tamil, 1,072 Canarese, 80 Malayalam, 343 Marathi, 33 Uriya, 164 Arabic, 610 Persian, 58 Hindustani; and a miscellaneous collection of 198 consists of Japanese, Singhalese, etc. The Report for the year 1900-1901 shows that during the year 105 manuscripts have been obtained; 59 out of these are Sanscrit and comprise the fields of Drama, Language, Philosophy, Politics including Morality, Religion, Vedic literature and Mythology. The Library was resorted to by 1,641 visitors, of whom 806 have been classed as readers and 819 as copyists; the corresponding figures for the previous year being 660 readers and 870 copyists. These visitors copied 699 manuscripts and read 591. The largest number of manuscripts read and copied relate to Poetry and next in order comes Calcine. Besides the visitors, scholars like Mr. P. C. Ray of Calcutta, Mr. K. P. Trivedi, Mr. P. Cordier and Mr. Pandi Doraisami Tevor of Madura applied to the Curator for copies of rare manuscripts which were furnished them at their own cost. The Director of Public Instruction records the valuable services rendered by the late Professor Seshagiri Sastriar, M.A., who held the office of Curator with credit for eight years, during which period 2,136 manuscripts were acquired for the Library.

At the instance of the late Max Müller's friends in England, a Sub-Committee has been formed by the Bengal Asiatic Society to collect subscriptions for a bust to be placed in the Bodleian Library, and for the promotion of learning and research in all matters relating to the history and archæology, the languages, literatures and religions of ancient India. The Sub-Committee consists of the Hon'ble Mr. C. W. Bolton, Mr. Justice Gurudas Banerjee, Mr. A. Pedler, Mr. K. G. Gupta, Major A. Alcock, Mr. C. R. Wilson, Mr. Haraprasad Shastri and Mr. T. Bloch, as Secretary. We also notice H. H. the Gaekwar's name as among others approving of the movement.

We give Mr. Syed Ali Bilgrami of Hyderabad the following free advertisement. His library of 5,800 volumes is for sale for Rs. 40,000. The collection comprises 793 works referring to Sanskrit language and literature; 275 old Persian, Pali and Singhalese works; 933 Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Russian and German works; 1,353 in English relating to biography, history and general literature, and about 1,426 works on various scientific subjects, including books of reference and scientific periodicals. There are in addition over 1,000 volumes MSS. and printed, in the Arabic, Persian and Islamic languages embracing every period and subject.

Our old friend of the Doveton College, Mr. J. W. McCrindle, has come out with a further and final instalment of *Ancient India*—a compilation of the references to the country contained in Greek and Latin literature, and is a continuation of his translations of Megasthenes, Arrian, and the Periplus, published upwards of twenty years ago. With Mr. McCrindle's published translations of Ktesias and Ptolemy's Geography of India, this present volume exhausts the field which he set himself to explore and he has done a valuable service to students.

Dr. Stein has returned to his duties in the Punjab after finishing his work at home, with regard to which he has stated that :—

"A full investigation of the sculpture, fresco painting, objects of industrial art, and seals, etc., which were dug out of the temples, and dwelling houses of sand-buried sites will help us to resuscitate the civilisation of a region which has played an important part in history as the link between ancient China, India, and the classical West. Now for the first time have been brought to light some aspects of the every-day life, the home industries, and arts of the inhabitants of the villages and settlements of Chinese Turkestan which were abandoned in the early centuries after the beginning of the Christian Era, and have since been buried under moving sand dunes. As showing the extent to which the desert has advanced, I may say that some of the settlements I excavated are situated fully a hundred miles beyond the edge of the present cultivated area.

No doubt can be entertained that the inhabitants of these places were in possession of a culture mainly derived from India, and that they were Buddhists. My excavations go to prove that their culture

was highly advanced, and that the art influences of Greece and Rome were felt even at that great distance from the centres of classical culture. Khotan is, I should say, about half way between Peking and Western Europe. Possibly the most striking excavations I made were at a site in the heart of the desert, north of Niya, where one settlement was exposed, covering with its scattered dwellings and shrines an area of about six miles by four. Until digging began all that was visible were weird-looking rows of bleached timber pieces projecting in various places like the framework of a wrecked ship from between the sand dunes.

Of special interest were the refuse-heaps which we unearthed near some ruined houses, once apparently tenanted by village officials—kinds of 'waste paper' baskets, containing hundreds of documents, beautifully written on wooden tablets, and carefully tied and sealed. Owing to the preservative nature of the sand, many of these were in splendid condition—the ink as black, and seals and string as perfect, as if they were only a few weeks old. As these documents are in a known Indian script, their decipherment can be expected to reveal in a fascinating manner many of the details of the ancient village life. But it will be a task requiring years of close study, as in India itself the materials available of this early script have so far been very scanty.

Round most of the sand-buried houses were brought to light carefully-planned little gardens, with avenues of trees, fenced lanes, orchards, and so forth. It was truly astonishing on clearing away the sand to find under the shrivelled hedges heaps of dried leaves, just as they had fallen in ages gone by. The gardens were much the same in character as those still to be found in Turkestan to-day. The trees were mostly poplars and peach, mulberry, and apricot trees. There is no evidence that these places were abandoned owing to any sudden catastrophe, but their gradual desertion was evidently due to the impossibility of continued irrigation causing an advance of the sand.

In the ruined temples we found a sort of unintentional exhibition of the fabrics of these remote ages—for in front of some of the idols were heaps of torn sheets of elaborately worked silks and other fabrics which had been deposited as votive offerings. In one temple it was curious to note an instance of where a pilgrim, anxious apparently to propitiate as many deities as possible, had torn into portions a Tibetan manuscript, which he had divided among the various idols. These fragments are now once more united under glass panes. Many colossal statues in stucco were unearthed from the monasteries and temples. One of the latter contained in its cloisters over a hundred statues all over life size. As showing how the customs of to-day were in vogue in the past, it may be noted that my labourers at once recognised an ice-pit which was dug out by dry leaves, which were apparently used then, as now, to protect the ice from the terrible summer heat."

We have previously stated that the existence of these old buried cities is no new discovery, but that they were first put forth by ourselves nearly forty years ago in the then *Friend of India*, after our own return from our early Central Asian travels. Occupied as we were with far more important matters—political as well as astronomical and other scientific, and in times when there was neither a Russian Government any where nearer than the Volga, or a Chinese Government existing, but wild and lawless petty chiefs everywhere,—at one

time we had a troop of 150 cutthroat Hunza robbers sent out to waylay us—and we were quite altogether alone, with an enormous lot of cash, precious stones, etc.—[we wonder if “Mr. Curzon” of other days ever travelled under such circumstances, or whether he would have met poor Hayward’s (subsequent) fate]—sometimes, too, with a dozen hungry bears round about within a few yards, and sometimes on a melting sliding avalanche—; thus situated and circumstanced, worked to death day and night, and our life every moment endangered, we could not attend to these and other matters of less moment—or even to *the buried cities of gold*. And we are content now, even as we were then, to drop the veil of oblivion on them, and we should not refer to them here, but for Mr. Stein’s statements and researches of the present day being brought up and aired as something quite new. Mr. Stein believes that these cities, etc., “were abandoned in the early centuries after the beginning of the Christian era.” The local traditions, however, point to their existence even after the Mahomedan era. He also says that “the art influences of Greece and Rome were felt.” These foreign “art influences” may be seen in the early temples—Jain and other—see our Critical Notice on the Jain Stupa at Muttra in a following page—even in India, and the Buddhist civilisation that prevailed then connected North India with Khotan. Mr. Stein also says that “there is no evidence that these places were abandoned owing to any sudden catastrophe.” This may or may not be so, though the ravages of the earlier Mahomedan conquerors may account for their being swept out of existence—even as Bijaynagar in South India at a subsequent period—; but the local traditions do point to sudden catastrophes, and as being Mahomedan traditions, are connected with the Koran, Faith, Faqueers, etc.

And here, before we pass on to Scientific matters, let us say how surprised we are at the antiquarian ignorance betrayed by the Viceroy in his speech before the Asiatic Society when he said:—“We have no building in India as old as the Parthenon at Athens; the large majority are young compared with the Coliseum at Rome. All the Norman and the majority of the Gothic Cathedrals of England and of Western Europe were already erected before the great era of Moslem architecture in India had begun. The Kutub Minar at Delhi, which is the finest early Mahomedan structure in this country, was built within a century of Westminster Hall, in London, which we are far from regarding as an ancient monument.” He is evidently in ignorance of the elaborate Jain temple on Mount Aboo which goes to a period near the Christian era. And he knows absolutely nothing of

the far older structures in Delhi, about which it does not suit us to enlighten him. It is a pity he chooses to *pose as an* authority on a subject of which he is totally ignorant—to make statements that rouse our antiquarian ire.

Turning to Science, whether medical, or physical and economical, India is certainly taking a very advanced position. In the former or Medical branch we have not only first-class Bacteriological Research Laboratories, but the Kasauli (Pasteur) Institute is doing excellent work in the treatment of mad dog bites besides the general bacteriological work comprising (1) the preparation of anti-typhoid vaccine; (2) serum diagnosis of typhoid and Malta fevers; (3) diagnosis of malarial fevers, tubercle, leprosy and many other diseases met with in India; at the same time that several medical officers of both services have been instructed in bacteriology and allowed to work in the laboratory.

This Institute should be largely extended. It is capable of producing the various anti-toxins, the value of which every medical scientist knows. It could turn out anti-venene (the cure for snake-bite), which has now to be got from Lille at great cost; anti-diphtheritic and anti-tetanic serum, etc.; but funds are needed to provide horses and stables before action can be taken in these directions.

In regard to Dr. Calmette's Anti-venene, its efficacy when fresh, for *cobra*-bites, has been established beyond question, and it is now supplied to numerous hospitals and dispensaries all over India. But the price is prohibitive, and it deteriorates rapidly in the hot weather in the plains. Hence the necessity of our having an anti-venene, "manufactory" of our own. Dr. Hanna of Bombay showed in the pages of one of our earlier issues this year, that the antidote does not apply to the poison of Russell's Viper (the *Krait*), but that should not prevent our having a laboratory for it. At the Bombay Research Laboratory Doctors Lamb and Hanna are continuing their researches to standardize the serum with pure cobra venom, and to ascertain the deterioration of the serum through keeping in India. To save space we refer our readers interested in these subjects to the *Lancet* of June 15th last, and to the (reprint) pamphlet we acknowledged in our last issue, which is most interesting reading of the several series of experiments, which, however, have yet to be very considerably extended. It is possible we may find space for these, as an article, in some future number. In regard to Malaria and Mosquitoes, still other *Anopheles* (1), and the delegates to India of the Malaria Committee of the Royal Society and their work, we trust we shall have space in our next issue to say something about them.

Let us now turn to the physical and economic sciences, and

here, too, for want of present space, we must reserve our entire batch of agricultural notes for the next occasion, concluding this section with only our progress in mineralogical matters.

We have a very highly-paid and over-manned "Geological Survey," but so far it has done nothing towards the very reason for its existence—to find out the mineral wealth of the country. We remember a very highly-placed Government Officer once telling us, with reference to a couple of Geological Surveyors who were near about at the time for examination, etc., of that part of the country. "They will have a pleasant shooting time of it" (for six months!); and we have often thought that were the bloated "Department" abolished and in its place, one Geologist appointed to each Government and, under its orders, as is the case in the colonies, where it works, and naturally better, than such an arrangement as ours,—it would be far better. The *Indian Daily News* writes thus of the uselessness of our present officers :—

"Prospecting is not the *métier* of the true geologist, and we have had so many sad instances of officers of the Geological Survey of India wasting their time and the public money in this direction, that we are surprised to see them kept at such work. Dr. Hatch recently issued a treatise on the Kolar Gold Fields, which was not only superfluous, but absolutely mischievous in its tendency, owing to its inaccuracies of information and fallacies of deduction. It has been condemned by the whole Professional Press, and created no end of discontent at Kolar. The Kolar Gold Field had been so thoroughly exploited that it was most absurd to send there Dr. Hatch, who was specially engaged to report on the possible occurrence of Gold in Chota Nagpur and Bengal. It was hardly likely that he would meet with any better success in a well-known mining centre than he did in the virgin tract on which he was first let loose. The rest of the sum of the economic enquiries is that it is quite possible there is gold in the Wuntho District of Burma, but that the Wainad does not hold out much promise. There is no tin to be got in the Panch Mahals, but coal and petroleum may be found in small quantities in Assam. For all the good this information will do investors, the officers of the Department might have been better employed in other directions. But the Director of the Survey is not, after all, so much to blame as the system which gives him control of mining experts. They should form a Department by themselves."

And the *Madras Mail* says—sarcastically, of course, as to the under-manning :—

"The Department is a small one for the large amount of work that it has to do, for it consists of only 21 persons, *viz.*, the Director, Mr. C. L. Griesbach, C.I.E., three Superintendents, four Deputy and four Assistant Superintendents, one Palæontologist, three Specialists, an Artist, two Native Sub-Assistants, an Assistant Curator, a Registrar, and the Inspector of Mines. But of the specialists employed last year Dr. Hatch has completed his one year's engagement and Mr. G. F. Reader is dead, so that the Department now consists of only 19 persons."

Imagine a score of most highly-paid "Directors," "Superintendents," "Specialists," etc., and their practical value summed up by Government itself in its Resolution on the Report for 1900-01 :—"Explorations for economic purposes have not yielded much of value" [never did!] and "the ability of the Department to undertake such investigations has been strengthened by the addition to its staff of two experts in economic geology." The whole thing is a scanda-

and Mr. Hatch's appointment itself was one. To show the halting nature of the output of minerals in this great, extensive and highly-mineralised empire the official summary of Mineral Production for last year may be quoted by us:—

"Gold is produced mostly in the mines of Mysore, where the annual output now exceeds half a million ounces. From the mines in the Nizam's Territory only a small quantity has been extracted as yet. No account is taken in these tables of the gold produced in parts of Northern India from the washings of river sands; there are no means of stating the quantity statistically, but it is well known that it is entirely insignificant.

The aggregate reported production is 513,266 ounces, the value of which may be taken to represent, at £4 an ounce, about two millions sterling.

PETROLEUM.—The production, which is confined to Burma and Assam, amounted to 38 million gallons in 1900, about 37 million gallons being of Burman production. Although the production has expanded very largely, it is still quite insufficient for the requirements of the Indian market which are met by the importation of some 72 million gallons from the United States and Russia. It may be said, that roughly, of every hundred gallons of petroleum used in India one-third is of local production, two-thirds being imported.

In the case of "gems and semi-precious stones" the most prominent are the rubies and jade of Upper Burma. Among other descriptions of minerals manganese ore, mica, and tin ore are alone of commercial importance. The production of manganese commenced a few years ago, the product being shipped to England. The extraction of mica has been an industry in Bengal for a considerable period, and recently this mineral has been extracted in Madras in some quantity. Tin mining has been carried on for many years by Chinese in Lower Burma, but their operations have not indicated any tendency to expand.

Can anything, we ask, be more unsatisfactory? [Plumbago is not even mentioned!] But what can be expected of any "Department," or of the Viceroy's earnest wish to see mineral operations flourish, when Local Governments have it now in their power to quench enterprise? Capitalists cannot wait indefinitely; nor can appeals be constantly lodged with the Viceroy. We could, with our practical and extended knowledge of the subject, put the whole matter straight in *one day*. We may, in conclusion, be permitted here to say that our Editor (of the *Calcutta Review*) who is one of the oldest practical geologists and prospectors in Asia, South Africa, Australia, and the East Indian Archipelago has, he believes, discovered Coal in Madras, and that along a Railway Line. He has the samples, but the seam has to be located and explored. The search for coal in Madras has been going on for many years at great cost and been hitherto unsuccessful. We believe firms in Madras will be glad to negotiate with this gentleman if they have not done so already about his discovery.

In regard to Educational matters, the Simla Conference duly met and was presided over by the Viceroy himself, whose opening address was quite a good one. We endorse everything he said except as to the need of an imperial officer of education for all India and Burma. It could not do away with the present provincial Directors; it might even interfere with their action and interest; it would require a measure of capacity which is simply unprocurable; it would very probably

be of little use even for reference to future Viceroys as they might not be of the same style as Lord Curzon, frittering away their thought and time which should be occupied with high political and other administrative matters on a variety of smaller side issues; and as, thus, the appointment would be either mischievous, or purely ornamental, and, of course, it would be highly paid. The tinkering and patching that Lord Curzon recommends,—instead of a complete wiping out of the whole mistaken system,—however, is so diversely viewed, that before anything further is attempted, a Commission is to visit the various Indian Universities, beginning with Madras, to make further and more particular enquiries. The Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh will preside. We may predict that the total result of all this peculiarly Curzonian action, talk, gas and *rumpus*, will be little or nothing—except the creation of the aforesaid mischievous or purely ornamental, and highly-paid, appointment—, and that English education, or education in English, will never effect the concrete life of the Oriental nations comprised in India, but rather intensify the evils we already see. The Madras Mahomedans are rising up to the occasion and meeting the times, and have begun Educational Conferences of their own, with much promise of doing something for themselves. And yet we think the Arabic *Nudwa* movement of India contains more the germs of true educational progress and enlightenment than all the Mahomedan-English Colleges that can be established.

We notice in Sir Antony McDonnell's farewell visit to the M. A. O. College at Aligurh, he carefully avoided the mistake of attributing the origin of the Institution to Sir Syed Ahmed, a mistake he along with others, used to perpetrate before. We have not space at present to set forth all the facts, and as to whom the Aligurh College really owes its existence—we may even add to whom Sir Syed owed his own position—but we may just say that it was conceived and carried through to its very details by a European gentleman and editor of influence in those days; that all the proofs of it are existing and handy; that these proofs were at the disposal of the *Indian Daily News* some ten or twelve years back; that the *Lucknow Advocate* previous to that, when Sir Syed Ahmed was alive, gave a summary of the real facts, the editor of that paper himself calling on the Moulvi to deny them and they were not denied; and that the College from being a centre of intellectual elevation, as it was intended to be for the Mahomedans of North India has been converted into a mere institution for turning out Muslim lawyers and under-officials. It is possible that we may, in some future issue, have space to reproduce the paper of the *Lucknow Advocate* referred to above. In fine, Sir Syed Ahmed had not two ideas to rub

one against another, except what went for his own—well, promotion—and the Mahomedans owe their College to a *Christian* gentleman. And here, in conclusion, it is betraying no confidence to say that the same *Christian* gentleman tried hard to create a similar Native College for Hindus (on lines since taken up by Mrs. Besant), either at Doomraon or at Benares when the late very progressive and very able Dewan Jai Perakash Lal, C.I.E., Rai Bahadoor, was alive—only poor Jai Perakash was then already failing in health and shortly after he was carried off.

RELIGIOUS MATTERS.—We are almost glad to write that we have not much here to engage our attention this quarter. Dr. Welldon has, it seems, not improved in health, and his return has been deferred, and is even doubtful. He has, however, (vicariously) read some very able papers before some Church Congresses. As we wrote once before, we cannot agree with some of his ideas; and we do think that if he, too, spoke less and less propounded theories, he would do well. We have no space here to controvert some of his mistakes. The Bishop of Madras has wisely done in no more elaborating mere correct essays for public speeches. The Bishop of Bombay continues in England, and has almost caught the contagion of mixing up debateable matters with political reference with “feeding My sheep and My lambs.” It was *this*, however, that made Bishop Wilson, whom we knew and remember perfectly, so great and so universally loved, and which enabled him to do the work of all the ten or twelve Bishops of the present from Lahore to Ceylon and Singapore. A very fine likeness of this greatest of Indian Bishops adorns the *Englishman* Office. The Government of India has decided to offer the Presbyterian and Wesleyan bodies in India grants-in-aid towards the construction of their own churches in cantonments, instead of erecting Government churches. The latest Wesleyan Pastoral states:—

“During the century just closed Christianity has been the object of fierce, prolonged and many-sided attacks. Criticism, armed with wide and brilliant scholarship, has assailed the scriptures and its doctrines. So vigorous was the attack that the stoutest hearts sometimes trembled for the safety of the Ark of God; but, as the day of battle wore on, it became more and more clear that the foundation of God standeth sure. From the furnace of historical criticism into which it had been cast, the New Testament has come loosed from the thongs of tradition (?) made ready for a wider service, (?) and more confident appeal by the witness of fire to its proof. Slowly, yet surely, the harvest of Materialism is ripening. Good men are filled with dismay at the prospect. With the obscuration of the heavenly vision, superstition takes the place of faith; priestcraft begins again to exercise a baleful influence; religion degenerates into ritual; conscience is lulled to sleep. Upon the people a strange lethargy has fallen; men hesitate to face vital and moral issues and fear to grapple with a grave moral problem. The one pursuit that in the eyes of men of this generation justifies effort is the quest of riches.”

MISCELLANEOUS.—Among these we may view those of imperial moment first. It has been stated that the Viceroy will take in hand the Victoria Memorial as soon as he returns from Burma. From his long shooting excursions, as well as jungle marches, and his taking up these matters of memorials and the like, one may almost conceive that the reproach cast on him by some one that he has very little to do or more serious matters to attend to, is justifiable. But whether so or not, the above entertained idea of his turning again at once to the subject of a memorial (which he has done his best to make ridiculous) on his return after an absence of a month and a half, as if there was nothing of more moment to attend to, shows that people in India are viewing him in the light of a second, and miniature edition of the Kaiser who can embrace the Sultan of Turkey one day, wire to Kruger the next, hobnob with Prince Chun the third day, preach a sermon on the Sunday (which intervenes), and on the Monday following, try to dictate to the Municipal Council of Berlin on Art matters. Indeed, the likeness may almost be deemed to be complete. It is a likeness, however, which in no way tells in his favour, and we would rather commend to him the example—if he cannot emulate that of Lord Dufferin—of the late Viceroy, Lord Elgin, whose quiet and unbelauded services obtained for him the Garter from such a wise discerner of men as our late great and good Queen. Assuming that the Viceroy has not been converted to a reasonable view of the Memorial,—that it should be an appropriate and unique production of Art—of more value than all rubbishy collections—he can get an idea of the Bengali controversies that will rage over the placing of the busts of eminent and noted Indians from some notes we see in *New India* about the action already taken about Historic (!) Sites. When Vidyasagar and Raja Ram Mohun Roy are to have tablets put up to their houses, we find the paper saying such names as Debendernath Tagore, Raja Radhakant Deb, and even K. M. Banerji, and Kristo Das Pal and others “ought all to be marked out by these memorial tablets!” In short, the placing, or misplacing, of the busts will raise an utterly contemptible, but not the less furious fight all over India from Bombay to Burma, and the result will be that no one else save the Viceroy himself will be satisfied. Probably he has, according to wont, already a list of those he intends thus to honor made out, of whom, without seeing it, we may say that half the names are misplaced!

These smaller (as well as weightier) matters, however, sit lightly on him just at present. He is making his long “jungle-marches,” and has been having high times of it speechifying “to his heart’s content to the tea-planters of Silchar, as well as

in Manipur, also fishing and shooting. To the planters he is honest enough—and he always is—to confess he may have made mistakes—"I dare say that one makes many mistakes. If I were in a quiet corner with you instead of on a public platform, I might tell you a few of them myself—(laughter)." In Manipur he gives his reason for making (enjoying) these glorious "jungle-marches" to a public that is surprised at his selfishness in this respect:—"I have always found it difficult clearly to understand any public question, until I have visited the locality and seen the inhabitants myself, and conversed with the local authorities on the spot." This is a very extraordinary reason. In that case very little business, political or other, would ever be transacted in this world. And what of enlightenment, we may also ask, can a mere passing visit give? And, in regard to the jungle tracts—the Viceroy considers them "magnificent mountain scenery"—of Manipur and North-Western Burma, what important "public question"—surely not one of the "twelve or fifteen"—is connected with them? The real and true reason, however, of his "perpetual motion" is one that is probably hid from himself, or that he would not like to confess. Why did he go once to Siam, where some of our old friends met him and described him? As regards the Looshais brought to dance before him, we trust they were decently clad. We remember seeing them some sixty years ago, and then all the clothes they wore was a strip tied over their chest! [There would be no such objection to measuring them for Ethnographic purposes as would probably be raised by well-born Aryan Brahmins, male and female, in Bengal or North India, or possibly even in South India.] Finally, in the matter of high and glorified personages (including naked Looshai chiefs), "three well-known 'Nawabs' of Patna" have been starring it—receiving public ovations and the like—in the ancient and sacred city of Meshed in Persia, like veritable Nawabs!—"princes," according to Durbhunga's and Cooch Behar's interpretation. One of the three called himself "Nawab Badshah!" and another "Chota Nawab of Patna!" We believe, however, they were not unduly proud of their *honorary* titles. This is a matter connected with the use and signification of titles to which we propose in future to draw fuller attention, and about which the *Pioneer* lately wrote:—"He (Durbhunga) is scarcely the natural spokesman of the Indian aristocracy. The term Prince as applied now-a-days to Indian noblemen is a loose popular expression that means nothing. In the English sense it could only be properly used of the scions of the Royal houses of Delhi and Oudh; but if it signifies anything at all, it must imply membership of a family which possess ruling rights, if not royalty. Even with this extended application the title, of course, cannot be supposed

to take in members of the landed gentry like the Maharajah of Durbhunga."

With reference to a Government Central Bank for India, Lord George Hamilton has replied :—"You have come reluctantly to the conclusion that circumstances are unfavourable to the policy of pressing on the centralisation scheme at the present time. This opinion, I consider myself, bound to accept ; but I agree with Your Excellency that it will be distinctly advisable, as soon as may be practicable, to establish a Central Bank in India for the reasons given in your letter, and in Sir Edward Law's able minute, and I request that this object may be kept in view, and that the scheme may be revised whenever there is a probability of its being successfully carried out."

In the matter of Mint operations for the past year the silver coinage amounted to 1,726 lakhs of rupees, and was the highest on record. There was great pressure, and to meet the demand, silver had, on several occasions, to be bought in India, though the Mints were mainly fed by silver bought in England. The most important of conversion operations of the year was that of Babashahi coinage undertaken for the Baroda State. The total revenue amounted to 475 lakhs, and the expenditure to 23 lakhs. The net profit has been transferred to the credit of the gold reserve of the Government of India. No gold was coined, but the tenders at the Mints exceeded eight crores in value.

The plague, which is now gaining a foothold all over the world, has again made itself prominent in Bombay, though in Calcutta it seems to have almost disappeared. The Health Officer of Calcutta says of it that it is a disease only slightly, if at all, directly contagious. A plague-infected room can be rendered safe for immediate occupation by disinfection, but this will not prevent the recurrence probably twelve months afterwards. Rats, he asserts, have practically no concern in the spread of plague. Only one cooly engaged in disinfection work contracted plague and died. Dr. Deane is no doubt a great comforter, but still people will believe this "bubonic fever" to be highly contagious, and rats to be very mischievous in carrying it about. If Mr. Gumpel is to be believed, common salt may possess here some efficacy as in cholera. His "Appeal" (see elsewhere), however, should be met by Government in a perfectly practicable and legitimate way, that is, by giving us a return—statistics are all in existence—for the purpose showing the percentages of endemic and zymotic diseases, side by side with the annual consumption of salt per head of the population in each District of India, and these figures might lead to further and more searching investigations. The general health of the people is not a matter to be pooh ! poohed ! at any time, and if it can be

proved that a more liberal use of salt will conduce to a greater standard of good health and to the eradication of plague and cholera, the remedy is a cheap one and always at hand. Finally, in matters of the Supreme Government, Mr. Jesse's (of Lucknow) efforts to save bird-life in India have been warmly taken up by the Viceroy. We trust Local Governments, and indeed every District Officer and every human being of any position and note, will co-operate in this most excellent and meritorious work. We again defer the letter on the numerous sins of our Indian Railways and have also to put aside a communication received on our Dāk Bungalows.

In miscellaneous matters relating to Bengal in particular we note that Mr. Pennell has, as we anticipated, been dismissed the service by the Secretary of State. The Government of Bengal wrote an exhaustive report on his case and the Supreme Government wrote another, but Lord George Hamilton was curt. Whatever may be Mr. Pennell's rights or wrongs, merits or demerits, he could not expect any other termination. He is still writing away, giving the keenest cuts to his maligners; and if he only would collect the whole literature on the subject in one volume, it would sell better in India—even on the Railway bookstalls—than any even of Marie Corelli's works. One thing, however, this extraordinary affair has discovered to the public—the great grasp of *mental analysis* possessed by Sir John Woodburn (or is it Mr. Buckland?) There is a species of mental disease described as “malignant vanity,” which is new and not to be found in any even medical book; and will now go down in literature and mental and medical science to posterity, and probably even find a place as a quotation in Imperial and other Dictionaries. The true author of the phrase, therefore, should be known. (It might be Mr. Justice Stampedi, suggests the “P. D.”) Again we ask, “cannot the whole thing be made up in some way or other?” To lose Mr. Pennell to India would be irreparable. As Government Tutor to some “Prince” Ranjit of Baluchistan on say, Rs. 3,000 per mensem, he might yet give a healthy shake-up occasionally to the Viceroy, if not to his Secretaries, or as a barrister, he may yet sit on the High Court Bench! We turn from this very interesting, but sad, case to an appeal to the Viceroy made by a very hard-worked, important, and deserving body of officials—those working in the Calcutta Customs. It seems that 25 per cent. of their overtime is docked. Surely they are poorly enough paid as it is, and it is merciless to reduce them further. It is reported that this has been done to add to the income of those higher placed—which is barely credible. “Can such things be and overcome us as a,” etc.? The Administrator-General of Bengal, whose income from fees has been simply fabulous, retires next January, and gives

place to a paid official on an adequate salary. But in regard to the many grievous abuses connected with the post, we think an Annual Report or Statement of all Estates, etc., and work done, should be published for the benefit of the public. The accounts should also be audited by competent authority. Candidates are wanted for the post. May we be permitted to recommend Mr. Pennell for it if he will accept it?

The troubles of the British Indian Association are not yet over—indeed, with the election of the Maharajah of Durbhunga they seem to have become more acute. The troubles extend in so many directions, and are so diverse, that there must be some deep-seated malady, the true nature of which has not yet been diagnosed. First of all, the “organ” of the Association has not been its organ for a long while, the Editor himself having no connection with the Association, and not only that, but being out of Bengal in another post and delegating his work to another employed by him! Then it is asserted that Maharajah Jotendro Mohun Tagore wishes to have it all his own way in the Association, which we cannot believe for several reasons. Then the new body led by Mymensing, Dighapatia, Nattore and others, have, it is said, an enormous following, and evidently they refuse to amalgamate. Finally, at one time Raja Peary Mohun is President, at another Durbhunga, and both resign, and both are again re-elected, but who is who, or who is where, seems very uncertain and doubtful, and so far nobody seems to be anywhere—not even the Association itself! We do think matters would be simplified by the Maharajah of Durbhunga retiring from the scene; and we really do not see what place he has in a Bengal Association. As a Behar landholder he should rightly be kept to his own province. (But perhaps he is ambitious.) We believe this, and an Eastern Bengal Association would solve much of the trouble, and involve no loss of any kind, to the older Association. At the same time, the matter of the *Hindoo Patriot* should be put on a proper footing. Who is the offender here? To outward appearance Raja Peary Mohun has been too kind, generous, and yielding in the matter of his Presidentship.

The following are the subjects proposed to be discussed at the forthcoming meeting of the Indian Congress in Calcutta:—(a) The economic condition of the country and the desirability of moving the Government to cause an Industrial Survey with a view to developing and improving the existing industries and manufactures and introducing new ones; also the expediency of sending selected Indians abroad to learn new arts and industries. (b) The Land Revenue policy of the Government, with special reference to recent agrarian legislation in Bombay. (c) The Report of the Famine

Commission. (d) The admission of qualified Indians to the Commissioned ranks of the Indian Army. (e) Trial by Jury. There will also be an Industrial Exhibition in connection with the Congress, the Corporation having granted permission to use Beadon Square for the purpose. A great effort to make the Mahomedans as a body join the Congress has failed. Mr. Morrison of Aligurh—not Mr. McLaren Morrison—thinks the Mahomedans ought to have their separate Congress (if they are to have one), but that would be a very grave political mistake even for the Government of the country—a going backward of progress and much more for anything effective for the true voicing of India. Finally, as connected with an old leading Calcutta resident, we note that our very good old friend General Sir H. E. L. Thuillier, R. A., who retired in 1881 after half a century's service as Surveyor-General of India, and who must be over 90 years of age, was present at the last Club dinner of old Addiscombe Cadets. Sir Frederick Halliday, 95 years of age, has died since we last wrote, and him we met on his first appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal half a century ago.

Latest general news as we close. Li Hung Chang, after all, is dead. He was supposed to be the richest man in China. Turkey has climbed down to France. The Germans are indignant at Mr. Chamberlain's aspersions. One journal says he is unfit for public life, and another of "his impudence." Sir Henry Bannerman says that the present Government is a piece out of the opera bouffe; and Mr. Morley says that to leave the South African War to the soldiers is to imply that we were bankrupt of statesman. (That is just what we ourselves have said.) Mr. Lloyd-George says to call a man a "pro-Boer" is not argument but the "pucca trick of political cockatoos. Mr. Bright had opposed the Crimean War—was he a pro-Russian?" Sir William Harcourt declares the banishment of the Boers and the confiscation of their property to be "unconstitutional and mischievous." A leading French Canadian has been uttering treason in Canada. He made a violent anti-British speech on Sunday at a meeting of a group of young French Canadians, whose avowed political gospel is an independent French nation, apart from Canadian Confederation. This element during the stay of the Royal Party in Canada took every opportunity of expressing its disapproval of the visit. The Archbishop of York calls for a day of Humiliation and Prayer. The Bishop of Hereford has spoken up for the Boers getting better treatment and our great mistake in the "war." The Bishop of Ripon speaks doubtfully of our future. The Dutch are going to boycott British trade. Party allegiance in the House and country are failing, no faith being put in Ministerial assurances. Sir Hicks Beach calls

the war "terrible," and wishes it ended. He sounds the note also of further increased taxation. The Duke of Cornwall has been created Prince of Wales. The public sympathy for Sir Redvers Buller shows no signs of abating, and it has spread from his native country of Devonshire, where the indignation against the Commander-in-Chief and the War Office is furious, to other parts of the country. Lord Roberts had an unpleasant experience at Nottingham yesterday when he presented medals for service in South Africa to some of the Yeomanry. There was much booing from the crowd in the streets and loud cries of "Buller." At the luncheon the cries for "Buller" were renewed, and repeated cheers were given for the dismissed General. At a popular entertainment, attended by about 2,000 persons, a picture of Lord Roberts, thrown on the screen, raised a storm of hissing, groaning and hooting. The next picture, "Buller," was cheered. At a performance of a Panorama at Wimbledon, on Saturday, a portrait of Buller was tempestuously applauded. The picture illustrating the triumphant entry of Lord Roberts into Pretoria was loudly hissed. The Hon. Auberon Herbert, in a letter to the *Times*, doubts if any impartial-minded person can feel Buller's speech, and the penalty are in any true or reasonable apportionment to each other. He says the Government have all the gifts except the supreme gift of sane and true judgment. Sir Edward Grey, from a speech delivered at Glanton, on Saturday, seems inclined to censure Buller's dismissal. The *Army and Navy Gazette* strongly champions Buller. Our obituary list is very small:—Sir Frederick Halliday, Canon Isaac Taylor, and Kate Greenaway (who will live in a heaven of babies of her own, and who has done more for them, and England generally, than any one living).

 *Special articles to appear in our next number:—*

The Greeks in India, by L. L. D.

The Modern Monkey Gospel, by Editor.

A Judicial Trial during the Great Mutiny, by C. S.

The Literary Languages of the Empire, by R. N. Cust.

Across the Peloponneses, by H. R. James.

The Tantra in Rajputana, by Rev. Dr. MacDonald.

European and Hindu Systems of Music.

*The Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal.**

And others under consideration.

THE EDITOR.

* This has been long kept out for want of space.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Life of Claude Martin, Major-General in the Army of the Honourable East India Company. By S. C. Hill, B.A., B.S.C., officer in charge of the Records of the Government of India, Calcutta. Thacker, Spink & Co., 1901.

THIS small work is of great historical interest ;—indeed, for depicting the times which it treats of, it is invaluable. Mr. Hill has conferred a real boon to the student of Indian history. General Martin was altogether a very superior character while he lived, and by his numerous splendid bequests has proved one of the greatest benefactors of India to all ages.

The work is excellently got up, with numerous illustrations, in Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co.'s best style. The thousands of students who have passed through the several La Martinières in Calcutta, Lucknow, and Marseilles will be glad to possess a copy of this work, of which a French translation should be made—published in Paris.

The Chutney Lyrics.—A collection of comic pieces in verse on Indian subjects. Second edition (reprint). Price, Re. 1. Higginbotham & Co., Madras and Bangalore.

THE following, from the Publishers' Preface, fully explains this enjoyable work, and the brief career of its Author :—

MR. R. C. CALDWELL, the lamented author of these humorous papers, was the eldest son of Dr. Caldwell, the great Missionary Bishop of Tinnevely. He was originally intended for the Ministry, and went through a course of Theological study at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. After passing out of College, he returned to India and worked zealously and assiduously in the Mission field in Trichinopoly and Tanjore. For some reasons, perhaps known to himself alone, Mr. Caldwell did not take Orders but elected to become a journalist as being more congenial to his tastes. Mr. Caldwell was known in England as a frequent contributor to the English Journals,—the *London Daily News*, the *Athenæum*, the *Contemporary Review*, the *Illustrated London News* and even *Punch*. Some Ballads and Songs he had then written were set to music by one of the most popular composers of the day and produced on the stage. His "Chutney Lyrics"—some twelve of which were originally contributed to the *Madras Athenæum and Daily News*,—first prominently brought him to notice in India. On leaving the Mission Mr. Caldwell took up for a short time the co-editorship of the *Madras Times* and then transferred his services to the *Athenæum and Daily News* of which he was for a short period sole editor. He conducted the latter journal most successfully, but the general complaint

against him was too much personality in his writings. His weekly "*Chit Chat*" gave offence to not a few though all willingly conceded that these papers afforded much amusement and effected considerable good in exposing many of the evils that then existed in Madras. Mr. Caldwell was subsequently employed by the Newspaper press of the Bombay and Bengal Presidencies and by the wit and humour of his writings gained extensive popularity. He died in harness in April or May 1878.

We reproduce "Chutney Lyrics" with the eight other comic pieces published in 1871 as their popularity has not diminished and they are frequently enquired for. We trust that this present edition will meet with a renewal of the favor so readily accorded to the previous edition.

The Journal of Mrs. Fenton, A Narrative of her Life in India, the Isle of France (Mauritius) and Tasmania during the years 1826-1830, with a preface by Sir Henry W. Lawrence, Bart., London: Edward Arnold, Publisher to the India Office, 1901.

SIR HENRY LAWRENCE—we love to recall the name—has, in this "Journal of Mrs. Fenton," furnished the most charming book of the day, as describing the India of a long gone past—a past that we remember vividly and distinctly, with even some of the people that moved in it, and who are mentioned in these pages. People now-a-days, so very far have they sunk below the level of those who lived and moved in India three generations ago, or even two generations ago, and judging of things by themselves and what they see around them, will not believe that there was only one society then, that social manners were of the highest and carried a charm not to be seen in the present, and that there was culture and refinement united with cordiality everywhere. It is good for us that we passed some portion of our, but too brief and yet prolonged, life in those times and with those men and women, for their like shall never again be seen on this earth wherever it be, and we have been over the globe pretty far and wide and know how things have altered. The "kindly manners, gentle laws" that the poet looks forward to in a future time, were actually then existent and belong to the past—the future we are afraid will never produce, or reproduce, them with the mad competition for wealth, the rapid growth and increase of the proletariat, and the birth of new and unholy ideals. Man would even try to dethrone GOD in His Own Fair and Beautiful and Orderly World, but we who write these lines, have Believed in Him, and yet do Believe, and we shall see what we shall see, but we shall see nothing that shall surprise us, or shake us. A truce, however, to such reflections, and let us turn to the "Journal of Mrs Fenton." "Mrs. Fenton," thought we, "why we are familiar with the name—where could it be we came across the Fentons?" After a while it came back to us that we came across the name in Tasmania, where we were near neighbours, and often met each other. "Are these the same?" was our next query;

and on turning over the pages, we found they were the very same ! Mrs. Fenton, of this "Journal," was a Miss Knox, and nearly related to the great Lawrences of Indian History, Sir George Lawrence, Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence being her first cousins. Her first husband was a military officer of the name of Campbell with whom she came out to India in 1826. She enjoyed a but too brief, ideally happy, married life. It was during this time, from India, that she wrote those letters home to a dear friend, which bring back old India to us. Dinapore then was the largest Military Station in India, and it used to be gay with balls and parties. She specially mentions meeting there a Mr. Blackwell, "a very fine young man," a son of General Blackwell, and it was our lot some years after to make the acquaintance of this same "Mr. Blackwell," grey and elderly and yet with traces of his fine countenance and eyes which drew Mrs. Campbell's attention. Then, after her husband's death, she became the recipient of Sir Charles and Lady D'Oyley's kindness and hospitality, and we knew people who knew the D'Oyleys. Mrs. Campbell mentions Sir Charles' devotion to "art," and we may add that during his sojourn in Old Dacca (now gone !) he got up a magnificent folio volume—we forget if it was printed by the East India Company or by himself—full of the most splendid and accurate Art-engravings of places of historical interest in and near Dacca. She went from Dinapore to Bishop's College, the then splendid pile of buildings on the Hooghly near the Botanical Gardens, and became the guest there of the very learned Principal Rev. Dr. Mill (and Mrs. Mill)—who afterwards had the Regius Chair of Hebrew at Cambridge, and who wrote works on Pantheism, and also in Sanscrit which are unapproached to the present day—herein, too, recalling our own happy memories of an always welcome guest with the following equally learned Principal the Rev. Dr. Kay,—who afterward represented the Convocation of the Church of England in the Revised Translation of the Bible, an intimate College and personal friend of Lord Canning. It was from Bishop's College that the young widow married Captain Fenton, whom she had met at Dinapore, and becoming Mrs. Fenton, left for the Mauritius and then Tasmania. In Tasmania she settled in the most pleasant corner of the island, on Emu Bay, and it was here we came on "the Fentons" that is, her family by Captain Fenton. This "Journal," thus, has touched us with the deepest personal interest, and woke the happiest memories, from the beginning ; and we may even go back also to the North of Ireland whence Miss Knox came, where we should have been now instead of having wandered far and wide "the Pilgrim of Love"—but that is a "hidden page" of our life-story which we must pass over. Hence our special obligations to Sir Henry Lawrence which we, now writing in the *Calcutta Review*—

to which his distinguished Father contributed so much in those older days ;—acknowledge in these pages. It is all a chain of marvel—very like a dream—and yet a real dream, a living life, that is, true life. Verily, “man shall not LIVE by bread alone, but, by every Word that proceedeth out of the mouth of GOD.”*

1. *Common Salt ; its Use and Necessity for the Maintenance of Health and the Prevention of Disease.* By C. Godfrey Gümpel. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., Paternoster Square. 1898. Price five shillings.
2. *On the Natural Immunity against Cholera, and the Prevention of this and other Allied Diseases by simple Physiological means..* By C. Godfrey Gümpel. London and Edinburgh : Williams and Norgate.
3. *The Prevention of Epidemic Zymotic Diseases in India and the Tropics Generally.* By C. Godfrey Gümpel. London : Watts & Co., 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, E. C. 1901.
4. *The Plague in India, an Impeachment and an Appeal.* By C. Godfrey Gümpel. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Calcutta and Bombay : Thacker, Spink and Co. 1899.

THE first and second of these works were published some while ago, the other two lately. Mr. Gümpel is a man of means, and a man with a “mission,” and the conjunction of the two make him peculiarly dangerous. But his “mission” is to plead for salt—common salt! The *Scotsman* says with reference to the first:—“It deserves to be read and weighed up by the medical profession ; and a lay-reader could scarcely study it without deriving from it much good instruction in the principles of health.” The *Lancet* (March 30th, 1895) says of the second of the above works:—“This is a learned, and at the same time curious pamphlet. It is learned in that its author shows that he is well acquainted with the literature of the subject and with all the latest researches that have been made in regard to it, and curious in that it sets forth an extremely simple view and remedy. Briefly stated, the author's views amount to this :—The rôle of disease is in the blood, the real cause of death is attributable to the destruction of the blood-corpuscles, &c., &c., We do not at all desire to prejudice the reader by thus curtly expressing the aim and object of this pamphlet. We are persuaded that the author has convinced himself of the truth of the view he advocates, and about which he has written this little treatise, which, apart altogether from the practical point he seeks to prove, is worth reading on account of the nature and variety of the information

* The semi-personal character of the above “Notice” will be excused the writer under the circumstances.—ED., C. R.

which it contains. The literary part of the pamphlet and that which deals with destructive criticisms are interesting; it is the constructive part that seems to us weak. To examine and criticise it would take up more space than we can give. Those who care to do so can read it through in a couple of hours, and if they ever have the opportunity and desire to try the prophylactic virtues of the small dose of sodium-chloride recommended, they can, at any rate, easily do so without any injury to themselves or anybody else."

The third work we have read carefully over, and much the same remarks (as above) would apply to it. Both this and the fourth work cut very much against the serum-injection theory for the Plague. The last work also concludes with an "Appeal" to the people of India to form an Association for instituting an experiment as suggested in the above dissertation. The objects of such an Association (similar to those established for the "Open-air Treatment of Tuberculosis") would be :—

- (1) To collect the funds for the experiment—estimated at about £500.
- (2) To petition the Government for its sanction—if not active support—to obtain a status before the public.
- (3) To select the community in which plague or cholera has broken out.
- (4) To arrange the superintendence and the details of the experiment.

In this latter—the practical work of the trial—it is expected that intelligent gentlemen of leisure and independence will offer their assistance, considering that the object to be achieved is of unsurpassed and of far-reaching importance for the future of the human race.

In addition to all these, we have an article furnished us, as will be seen in our pages in this issue.

[Somewhat more scientific than all these in regard to the true value of chloride of sodium (salt) in cholera may also be found in an article on "Cholera and Scarlatina—their Cause and Cure" by a "Physician" in our April number.]

The Hon'ble Raja Peary Mohun Mookerji, C.S.I., writing from Calcutta on April 9th this year to Mr. Gümpel, says :—

"We only want people to read your writings. There is no escape from thorough conviction when once the book has been read. Those who have read the book, among whom are gentlemen in high official positions, have become as devoted admirers as myself."

We may conclude this notice by saying that we both knew and read about salt being efficacious in cholera long before Mr. Gümpel published his first book. We could, indeed, give remarkable instances of its efficacy, even in epidemics, when used in time. One of the brightest ornaments of the Indian

Medical Service also told us once, on being asked what he himself should take if attacked by cholera, that it would be "common salt." In passing we may add, that we remember having read in some old number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society that a Missionary in North India (Behar) used to cure *cobra bites* by the application of a quantity of salt tied over the wound. Has this remedy been ever tried by any of our medical men—though now with Dr. Calmette's anti-venine it is not needed. The anti-venine, however, cannot always be had everywhere, nor be used by laymen. Hence, the other might yet be tried. We shall be glad to learn of any experiments.

1. *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad. Part 1. A. D. 1412 to 1520.* With 112 Photographic and Lithographic Plates, by Jas. Burgess, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E., &c., &c., late Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India. London: William Greggs & Sons; Bernard Quaritch; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.; Luzac & Co. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. Bombay: Thacker & Co. 1900. Price, 31 shillings 6 pence.
2. *The Jain Stûpa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, by Vincent A. Smith, I.C.S., Fellow of the Allahabad University. Allahabad: Government Press. 1901. Price, Rs. 14-8 (£ 1, 2s.)

THE first of the above works is Vol. VII. of the Archæological Survey of Western India, or Vol. XXIV of the New Imperial Series.

The second is Vol. V of the N.-W. P. and Oudh, or Vol. XX of the Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series. *Muttra Antiquities*.

Why these two so far separated works—odd volumes as we may call them—have been sent to us—(or has the Post Office swallowed up the others?)—we cannot conceive, unless there has been a sudden recrudescence of affection on the part of the authorities towards the *Calcutta Review*, or the particular authors of these two works, have heard something of our own antiquarian *faddism* in bygone ages. However, we have to take things as they come in regard to these matters and not to be too particular.

Generally we may say that there are thirty-two of these volumes of the New Imperial Series already published, and their prices, though prohibitive to the public—who, however, care little for such works—are evidently put to cover a *tithe* of the cost of their production. The undertaking is certainly a grand one—to bring together in one view all the Monumental remains and Art of India from the Earliest Ages. But the *cost*—! The mere material execution must have cost something like from £2,000

to £3,000 each volume, and the professional as well as labour cost even more; altogether something like, probably, a *lakh* of rupees per volume. This is the way in which so much of the hardly-raised revenues of India are spent—on a variety of “fads” of Viceroys and others—gaily spent, and without a word of protest from a “watchful” and “independent” (1) Press. If we put down the sum spent annually on mere ornamental and useless fads—as well as those that are pretentiously useful—as *a crore per annum* we shall not be far out. Our present Viceroy has been particularly remarkable in carrying out such fads, and that notwithstanding famines, plague expenditures, salt and income-taxes, and the starvation of Provincial allotments. But that is not the worst of it, for a good deal of his time and attention, that ought to be bestowed on the means of producing wealth in the country are thus spent in devising and thinking of ways of throwing it away! And—we can all indulge in the most costly and useless extravagance—to gratify mere whims and partial sentiment—when we can do it with others’ monies. Let us not, however, wander far off from our notice of these volumes. Some are published in England—and they seem to cost the most,—and others in India through the Survey of India Office at Calcutta. Of course, besides being splendid and costly, they are interesting in a way as showing something of the Past. The effort is a sacrifice offered to Antiquarian old world sentiment—to the sentiment that dwells in the Past—to an interest born of idleness and, we may add, vanity.

In the first of the above volumes there are thirty-three chapters of valuable historical letter-press. From the Preface we learn that, like the preceding volume on the Mahommedan architecture of the provincial towns of Gujarat, this deals with the Muslim buildings of the capital of that province. But whereas the former treated largely of the remains of the fourteenth century, when the country was under governors appointed by the Emperors of Dehli, the present takes account of the works of the earlier Ahmad Shâhi Sultans of Gujarat, and exclusively of those erected in their capital and its suburbs from the foundation of Ahmedabad in A. D. 1412 to 1520. It has been justly remarked that among the many varieties of the Muhammadan styles prevailing in different provinces of India, that which arose in Western India in the early part of the fifteenth century, is one of the most instructive and deserving of study, as it is also the most beautiful. It bears a markedly local impress, while the elements composing it are of even a better and higher class than are to be found in any part of Upper India or Hindustan proper.

In this volume previous works by Sir Theodore Hope and Mr. James Fergusson, F.R.S., are largely utilised, and only the first century of Ahmedabad work are included. To complete

the view; it is intended hereafter to publish the architecture of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century in another volume.

The second of the above volumes, as going into the distant past, is the more interesting of the two. There is a Map, and 107 Plates, and the work comprises 23 Chapters. Cunningham—whom we implored thirty-five years ago to undertake the exploration of *Old Sunargaon*, but which he durstn't owing to the tigers—and Führer are largely quoted, and Bühler is also utilised. From the Introduction we learn that Dr Bühler took a great deal of interest in these Jain remains. The plates throw light, among other things, on the history of the Indian, or Brāhmī alphabe. on the grammar and idiom of the Prākrit dialects, on the development of Indian Art, on the political and social history of Northern India, and on the history, organisation, and worship of the followers of the Jain religion. The inscriptions are supposed to go to the beginning of the Christian era. India drew largely from foreign sources : Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, and Hellenistic traces being shown in these early remains. Indian Art, too, was not sectarian, but Jain, Buddhist and Orthodox Hindus equally availed themselves of the same religious symbols and decorative elements.

The discoveries have to a very large extent supplied corroboration to the written Jain tradition, and they offer tangible incontrovertible proof of the antiquity of the Jain religion, and of its early existence very much in its present form. The series of 24 pontiffs (*Tirthamkaras*) each with his distinctive emblem was evidently firmly believed in at the beginning of the Christian era. The inscriptions are replete with information as to the organisation of the Jain Church in sections known as *gana*, *kula*, and *sākhā*, and supply excellent illustrations of the Jain books. Both inscriptions and sculptures give interesting details proving the existence of Jain nuns, and the influential position in the Jain Church occupied by women.

A Home Letter on the Calcutta University Question. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. 1901.

THIS most entertaining "Letter," in 20 pages, is altogether in verse and not bad verse either. At least they show culture, refinement, and a University training, as well as some sort of humour. The identity of the author is well-known, though he conceals it in this "Letter;"—he is actively engaged in the system of "Education," which he so freely criticises here. He writes well, and much, and well holds up the present system to ridicule, but he does not offer or suggest much in its place. He evidently relies much on Lord Curzon. We cannot do better to show our author's ideas than quote some of his stanzas. This

is how he describes Macaulay's mistaken panacea of English Education :—

Empires and dynasties have come and gone,
Invading hosts across the land have swept,
And still the East has looked impassive on,
Steeped in the languor that of old o'ercrept
Her spirit, like the trance of the adept :
But we will change all that, you need not doubt it ;
And so I'll tell you, how we set about it.

Our panacea's 'English education ;'
At least this label serves to ticket it.
It saves, you see, a lot of explanation
If on a short, convenient phrase we hit,
Whether or not, it's quite precisely fit,
Why should we trouble nicely to distinguish,
Though it's not 'education,' and not 'English ?'

And what it means, with a slap at the present race of Civil
lians :—

Besides we've now—there C. . . n's word for that,
Since his rebuke of those mere scribbling praters,—
A nearly perfect Secretariat ;
And all the world knows our administrators,
Financiers, judges, embryo legislators,
That matchless brotherhood the I. C. S.
Endowed with all the talents—*more or less*.
What's then, you naturally ask, our plan
From living death to rouse the slumbering nations,
To elevate our Aryan fellow man,
And give him healthy tastes and recreations ?
In brief—'tis—*lectures and examinations !*
We unfold the banner, Sir, of all the 'ologies
And found innumerable schools and colleges.

Carrying on the theme, he gets to the University, the Senate
and the real "band of unpretending workers" :—

The UNIVERSITY'S our master. *It*
Prescribes our courses, frames our rules, ordains
Our methods, text-books ; settles what is fit ;
Puts on us grievous loads, and never deigns
To lift them ; idles all our wretched brains,
And by its whimsies all our labour doubles :
In fact 'tis the prime cause of all our troubles.
The SENATE is the seat of all authority,
Th' embodiment of a something transcendental
Taking effect as will of the majority,
Designed on a broad plan to represent all
Classes and views. We've made it ornamental
As well as useful. I'll your praise recall
Illustrious Body ! Truly this mends all !
We've rajahs, maharajahs, one nâwah,
Even proconsular governors two or three.
Bishops and generals ; our bosoms throb
To mark each C.S.I., K.C.I.E. ;
"We've Khan Bahadurs, men of high degree ;

We've lawyers—yes, *we've lawyers by the score*
 There's only just one thing we might have more ;
 And that's a band of unpretending workers,
 Men who have made of teaching their vocation,
 Who toil in college lecture-rooms, no shirkers,
 And learn perforce by daily application
 To know this thing called ' Indian education '
 Its needs, its dangers, faults—all in the way,
 Of honest, humdrum drudgery, day by day.
 We've some, of course ; but they're a trifle lost
 Among these stars of higher magnitude,
 E'en as the school-boy's ' duff ' 's discreetly crost
 With frugal plums—I fear my wit is rude,
 I'd really like to make it more subdued :
 Yet let me add—of bread a painful lack ;
 And an ' intolerable deal of sack.'
 * * * * *

How Indian students meet the demands of the University system is well shown in these verses :—

Notes, problems, text-books, all he puts aside,
 Th' accumulated stores of lecture-courses ;
 In other helps his soul would fain confide ;
 On other hopes he concentrates the forces
 Of mental and pecuniary resources ;
 With prudent thrift lays out a few rupees
 On an assortment of choice SUMMARIES.
 To these he pins his faith ; from these he stores
 His brain anew ; for these he ' scorns delights
 And lives laborious days ; ' o'er these he pores ;
 To these alone he gives his days, his nights ;
 For these his earlier aspirations slights :
 Then primed and stuffed against the destined date
 With a good conscience goes to meet his fate.

The " ideal Officer," of Education, is thus sketched :—

Alas ! our *teaching* ideals are no better ;
 Not where we find the departmental taint,
 Scorn of the spirit, worship of the letter,
 A system of mechanical restraint !
 I'll sketch for you, you'll really find him quaint,
 And, if I can, without exaggeration,
 The ideal OFFICER in education.
 A thing it is of precedents and rules
 Warranted to run smoothly in a groove,
 With something of the temper, whereby mules
 Their title to brute obstinacy prove,
 A fixed determination not to move
 By reason or persuasion. For a mind
 A matter of clock-work, rather ill-designed.
 A dry and jejune nature : taste and wit
 The love of art and science, learning, letters,
 All these as superfluities omit ;
 (What use has *it* for these more than its betters ?)
 'Twill run more kindly in official fetters
 With just ability—God save the mark—
 To run an office as its own Head Clerk.

The Author then turns to Lord Curzon :—

"For you have dwelt upon the banks of Isis,
Have trod the High beneath St. Mary's spire ;
Have read the Theaetetus and the Lysis,
And heard that 'hapiness' is 'energeia,'
And tho' we not attain 'tis good to aspire :
Have steeped your mind in glamour of the past,
And strained the teeming future to forecast.

"There where the ancient city musing lies,
A lovelier and a larger Academe ;
Where college gardens weave their phantasies
And tempt the scholar to lie still and dream,
Pursuing every high heroic theme,
Where Cherwell flows by Magdalen's placid walk
And men learn Plato's way by friendly talk.

"To you we turn our hopes, thinking that you
Will understand our troubles, and will deal
The measure of consideration due
To this high problem, or at least will feel
How vast the issues. And we make appeal
'Praeclaro tibi -- this our best defence is—
'Oxoniensi nos Oxonienses.'

"Here in Bengal are dragons to be slain,
Dragons without or claw or scaly fold,
Yet none the less a most pernicious bane,
That in red throttling coils and wreaths enrolled
The nursing Education tightly hold.
Oh haste and succour of your 'gentleness'
Our Lady Sarasvati in distress !

Finally, he concludes with the lesson to the "Competition-wallahs" that the "Bios Theoretikos" is higher than the "Bios Praktikos"—(we should say that the one should lead to the other, and both be combined—*orare et laborare*) :—

"Action is glorious glory in the glow
Therefore ; the Bios Praktikos admire :
Yet, O ye competition-wallahs, know,
Because the soul's a spark of heavenly fire,
The Bios Theoretikos is higher :—
Which means, my friends, without undue detraction
The life of Thought excels the life of Action."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Reports on the Training of the Deaf for 1899, in the States of New York and Pennsylvania. New York and Philadelphia : Christopher Sower Company.

[These Reports are very interesting, but at present there is neither time nor space than to do more than mention them.]

The Dispensary Report of the Punjab for 1900.

[A hundred and twenty pages of *folio* size, of *tabulated figures*. . . . What an enormous waste of time and money—but no, not of money, for it is printed, free of loss we imagine, at the *Civil and Military Gazette Press*. Here is an instance of both report-making and figures run mad. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal has also found occasion to inveigh against a similarly wasteful and useless "Report." Such a Report should in our opinion—and many others of similar import and value—be published *once in five years* and then furnish merely the totals, so as to come within a few pages. The *tons* of Government printing done for the Supreme and Local Governments—their cost must be many *lakhs*—might be reduced by nine-tenths, and may well form the subject of a commission* presided over by a genius for cutting down as Colonel Balfour in other days proved himself to be. But the days of *economy* seem to have disappeared from India with Army Boot Contracts given *for ten years in advance*—a thing utterly preposterous and unheard of,—and free competition in contracts being excluded in favour of a "superior" and "reliable" class of contractors! Of course, Lord Curzon has nothing to do with these—nevertheless *they would not have passed Lord Lawrence*.

Here we may also fitly ask, are there other "contracts" given out to Presses to the great enrichment of some, instead of being distributed among the many, and to the great saving of Government? A "Commission" to report on all and sundry Government "contracts"† would bring very curious things to light, and furnish food for comment to the Press itself for a year.]

Report of the Police Administration in the Punjab for 1900. Lahore : The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, sole Contractors for Printing to the Punjab Government. 1901.

Punjab Veterinary College and Civil Veterinary Department Report for 1900-1901. Lahore : The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, sole Contractors for Printing to the Punjab Government. 1901.

[It seems pretty clear from the above three "Reports" that the Punjab Government, unlike other Local Governments in India, has no Press of its own. Or, are these "contracts" given out *besides*? In old times generally papers that were weakly and could not stand alone or *whose support was required* were thus subsidised. We are not in a position to say that of the several presses which are still subsidised

* This "Commission" has, since our writing above, been appointed, only it is not comprehensive enough. When a thing like this is taken in hand, it should be *thoroughly sifted*, and the most important part not left *undone*.

† Especially *press and printing contracts*.

in one way or another under the present régime, whether their "support" is required, but we believe the one that is subsidised the heaviest has the least need for it. Or is it that, after all, if placed on its own footing and naked merits, it would not stand a chance with the other really independent papers? This is really a public question. We are also not in a position to say if any of the numerous Native journals are "subsidised" likewise. And it is strange that these journals which are so quick and clever at ferreting out supposed "abuses" of Government, and partiality to Europeans at the expense of the Natives, have never stumbled on this matter. Perhaps the "Congress" may take it up, and pay off old scores against certain papers, as well as point out the "abuse."]

Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner of the N.-W. P. and Oudh for 1900. Allahabad : N.-W. P. and Oudh Government Press. 1901.

Notes on Vaccination in the N.-W. P. and Oudh for 1900-1901. Allahabad : N.-W. P. and Oudh Government Press. 1901.

Administration of the Registration Department, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for 1900-1901. Allahabad : Government Press, N.-W. P. and Oudh. 1901.

Annual Returns of the Dispensaries and Charitable Institutions of the N.-W. P. and Oudh for 1900. Allahabad : Government Press, N.-W. P. and Oudh. 1901.

[Another some 150 folio pages of figures !]

The Agricultural Ledger. No. 8, 1901. Areca Catechu.

[We may notice this at length.]

Annual Reports of the Sibpur and Burdwan Agricultural Experimental Farms for 1900-1901. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Irrigation Wells in the N.-W. P., being Bulletin No. 12, Agricultural Series. Allahabad : Government Press. 1901.

Cultivation of Sugar-Beet in North India, being Bulletin No. 13, Agricultural Series. Allahabad : Government Press. 1901.

Different Systems of Housing Cattle and Conserving Manure, being Bulletin No. 14, Agricultural Series. Allahabad : Government Press. 1901.

[All the above may receive further attention.]

Memorial to the Governor of Bombay by certain inhabitants of Salsette against the Land Bill.

[The gist of the memorial may be found in the following lines :—

" 22. Your Excellency's Memorialists submit that to take away the people's inherent rights of alienating their land without compensating them is equivalent to taking their land itself, and that such a step on the part of Government has already produced a feeling of alarm as regards the safety and security of the people's private holdings, and Your Excellency's Memorialists humbly submit, is by no means justifiable under any circumstances whatsoever. If the Bill becomes law a land improved at a large outlay in good times would be liable to be taken away by Government if their dues thereon could not be paid in a bad year. This would be an ineffable hardship, since Government first disable by legislation the cultivator from mortgaging his land or doing anything to raise money to pay Government dues, and then, taking advantage of his inability to meet Government demands, deprive him of his land. But

the results of such a policy would be detrimental to the interests of Government themselves, as the cultivator, having an ephemeral interest in the land, can afford to be idle and may not feel himself called upon to put forth his best endeavours either to improve the land or pay Government dues and at the first touch of famine or distress leave the land and go away undisturbed, thus making Government lose their revenue for that year. The whole state of affairs in revenue administration might thus be thrown into chaos and confusion attended with serious loss of revenue.

23. Your Excellency's Memorialists submit that in times of scarcity the cultivator would be absolutely unable to pay the land revenue if the assistance of the money-lender is denied to him unless Government wish that such revenue should come out of any advance that the State might make to him.

24. Large numbers of Cultivators who tide over famine years by borrowing money from Sowcars on the security of their lands would be thrown on the Relief works when they are no longer free to offer that land as a security for the debt." It is no wonder that Lord George Hamilton characterized the opposition to the Bill arising only from the money lending class.]

Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1899-1900. Vol. I. Washington ; Government Printing Office. 1901.

Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries. Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, for the four months, April to July 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1899 and 1900. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901-1902.

Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India. Nos. 5, 6 and 7, for the month of October 1901, and for the seven months, 1st April to 31st October 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1899 and 1900. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901-1902.

A Monograph on Ivory-Carving in Bengal. By G. C. Dutt, Assistant to the Director of Land Records and Agriculture, Bengal. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Report on the Legal Affairs of the Bengal Government for the year 1900-1901. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Report on the Administration of the Salt Department during the year 1900-1901. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Report on the Administration of the Excise Department in the Lower Provinces for the year 1900-1901. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Financial and Commercial Statistics of British India. Calcutta : Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.
